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(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1894.

ART. I.—DR. BYROM AND THE BEGINNINGS OF METHODISM.*

No one who wishes to study the picturesque details of the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century can afford to overlook the journal and letters of Dr. John Byrom, of Manchester, whose "Christians, awake, salute the happy morn," has been a treasure of the Church for so many years. His papers lay for a long time "scattered in unarranged confusion throughout the ancient and somewhat nondescript rooms" of the two family homes at Kersall and Quay Street, near Manchester, but happily proved, on careful inspection, to be in almost as perfect condition as when the writer left them ninety years before. The friend of Bishop Warburton and Dr. Bentley, of William Law and the Wesleys, thus stood revealed "in his habit as he lived." Few men could bear such unveiling better than John Byrom. His portrait as an undergraduate, our only authentic likeness, is a fitting preface to his journals, published by the Cheetham Society. As we look at this exquisite face we understand how a man so bright and intelligent, so pure-minded and even-tempered, won for himself hosts of friends who never wearied of his company.

Byrom belonged to an old Lancashire family. He was born at Kersall Cell, Broughton, near Manchester, on February 29,

* The Bible opens with the genesis of the world. We begin a new volume of the *Methodist Review* with an account of some of the details in the genesis of Methodism, traced for us by the capable hand of Rev. John Telford, B.A., of Guildford, England, a well-known specialist in Wesleyan history, author of a *Sketch of the Life and Work of John Wesley*, *The Life of Charles Wesley*, and of *Sketches of London Methodism from Wesley's Day*.—ED.

1692, and studied at Chester under "that once eminent schoolmaster, Mr. Francis Harper." He became a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1714, and, after studying medicine at Montpellier, returned to England in 1718 with his diploma. He soon abandoned the healing art for the profession of shorthand. He had married his cousin in February, 1721, and he maintained his family by teaching an ingenious system of shorthand which he had invented. The characters were singularly elegant, but could not be written rapidly enough to win conspicuous success. His house was near the "Old Church" in Manchester, where his family had been prosperous merchants and linen drapers; but much of his time was spent in London among his pupils, who formed a kind of society. Byrom was styled "grand master," and used to open the session with an address. He was so tall that he had difficulty in finding a horse high enough for him. He was once eclipsed by a gentleman from Worcestershire "almost a head taller than I; people talk to me as if I were grown a mere dwarf." The necessities of his position as a professor of shorthand led him to move freely in the literary and clerical circles of the metropolis. The Wesleys used his system and zealously pushed his interests among their friends, so that Byrom naturally spent a good deal of time in their company after their return from Georgia and during the early days of the evangelical revival. He never became a Methodist. He had learned on the Continent to study and admire the mystics, and could not understand John Wesley's verdict that these writers made good works appear "mean, flat, and insipid." Byrom was also a devoted disciple of William Law, and warmly championed his master in the controversy with John Wesley.

Byrom was eleven years older than the founder of Methodism. He was already a man of settled views and established reputation when the two brothers John and Charles Wesley were led by their friend Peter Böhler to see their own want of living faith. The older man, steeped in mysticism, was not able to understand the intensely practical zeal of the great field preachers and often judged them somewhat harshly; but we owe to his journal many pleasing glimpses of them and their friends in London. Byrom has a touch of the genius of the great diarist Pepys, and his pages often make old scenes live again for

his readers. Byrom was a man of considerable literary power. Under the pseudonym of "John Shadow" he contributed some delightful papers on "Dreaming" to the *Spectator* in 1714. His description of the look granted him one night into the hearts of his friends, "inclosed in transparent vials and preserved in a liquor which looked like spirits of wine," is a very happy effort. Still better is the letter of September 22, which professes to chronicle the adventures in which some of his correspondents had been engaged during sleep, or, as he calls it, "that moonshine in the brain." The story of the man who fasted all day and went to bed with a handsome slice of bride-cake under his pillow in order to read his future fortunes furnishes one of his most racy passages. "In the morning his memory happened to fail him, and he could recollect nothing but an odd fancy that he had eaten his cake; which being found upon search reduced to a few crumbs, he is resolved to remember more of his dreams another time, believing from this that there may possibly be somewhat of truth in them." The whole paper, with its sketch of the havoc or deliverance wrought by some traveling tinker among the city dreamers, is excellent. Byrom's verses in praise of Miss Joanna, or "Jug," Bentley, the eleven-year old daughter of Dr. Bentley, the master of Trinity College, take high rank as an English pastoral. His contributions to the *Spectator* remind us of a letter written by the Rev. Adam Clarke to his friend Mr. Thomas Allan, a Methodist solicitor in the city of London, whose son founded the Allan Library. The original lies before us as we write. Wesley was all his life long a zealous friend of literature, and did not forget the labors of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, who, like himself, were old Carthusians.

LONDON, *December* 29, 1824.

DEAR MR. ALLAN: The anecdote concerning which you inquire stands thus in substance: One day, not long before his death, Mr. J. Wesley, discoursing with me on the origin of Methodism, so called, and the great necessity there was of a reformation in these lands when it appeared, made the following observations. During the time of the protectorate the nation got into a spiritual frenzy, many imagining that the reign of Christ upon earth would shortly commence. Several judicious and pious men in vain lifted up their voices against this delusion. Charles succeeded to the throne, and, totally void of religion himself and of all fear of God, he endeavored to destroy not only the form but the power of Christianity.

He unhappily in a great measure succeeded, and the nation went from one extreme to the other, till at last, in his court and in the kingdom, scarcely a vestige of scriptural Christianity remained. As far as it lay in his power he struggled to change the political and ecclesiastical government of the country. Absolute, despotic monarchy in the State and popery in the Church he labored to introduce. He was a worthless and a wicked king. His brother James thought he could carry into effect what Charles had begun, but was obliged to abdicate the throne before he could finish. During their reigns ruthless bigotry and a vile and cruel superstition prevailed, which afterward became replaced by irreligion and infidelity. Not only the religion, but the manners, of the country were debased. Religion was the butt against which the profane buffoon shot all his raillery, and decency and order had nearly receded from all ranks of society. William, who succeeded James II, was of a different temper to that which prevailed in the nation. But the waters had been let out and were becoming irresistible; the very being of religion had been awfully threatened. The nation was engaged in wars in the reign of Queen Anne; and at that time God raised up Mr. Addison and his associates to lash the prevailing vices and ridiculous and profane customs of the country and to show the excellence of Christianity and Christian institutions. The *Spectators*, written with all the simplicity, elegance, and force of the English language, were everywhere read, and were the first instruments in the hands of God to check the mighty and growing profanity and call men back to religion and decency and common sense. Methodism, in the order of God, succeeded, and revived and spread scriptural and experimental Christianity over the nation. And now what hath God wrought! This was the substance of the conversation.

I am, dear Mr. Allan, yours truly, ADAM CLARKE.

Such a sketch of the connection between Methodism and the *Spectator*, as traced by Wesley himself, possesses peculiar interest. No man recognized more clearly than John Wesley the power of the press; no great leader more zealously availed himself of it to supplement and carry on his own work as an evangelist.

We must not linger longer on this tempting theme. Our purpose is rather to see through Byrom's keen eyes the England of the great revival and the men who have left their mark so broad and deep on the history of the world. In the early pages of his journal we learn from Law's future disciple and champion that the great mystic "has the character of a vain, conceited fellow." Byrom talks with Mr. Rivington, the publisher, at his shop—"the Bible and Crown" in St. Paul's Churchyard—on December 31, 1734. Mr. Riving-

ton "said he was going to print a new edition of Thomas à Kempis; that Mr. Wesley and Dr. Heylin were to overlook it; that it seemed to be in little short sentences and two forms of printing; that Mr. Law was curate to Dr. Heylin and was a gay parson; that Dr. Heylin said his book would have been better if he had traveled that way himself."

The references made in the journals to Dr. Bentley's visits to London for the Westminster School election deserve the attention of students of Charles Wesley's life. Queen Elizabeth had given the school the privilege of sending a certain number of its queen's scholars every year to Christ Church, Oxford, and to Trinity College, Cambridge. A lad who took a high place at Westminster thus had his way open to the university. Dr. Bentley had to choose his boys on these annual visits. These facts explain Byrom's allusions. On April 23, 1724, we read that "Dr. Thomas Bentley came to Westminster election last week." Next year, on April 27, Byrom was himself present at the election. He gives an amusing picture of the day:

> Dr. Bentley gave me a ticket in the school, and I dined in the hall. I ate some hashed calf's head, pigeon pie, lobster. They were none of them good, nor the wine. Went to a coffee house after dinner with Ord and Gordon; two dishes, 4*d*. About five went to the school again. I sat within the bar and heard all the declamations; pretty good verses. Gave my verses about St. George and the Dragon to a lad, that is, Davis did. The subject was, *Ne sit pro teste vetustus*. They took, and the lad had some money given him.

His future friend, Charles Wesley, was present at this ceremony, for he was captain of the school in 1725, and next year was himself elected to Christ Church.

Byrom had many leisure hours in London. How he spent them a few entries may show. He speaks of a visit which "Sister Ann and I" paid to Sion College Library, then in its old home on London Wall. "It seems the books are not chained, but the librarian fetches them as anybody wants them. He spoke very civilly." On May 25, 1725, we meet a record which reminds us of the plague of highwaymen from which England then suffered, and of the wonderful work which the Wesleys did among the criminals of the day:

> Yesterday passed by our gate here [at Gray's Inn] the famous Jonathan Wild in a cart between two other malefactors, in a nightgown, without a

hat, with a book in his hand, crying. There was the greatest mob imaginable, and they hooted him along. He took opium to poison himself last night, as they say, but it did not quite take effect. He was very loath to be hanged when he came to it. The mob pelted him at the very gallows.

A few days after this scene Byrom, on his way to Woolwich with his friends, "read Jonathan Wild to them." No doubt this was the usual penny-a-liner's narrative of the highwayman's crimes and death. Two or three weeks afterward, he says, "We all took a walk to St. Pancras Churchyard, where we read the monuments and saw where Jonathan Wild was buried, whom the papists had taken up." Crime went on unchecked by the terrors of the law. In 1728 he mentions that Sir G. Heathcote had been robbed "in Paul's Churchyard, and many other street robberies committed of late—very many." "Alas, alas!" he writes in August, 1723, "I cannot meet with a steel pen no manner of where; I believe I have asked at three hundred and seventy-five places." Byrom's shorthand writing made him anxious to get a fine-pointed pen, but he met with ill success. In other entries we see him lighted from Holborn by a link-boy, to whom he gave two pence. Then he adds, "I ate heartily, having dined with Duke Humphrey." On Sunday night, November 26, 1727, as he and his friends walked home they were greatly diverted by the bellman's lines:

> If that we do believe a future state,
> Let us repent before it is too late.
> Although we now may be in health and strength,
> The life of man is but a span's length.
> Let 's make our calling and election sure.
> Past one o'clock.

What changes have come over London another quotation will show. In June, 1729, he had agreed to go out with his friends to Islington Wells at half past four in the morning, but got up too late for the walk. He went, however, to Mr. Cockayne's, who took his visitors "to his country house, just by the turnpike beyond Whitechapel, where we had cherries and a bottle of good port, the cherries very good and ripe, and I ate some off the tree."

Byrom gives some suggestive details about his native town. There were only three families in Manchester between 1720 and 1736 who kept their carriages. He pays a warm tribute

to Mr. Clayton, one of the Oxford Methodists then settled in Manchester, whose zeal had gathered seventy people, all above sixty years old, to be confirmed by the bishop at Salford Chapel in December, 1733. Three years later we find that Clayton and a young clergyman from Christ Church called on Byrom "for Mr. Wesley's letter from Georgia. I drank tea with them and Mr. Rivington in the afternoon. Mr. Rivington gave them a painful account of the spread of deism in London. He said that many of the young men of his parish had left off all public service and professed deism, and that there was a visible decline in the sale of good books."

We now reach the most valuable pages of Byrom's journals. He knew most of the friends of the Wesleys in London, so that he had access to the best sources of information about them and their work. So far back as December, 1725, Byrom had called on Mr. Hutton at Westminster with a friend and received a hearty welcome. This Mr. Hutton was a clergyman of the Church of England, who had resigned his living because he did not feel free to take the oath of allegiance on the accession of George I. He lived in College Street, Westminster, where he took in Westminster scholars as boarders. His wife also received some lady lodgers. The clergyman had heard about Byrom, and they soon plunged into a discussion as to systems of shorthand. It was at this Mr. Hutton's house that John and Charles Wesley generally stayed when in London ten years later. Young Hutton and his sister both looked upon John Wesley as their spiritual father, for it was under a sermon of his, preached in their father's house from the words, "One thing is needful," that both of them received great spiritual good. Mr. James Hutton was apprenticed to Mr. Innys, the bookseller, on Ludgate Hill, and Byrom mentions some purchases made of him there in April, 1735. Young Hutton afterward began business for himself a little to the west of Temple Bar and published books for the Wesleys and Whitefield.

In March, 1736, when again in London, Byrom quotes a remark made by Mr. John White, a member of the government and also of the board for the administration of affairs in that colony, to the effect "that they would have no hierarchy in Georgia." This significant note bears witness to the feeling roused by John Wesley's high church zeal in America. On

March 31, 1737, Byrom followed Mr. Oglethorpe, who was leaving the Pennsylvania Coffee House, and asked him about Charles Wesley, "who, he said, was in the country somewhere. Mr. Rivington's son told me when I inquired there that he was gone to Tiverton," where his eldest brother was master of the grammar school. Byrom called at Rivington's on April 22, to ask after Charles Wesley, and learned that he would be in town soon. The publisher said "that the English at Savannah were a parcel of sad people. Seemed to speak of the adventure of Mr. Wesley's as a rash undertaking, but that they had been severely searched." When Charles Wesley came to town he lodged at Mr. Hutton's in Westminster. Byrom had an interesting conversation with him on June 10. He now learned that Benjamin Ingham, the friend and companion of the Wesleys in Georgia, "had applied the universal alphabet which I had given to his brother when he was at Manchester to the Indian language; it did very well for all its letters and sounds." Charles Wesley also said "that he had several books of shorthand which had been of great use to him in America." That afternoon the friends had tea together at Byrom's lodgings. Oglethorpe, Charles Wesley said, would not allow St. Paul's remarks about celibacy "to be so much as a permission, and Charles himself talked, I thought, prettily at last." Three weeks later we find Byrom waiting for Charles Wesley at Tom's Coffee House.

From that time close intercourse was kept up between the friends. On July 2, 1737, Charles Wesley called as Byrom was shaving and brought two letters about the mystics, one from his brother John in Georgia, the other an answer to it from Samuel Wesley at Tiverton. This was a dangerous subject. Byrom thought that "neither of the brothers had any apprehension of mystics, if I had myself, which query; but if I have I find it necessary to be very cautious how one talks of deep matters to everybody." He also notes that Charles Wesley criticised Law's statement that there is no command for public worship in Scripture. Byrom himself inclines to Law's side: "I believe that Mr. Law had given his brother, or him, or both, very good and strong advice, which they had strained to a meaning different to his." But if they differed as to Law and the mystics shorthand was a great bond

between them. Charles Wesley had first learned Weston's system, and was going to teach a Mr. Hooke, a clergyman in Hertfordshire. He writes to Byrom on September 25, 1737: "An uninterrupted hurry has prevented my writing sooner. I am now forced to borrow a piece of Sunday. Next week I return to Oxford." Byrom was thinking of printing a book on shorthand, and Charles Wesley was eager to help. "By your leave and written communication, I would immediately begin to take subscriptions."

Byrom writes to Charles Wesley, in March, 1738, in shorthand, a letter marked by much felicity of style and good sense:

DEAR SIR: I take the opportunity of Mr. Chaddock's going up to London from us to return you thanks for your last letter and the good wishes therein contained. I begin to think that your brother's arrival will be the occasion of your staying some time at least in England, and especially because you say that you are going to Oxford. We are in expectation of seeing your brother in these parts, from Mr. Clayton's intimation to us that he would come hither.

As your brother has brought so many hymns translated from the French, you will have a sufficient number and no occasion to increase them by the small addition of Mr. Bourignon's two little pieces, which I desire you to favor my present weakness, if I judge wrong, and not to publish them. I do not at all desire to discourage your publication; but when you tell me that you write not for the critic but for the Christian it occurs to my mind that you might as well write for both, or in such a manner that the critic may by your writing be moved to turn Christian, rather than the Christian turn critic. I should be wanting, I fear, in speaking freely and friendly upon this matter, if I did not give it as my humble opinion that before you publish you might lay before some experienced Christian critics or judges the design which you are upon. But I speak this with all submission; it is very likely that in these matters I may want a spur more than you want a bridle.

When you go to Oxford I beg my hearty respects to all our shorthand friends and others there. I have thought often of writing to Mr. Kinchin about contractions; but the tediousness of explaining that matter by writing and the ease of doing by conversation have made me defer it in hopes of meeting with some occasion of doing it in the latter way. But as I have had the pleasure of talking with you a little upon that subject you will be able to give him some satisfaction in that particular, or anything relating to the art whereof you are so complete a master that I shame at my own writing when I see the neatness of yours.

I wish you and your brother happiness and holiness. Your most obliged and humble servant I am, J. BYROM.

This I have just writ at the library here in Mr. Thyer's room, for whom I keep it, this March 3rd, 173⅔, [he] being gone to Bagully a-walking with Mr. Greaves.

Byrom's journal becomes of still deeper interest and value as we approach the hour when the Wesleys were led into the light. To him we owe our best portrait of Mr. Bray, whose house in Little Britain plays so memorable a part in these days of grace. Charles Wesley had greatly offended Mrs. Hutton by going to lodge with Bray, although she offered him the choice of her two best rooms. It was in Bray's house that Charles Wesley was able to rest in Christ on Whitsunday. Here the poet of Methodism composed the first hymn of the revival, which was first sung on the following Wednesday, when John Wesley was brought in triumph by a troop of friends and declared, "I believe."

On June 15, 1738, three weeks after the evangelical conversion of the brothers, Byrom writes:

I lie at the Ax, but am out all day. I have dined yesterday and to-day with Mr. Charles Wesley at a very honest man's house, a brazier, where he lodges, with whose behavior and conversation I have been very much pleased.

John Wesley had sailed two days before for Germany on his visit to the Moravian settlement. Charles had been spending some time with Mr. Piers, who had formerly been curate to the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Annesley, Rector of Winwick, but now "has some preferment about ten miles off, and he is to go to him again; he gives him a great character." This was the Rev. Henry Piers, then Vicar of Bexley, who, with his wife and man-servant, found peace during one of Charles Wesley's visits. A week after this entry, Byrom says, "Mr. Charles Wesley is ill again in the country at Blenn in Kent,* his brother gone to Germany; so Mr. Clayton cannot write to him." He also chafes under the somewhat condescending treatment he had received from the Bishop of Ely, and adds:

I confess myself full as well pleased with the sentiments of the poor brazier whom I think I've mentioned, and with whom I have been to-day and had much talk with him. He talks more like a bishop, in one sense; but as yet I do not know whether I rightly apprehend what doctrine these

*The Cheetham Society editor says, "Blenn near Canterbury;" but this is Blendon, where his friends, the Delamottes, lived.

Moravians have brought amongst 'em which so highly delights some and displeases others.

On February 7, 1739, he put on his cloak after breakfast and went to see Bray, who was not in. When he called again, he says,

Mr. John Wesley came down to me, and I went, after some invitation, up stairs where they were at dinner, but I ate none. His brother Hall there, who talked of inward matters. Evans of Oxford, a tradesman, was there. I went with John Wesley to Islington to his brother at Mr. Stonehouse's (who paid five guineas to Mr. Lambert for learning my short-hand, but had made one of his own, a strange, ugly one, and could not be persuaded to learn ours). . . . Went with them to the church, where a fat woman was baptized. Thence came to his house, where they prayed, after a hymn, in their society room. Thence Mr. John Wesley went away, and we three went up stairs and drank tea and ate bread and butter and talked about faith.

Stonehouse, who had read the mystics extensively, thought that John Wesley spoke too severely of Tauler and other writers of the same school. Byrom's want of sympathy with the new movement appears from his next sentences:

Mr. Charles Wesley came for London about seven, and I with him, and Mr. Stonehouse hoped to see me again.

As the friends walked along they talked of the latest phases of the work.

Charles Wesley said Whitefield had discerned Mr. Clayton's spirit immediately. . . . [He] talked away in very strange terms about their success, and especially George Whitefield's, and I thought "Paul I know," etc. We parted at the end of Hatton Garden.

Later in the same month Byrom paid another visit to Mr. Stonehouse, who had much impressed him as a very agreeable young gentleman:

I walked this afternoon to Islington again with John Wesley to Mr. Stonehouse's, who came back with me to London to meet some of 'em. . . . I can talk with Mr. Stonehouse more freely than Mr. Wesley, with whom he differs in some points that he and I are more agreed in.

A few days afterward he went again with Wesley and attended Stonehouse's church. He had another talk with Stonehouse, in which the latter expressed his feeling that Wesley went too far against the mystics. He had promised to go to a meeting in Newgate Street. Byrom wished to dissuade him from so do-

ing, but he went. Stonehouse seemed to have vacillated a good deal over the matter, and gives one an unpleasant impression of his resolution. Charles Wesley read the service at Islington Church, "but I thought," says Byrom, "with an affected emphasis."

The same day our gossip is at Mr. Hutton's shop near Temple Bar, and says:

His sister came to me and asked me to drink tea, but her brother coming in I went with him into their little room, and the sister talked away as usual and then went to a raffle; and Mr. Hutton and I talked about Methodism, and he defended them and was eager to answer to the point, as he called it, having wrote to Mr. Durand, who yet threatened what he would do if he mentioned his name in print, which yet he said he had done. I endeavored to mollify his eagerness, but found that it would not do.

He had other talks with Hutton, whom he found enthusiastic in praise of Wesley. He often looked in for news, and calls him "my chief intelligencer." If his work on shorthand needed a bookseller, he wrote, "it must be Mr. Hutton, because he was a scholar, and that I would rather pay him something more than others if there should be occasion."

Another entry, in February, 1739, shows us how the gulf was widening between the Wesleys and their old friends. They were already becoming marked men:

I forgot that I saw Mrs. Rivington coming out of her shop, so I went in and had some talk with Mr. Rivington about the Methodists. He said they were all wrong; that they had left Mr. Law; that Mr. Wogan [an Ealing layman] was against them; that they would do a deal of mischief; that they thought they had more of the Spirit than anybody; that Mr. Clayton kept clear of such extravagancies. Now I remember how Mr. Hutton talked about him and said he was a good man; how that he had writ to John Wesley about his preaching without notes, which he thought was wrong to do.

Wesley returned to London from his first field-preaching in Bristol on June 13, 1739, because of the disturbances which had arisen in the society at Fetter Lane. Byrom writes to his wife next day:

Mr. John Wesley is come to this town from Bristol. Mr. Whitefield preaches away at Blackheath, etc.; he is the chief topic of private conversation. . . . He had lords, dukes, etc., to hear him at Blackheath, who gave guineas and half guineas for his orphan house. He does surprising things and has a great number of followers, both curious and real.

This field-preaching, they say, is got into France, as well as Germany, England, Scotland, Wales, etc. People are more and more alarmed at the wonder of it, but none offer to stop it that I hear of.

A fortnight later he has breakfast with Mr. Hutton, with whom, he says, "I have dined two or three times lately upon my own sort of fare." Of the previous night, he adds:

The so-much-talked-of Mr. Whitefield came in, and company with him. He stayed about a quarter of an hour, taking leave with his friends; and then the Cirencester coach called, and he went to Gloucestershire therein that night. He has a world of people that like him. I should have satisfied my curiosity a little if he had not been in haste. I am surprised at the progress which he had made, to which the weakness of his printing adversaries does not a little contribute.

Byrom was quite out of sympathy with the new movement. It did not commend itself to his somewhat mystical mind. He writes to his son on April 26:

Mr. Charles Wesley is in town, but I very seldom see him, not being quite agreed in all our opinions, though I have called now and then just to ask him how he does, because I wish him to do well heartily. . . . They have together printed a book of hymns, amongst which they have inserted two of Mrs. Bourignon's, one which they call a "Farewell to the World, translated from the French," and the other, "Renouncing all for Christ" (I think), "translated from the French."

The old friendship was not broken by their change of views. Somewhat later Charles Wesley's name appears in the proposals for printing Byrom's *Shorthand*, as one of those who recommend the system.

On August 4, 1739, Byrom is busy with a little domestic commission, and turns to his Moravian friend in Little Britain:

I called yesterday at Mr. Bray's, brazier, about a teakettle. He says round ones are the most commodious, not with flat tops, but raised a little; there are others like the shape of the old one. . . . I found Mr. Charles Wesley there and drank tea with him, and he asked me to come on Monday morning at eight, being to go out of town, and I should see him no more. I came out with him as far as Guildhall in his way to Kensington Common, where he was to go with Mr. Whitefield for the last time, Mr. Whitefield being to go abroad, etc. On Monday Mr. Wesley preaches at Moorfields, and Kensington on Sunday morning and night; he asked me if he should invite me to come and hear him. "Shall I invite you to stay at home?" said I. "No," said he. "Then," says I, "don't invite me to come." We do not agree, nor differ as to matters of doctrine that I can find, nor have I any occasion to condemn him.

On the following Monday he did breakfast with his friend at Mr. Bray's.

Byrom, as we have already stated, sided warmly with Law in his controversy with John Wesley. He visited Law at Putney, where he was tutor to the father of Gibbon, the historian, on August 27, 1739, and saw Wesley's letters and answers. Law quoted Hutton to the effect that three days before writing the famous letter Wesley had gone hastily from Hutton's, saying he must go and save Mr. Stonehouse from Mr. Law, who was bringing him over to faith without works:

> In short, it was a very strange account that he gave, and this John Wesley, who always appeared to me in a c-n-p-r-d-ling light, appeared still worse. Pray God convert him to a true faith indeed, that may show itself more faithful with regard to his neighbor.

The extract shows that Byrom was quite unable to understand Wesley's position in this matter. Law had done much for the Oxford Methodists, but he had altogether failed to teach them the great truth of justification by faith. Hence Wesley's protest. When a critic so impartial and competent as Canon Overton does ample justice to Wesley's attitude and temper in this matter we may smile at Byrom's sally. There would have been no evangelical revival had the Wesleys not found clearer and more evangelical guides than their old master William Law.

During the next two years Byrom appears to have spent little time in London. The death of his elder and unmarried brother on May 12, 1740, had made him the owner of the family estates, so that there was no longer any need for his work as a teacher of shorthand. On July 7, 1742, however, we find him among his old friends. He goes with Mr. Jacobi to the Moravian chapel in Fetter Lane.

> Mr. Delamotte read the story of the eunuch and St. Philip, and then preached. Mr. Hutton came in after us and sat down by me and squeezed me every now and then.

Still more interest attaches to a later visit. On Saturday, May 7, 1748, Byrom writes:

> I dined yesterday with Colonel Gumley and Charles Wesley, and went with them to the Methodist church, English common prayers; he preached. I met my old scholar, Mr. Erskine, there, and Lord Pitsligo's son.

This nobleman came into Manchester with the Pretender in 1745. Byrom's daughter, Elizabeth, notes, in the journal which she kept of that painful incident in the history of Manchester, that she saw his troop of horse at the "Cross" on November 28. The title was forfeited the following year. The Methodist church which Byrom attended was that interesting building in West Street, Seven Dials, which is the most venerable relic of early London Methodism.

In August of the same year Byrom describes a visit to the Countess of Huntingdon's mansion at Chelsea. He and Dr. Doddridge went together by water. They found Whitefield talking with Charles Stanhope and heard him preach to the family and friends.

> One Colonel Gumley, a convert to the Wesleys, was there; also Mr. Bateman, parson of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, who from a great enemy is likewise come over to them and preaches at their chapel, and they at his church. We left him there, and the colonel, Mr. Whitefield, and I came away in a coach that Lady Huntingdon had provided to London, about six o'clock.

The colonel got out at Hyde Park Corner; but as the man drove past Abington's (the coffee house where he stayed) Byrom went on to Whitefield's tabernacle and sat just behind him while he preached. The place, which held three thousand people, was crowded. Byrom afterward had supper with Whitefield in his apartments at the tabernacle. This was the temporary shed in Moorfields, which gave place to a new building in 1753. The tabernacle in Tottenham Court Road was not opened until 1756.

The later pages of Byrom's journal contain some particulars of not less interest for students of the evangelical revival than those already referred to. He says on May 27, 1749, that Mr. Innys, the publisher, had given him a copy of Law's new book on prayer, of which Lady Huntingdon had ordered one hundred copies to be sent among her acquaintances. He comments somewhat harshly, under date of October 8, 1757, on Wesley's critique of the work.

On April 2, 1761, John Wesley, accompanied by his friend Mr. Philips, called upon him at his home in Manchester. He came at ten o'clock in the morning and stayed until about twelve.

His brother, Charles Wesley, he said, was ill at Bristol or Bath, and had been confined by a disorder in his stomach which the doctors could not cure, and called it the gout; that Lady Huntingdon was ill, and a more charming woman than ever; that she is the lady to whom Mr. Law wrote the letters in his book. We had again the talk about his letter to Mr. Law, but to no other effect than two years ago. . . . I mentioned the six men who had been read out of his society for reading Jacob Behmen and Mr. Law, as one of them had told me, and had desired me to speak to him last year, but I had not then the pleasure of seeing him. He appeared to be warm on that article; said, when I mentioned their being turned out for reading, "That was because they told me lies." . . . He rejected them, not for reading the books, which was as indifferent as the color of their hair; but if they would thrust their hair into other people's eyes and trouble them with their notions, that was his reason.

Every student of Wesley's life knows that he was always faithful to this principle. He wrote to Joseph Benson as to a controversy which Benson was waging with some antagonist:

If he cites anything from me you should answer simply, "I never undertook to defend every sentiment of Mr. Wesley's. He does not expect or desire it. He wishes me and every man to think for himself."—*Works*, xii, 429.

To the Rev. James Erskine also he wrote nearly forty years earlier:

Whoever agrees with us in that account of practical religion given in "The Character of a Methodist," I regard not what his other opinions are, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother. I am more assured that love is of God than that any opinion whatsoever is."—*Works*, xiii, 162.

On July 13, 1788, he writes:

One circumstance more is quite peculiar to the people called Methodists; that is, the terms upon which any person may be admitted into their society. They do not impose, in order to their admission, any opinion whatever. Let them hold particular or general redemption, absolute or conditional decrees; let them be Churchmen or Dissenters, Presbyterians or Independents, it is no obstacle. Let them choose one mode of baptism or another, it is no bar to their admission. The Presbyterian may be a Presbyterian still; the Independent or Anabaptist use his own mode of worship; so may the Quaker, and none will contend with him about it. They think and let think. One condition and one only is required, a real desire to save their soul. Where this is, it is enough; they desire no more; they lay stress upon nothing else; they ask only, "Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart? If it be, give me thine hand."—*Works*, xiii, 266.

It would be difficult to find a finer illustration of true catholicity of spirit. As to Mr. Law, Wesley said, "I do not treat him with contempt, as he does me." Byrom also asked Wesley his opinion about what was called the day of grace being over.

He said he believed it might be, but never met with any instances but one, in a man that was to be executed, whom he found to be perfectly unconcerned, though he knew he was going to be with devils, and described a strange case; but I could not allow that God's grace was then none, but not admitted by the man.

Another subject of much interest was broached.

[Wesley] said that all good authors might be inspired, but there was none but who mixed their own spirit; that Thomas à Kempis was next to the Bible, but in him there was transubstantiation and purgatory, and I could not get the smallest entire book that was quite through inspired.

Byrom mentioned Mr. Madan.

This Mr. Madan, he said, was a famous mimic, and came to hear him in order to take him off, but was himself taken off his deism; that his father, the colonel, was dead; had left him £1,800 a year; that he had a chapel of his own in some street; could not get ordained by the Bishop of London under pretense of want of a title, but was ordained by the Bishop of Winchester (Hoadly) who at ninety-three was hearty; that Madan, Romaine, etc., were half-regulars, for he divided them into regulars, half-regulars, and irregulars; that Romaine had not got a living, as I had been told.

Many other topics of conversation were discussed in this interview.

Three years before Francis Okeley, one of Wesley's traveling companions, had visited Byrom. On his return he found Mr. Wesley ready to start for Bolton. He wrote to Byrom:

I gave your love to him, as you desired, and he was glad I had been to see you; for, notwithstanding any little differences in opinion, I find he loves you sincerely, which I was glad to see.

Okeley says Byrom's warnings "not implicitly to entangle myself more than conviction of the truth will bear me out in with Mr. Wesley and his people are not lost upon me." He afterward settled in his native town of Bedford. He had caught Byrom's enthusiasm for Law and spent some days with

him at Northampton in 1760. "Dr. Byrom," said Law, "is a man after my own heart." Okeley writes:

> I have heard an anecdote of [Mr. Law] that just before his translation he rose up in bed and said, "Take away these filthy garments. I feel a fire of love within, which has burned up everything contrary to itself and transformed everything to its own nature."

Such an anecdote suggests many comparisons with John Wesley's famous phrase, "Our people die well." That secret has, happily, never been confined to Methodism. The blessed end of John Wesley's noble life of self-sacrifice for the common people, with the words, "I'll praise, I'll praise," lingering on his lips almost to the last, is scarcely more beautiful than the deathbed of the great English mystic to whom Wesley owed so much in earlier years and with whom he afterward felt that truth compelled him to cross swords.

Byrom died on September 28, 1763, at the age of seventy-two. He bore his lingering illness with exemplary patience. It is a quaint comment on last century customs to find that his family were fined five pounds because he was not buried in woolen. Ten years later John Wesley read his friend's poems as he traveled from Liverpool to Birmingham. He pays a high tribute to the man whom he had known and loved so well:

> He has all the wit and humor of Dean Swift, together with much more learning, a deep and strong understanding, and, above all, a serious vein of poetry.

He comments adversely on some things inspired by Jacob Behmen. Then he adds:

> But, setting these things aside, we have some of the finest sentiments that ever appeared in the English tongue; some of the noblest truths, expressed with the utmost energy of language and the strongest colors of poetry, so that, upon the whole, I trust this publication will much advance the cause of God and of true religion.

With that tribute lingering in our ears we may close our study.

John Telford

Art. II.—THE LOSS OF AN OLD FRIEND—PROTOPLASM.

The discoveries of science are often made in anticipation; for one of the chief guides in research is the seeming trend of scientific advance. As the scientist looks over the history of past discovery he perceives a general movement in certain directions, and then is led to expect and to plan for further advances along the same general lines. To him the trend of science is very real. In a former article in this *Review* the author pointed out that for a scientist to hold any position among his fellows it is necessary for him to accept not only all scientific facts, but to anticipate discovery by being in sympathy with the future and be able thus to plan experiments, guided by what he feels to be the trend of scientific advance. Only thus can he keep abreast of our rapidly advancing knowledge, and only thus can he plan intelligent experiments and aid science toward its final aim. It frequently happens, for this reason, that discoveries are made in theory before they are made in fact. But while this thought must be ever present in the mind of a true scientist he must also remember that in thus anticipating the future he is running the risk of making mistakes by falsely interpreting this general drift. Sometimes advance is diverted from its seemingly plain course by unforeseen discoveries; sometimes the path comes to an end before the ultimate theoretical goal is reached, and thus anticipation and prediction prove to have passed beyond the limits set by nature. It is the object of the present paper to show how this is true by pointing out how, in one of the most significant realms of scientific discovery, this tendency has seemingly been leading us adrift. Recent discoveries have demonstrated that in regard to the theories of the origin of life the conclusions derived from the trend of discovery have led us too far and must be very materially modified; and the facts given below illustrate the danger of speculating too far ahead of demonstrated fact.

Hardly a problem in science has given rise to more interest than that of the nature and origin of what we call life. Is life a special force independent of other natural forces, or is

it correlated with chemical and physical force? Can life arise spontaneously? Has it had a natural or a supernatural origin? Can we ever hope to manufacture a living thing? These are ever-present questions. Until the last half century there had been no attempt to ally vital with chemical and physical forces; but the rise of biology as a dynamical science has given us new conceptions and has led to somewhat revolutionary views. Out of the vague notions of earlier centuries there has in the last fifty years slowly crystallized what has been called the mechanical theory of life. This theory was primarily based upon the discovery of protoplasm. Some forty years ago the microscope disclosed to us the fact that the living part of all animals and plants was one and the same compound. This body, which was named protoplasm, is really the only living substance in nature, and was said to be the "potter's clay" out of which all animals and plants were molded. Chemically it gave the tests for albumen, and it was for a long time, therefore, regarded simply as a special form of albumen with peculiar properties. Hence there arose the notion that what we call life is simply a name for the properties of this substance, just as aquosity might be coined as a name for the properties of the substance of water. According to this view life is nothing supernatural, nor has it had any special supernatural origin. Just as aquosity appeared in earlier times, when conditions were such as to produce the union of hydrogen and oxygen in the right proportions to form water, so life appeared in the same natural way when the conditions were such as to produce the union of the elements carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen in the right proportions to form protoplasm. Life was thus no real thing, no distinct force, but simply a name given to the properties of the substance protoplasm. These properties protoplasm possessed simply by virtue of its chemical composition, and not by having any special force implanted in it. Every chemical compound has its own characters, and protoplasm differs from other compounds simply in having more complex properties. But it has also a more complex composition. If we do not regard water as ruled over by a special force, aquosity, it is illogical to regard protoplasm as ruled over by a special force, vitality.

This mechanical theory of life has certainly never been dem-

onstrated any more than its opposite has been demonstrated. The question of the existence of a guiding power in living nature, unique in itself, still remains an open one. The facts of nature have thus far proved too illusive to admit of the settlement of the question. Still, the mechanical theory has been strenuously held by scientists, and has certainly enjoyed in the last two decades a growing popularity. The foundation of the theory rests upon no demonstration, but rather upon a general inference from several series of facts. The discovery of the correlation between bodily heat and motion with the physical forces of nature has had great influence. The demonstration that vital motions are as truly due to transformed sunlight as those of any machine has contributed much toward uniting life with physical force. The explanation of the mechanics of the circulation and of the chemistry of digestion and respiration has contributed to the result. Above all, the advances in organic chemistry have led naturalists rapidly toward the mechanical theory of life. As the last half century has passed we have seen how advances in chemistry have been showing the possibility of making in the chemist's laboratory many compounds formerly supposed to be possible only through the agency of life. We have seen that the chemist can begin with simple substances like CO_2 (carbonic anhydride or carbonic acid) and H_2O (water) and by a series of combinations and reactions, making use of known laws of chemical affinity, can manufacture many of the bodies formerly classed as strictly organic. We have learned that an increasing complexity of properties of chemical compounds accompanies the increasing complexity of composition. CO_2 is a simple substance and its properties are very simple; but proteids, with their much more complex molecule, show widely varied powers of modification and combination. It has, from such facts, been an easy assumption that when chemists do make a substance as complex as protoplasm, whose molecule must be considered the most complex one on earth, it will have properties as marvelous as those of living things, and will, in short, be alive. Now, if protoplasm is only an albumen, its artificial manufacture does not seem to be very improbable. In other words, chemists have been telling us of the probability that they would some day succeed in making a living substance by the application of sim-

ple chemical forces to matter. Acting in accordance with this prediction, many experiments have been planned looking toward the manufacture of protoplasm, and eagerly have chemists been trying to build up the higher organic compounds. Spontaneous generation, too, has been studied anew with confident expectation of reaching, if not a positive conclusion, still some result which might give an indication of the possibility of a natural origin of life. We have been told that, in spite of the fact that thus far experiments have rather opposed any belief in the possibility of the origin of life from any source except other living beings, nevertheless the next great discovery will be the spontaneous generation or the artificial manufacture of life. This has been confidently believed, and is plainly in the line of scientific advance which is everywhere learning of the efficiency of natural laws to explain natural phenomena.

Such general facts as those above outlined have gradually given us the mechanical theory of life. There can be no question that some such theory as this lies at the end of the road which we have been traveling, provided the road continues to advance in the same direction. Chemists certainly can make organic compounds, and are making those of higher and higher grades every year. Certain it is, too, that an increasing complexity of properties accompanies the increasing complexity of molecular structure of these bodies. Now, if we only admit that protoplasm stands at the top of this ladder which chemists are rapidly climbing—and this seems to be the natural conclusion from its characters—it is certainly a natural inference that some day chemists will be able to make protoplasm itself. Carry this conclusion to its legitimate end and we shall find this protoplasm to be alive.

The mechanical theory of life has been thus inferred from various lines of research. We must notice now that this theory consists of two parts. It comprises a theory of the *nature* and a theory of the *origin* of life. These two parts rest upon different foundations. The first is dependent upon the assumption of the practical uniformity of protoplasm. Living nature everywhere shows certain general attributes; and if life is simply a name for these attributes we must expect that the protoplasm must show the same composition everywhere. If protoplasm

is the physical basis of life it must be practically uniform, since life is itself everywhere uniform in its general characters.

The second part of the mechanical view—that is, the natural *origin* of life and the prediction of its artificial manufacture—rests, however, upon a different basis. The theory that at some earlier period the elements carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen came together in such proportions as to form protoplasm, rests upon the supposition that protoplasm is a single and a definite though perhaps variable compound. The expectation which chemists formerly had of manufacturing it rested also upon the belief that it was a single chemical compound related to albumen, or at least a simple mixture of allied compounds. Formic acid, indigo, urea, and even a proteid have been made, and why not protoplasm? This would indeed seem to follow naturally, provided protoplasm were, like formic acid, indigo, urea, and proteid, a definite chemical compound with a constant molecular composition. No amount of complexity in its molecule would stand in the way of this logical position so long as its composition could be regarded as dependent upon chemical forces. If, however, it should prove that protoplasm was something more than a chemical compound, then chemical forces could not be regarded as sufficient for its synthesis. The second part of the mechanical view, therefore, rests upon the supposed definite composition of protoplasm.

Consciously or unconsciously, then, speculators have been assuming the uniformity of protoplasm, as well as its nature as a single chemical compound. But, unfortunately, such a view is no longer possible. It was the microscope which started us along this road of travel some fifty years ago by furnishing us with protoplasm to conjure with for a few years; but now the microscope is turning again and robbing us of the treasure which it allowed us to use for thirty years or more. It is the microscope, and not chemistry, which seems to bid fair to settle this question of the natural origin of life and to compel us very materially to modify the views which resulted from chemical speculation. Protoplasm is not homogeneous. The great improvements in the microscope and in microscopic methods of the last fifteen years have been disclosing within this seeming homogeneous jelly a structure which, being unexpected, is startling and even revolutionary in its significance. Biologists

have hardly realized the meaning of this change or even its extent. When, some fifteen years ago, the announcement was made that protoplasm showed a structure to the microscope it was hardly thought of as specially important. But fifteen years' accumulated discovery has made such a change that we are now just beginning to realize that our old friend protoplasm has disappeared from science never to return; or if not absolutely gone it has so changed its aspect as to be no longer recognizable. While, of course, it would be out of place to give here a detailed account of these researches in living matter, the essential facts are so intimately related to our philosophical conception of the nature of life as to be of interest to all who ever think upon these questions.

In the first place, it has appeared that there is no such thing as protoplasm in general, but only particular forms of protoplasm. There is no general protoplasm out of which different animals and plants are made, but each organism has its own peculiar kind. Protoplasm is not an undifferentiated "potter's clay" or raw material out of which to make animals and plants. This has, of course, always been known, but with a general belief that there was a great uniformity in the compound wherever it was found. But so far from being alike everywhere protoplasm in different animals is perhaps as varied as are the animals themselves. As Huxley first knew it protoplasm was a homogeneous jelly, transparent to view and with no discernible structure. As we know it to-day it is one of the most complicated bodies of which we have any knowledge; complicated not only in its chemical composition, but also in its physical structure. The microscope to-day tells us that it is made of several distinct parts. The basis of the mass, and that which gives it consistency, is a complicated network of delicate fibers, sometimes extremely minute and sometimes comparatively coarse, interwoven with each other in great confusion. The more intimate structure of the fibers, or even their chemical composition, is unknown. Giving fluidity to the mass, there is suspended among the meshes of the network a clear watery liquid of varying consistency. It is largely water, but not wholly so, and of its further composition we have little knowledge. On and among the fibers are infinite numbers of extremely minute dots or granules barely visible to the highest powers

of the microscope; and these may be seen to move to and fro, frequently traveling along the fibers almost like beads on a string, now grouping themselves in one way and now in another, and exhibiting an appearance of ceaseless activity. These bodies are so minute as to show no structure with any microscopical appliances; and yet there are strong reasons for believing that there are great differences between them, and that they are themselves made up of still more minute parts which must ever baffle the powers of optics to discern.

Nor does the matter end here. Protoplasm never exists free as undifferentiated protoplasm, but is always associated in little independent bits called cells. In such cells the structure is more complicated than above indicated, for each cell contains, besides the clear protoplasm, a specially differentiated part called the nucleus. This nucleus is in itself simply a part of the protoplasm and, indeed, as most microscopists are inclined to believe, the most essential part. In the nucleus we find a repetition of the fibers, liquids, and granules in a fashion even more complicated than in the body of the cell. In addition to these there is a new structure in the form of a compound called nuclein. This latter appears sometimes in the form of dots or rods or granules grouped in various fantastic ways. Frequently it is itself inclosed in a most wonderful body known as the nuclein tubule. Imagine a cell not more than a two hundredth of an inch in diameter, with a nucleus inclosed within it not a tenth of its size, and then conceive a long hollow endless tube snugly coiled within the nucleus, and we have an idea of a nuclein tubule. This tube, wherever present, contains the nuclein in its cavity. Now, this same nuclein, whether in the form of rods or dots, or whether inclosed within the tubule, is the most incomprehensible part of the whole protoplasm. Minute as it is in amount, the microscopist has learned that it must contain the properties of the whole protoplasm and, in many cases at least, all of the essential characters of the adult animal or plant to which the particular cell belongs. For instance, in the nuclein of the reprodnctive body, we have learned, are probably seated all of the hereditary characters which the parent may transmit to its offspring, as well as an unknown quantity of other characteristics which we know may be transmitted from generation to generation, remaining dormant in one to

reappear later. When in an individual there appears a trait inherited from a great-grandfather we know that this must have been handed down through grandfather and father in the reproductive bodies, and probably in the minute quantity of nuclein within the nucleus of those bodies. When we think of the complexity of the adult animal like man, and of the extremely minute size of the reproductive cells, with the still smaller proportion of the nuclein inclosed, and when we remember that this body contains potentially all of the characters of the adult man, the marvelous character which this nuclein may assume becomes inconceivable. Wonderful as it is, we must at the same time remember that it is only a part of the so-called protoplasm.

During this last fifteen years chemistry and microscopy have been combined to form what is known as microchemistry. At first chemists tried to get protoplasm in quantity for study; but now they are trying to study it in microscopic bits by microchemical tests. This new method has disclosed wonders from the chemical side. We can no longer regard protoplasm as a chemical compound related to albumen. Instead of this we have learned that there are many different compounds existing side by side to make up what we formerly supposed to be one distinct substance. It is impossible, as yet, to form any idea of the number of these compounds. Certainly the fibers, liquids, granules, and nuclein are chemically, as well as physically, distinct. Nor does the matter end here. A dozen or more compounds have already been discerned in the mixture, and no one would pretend that we have reached the limit. Our methods of separating them are as yet only the crudest. To-day we call nuclein a single compound; but no one knows what it is, nor can we doubt that this, too, will sometime be analyzed into others if we ever succeed in refining our methods sufficiently. Chemical study of the different parts of protoplasm has only just begun, and new compounds are constantly appearing. Protoplasm is thus becoming, in our minds, a more and more complex mixture of chemical compounds as we learn more of its nature. The old conception that it was an albumen has quietly dropped out of existence, so quietly, indeed, that many chemists hardly realize that it has so completely vanished. Having lost our idea of protoplasm as an albumen, we are

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now slowly learning new facts of its chemical nature. Protoplasm alive and protoplasm dead have always been regarded as different; but now some of the chemical differences are becoming visible. Hardly a week passes that something new is not learned, and more wonderful does this body become as it is studied. Bold, indeed, would be the microscopist who would claim that we have yet reached the end of the analysis of a single factor.

Still further ideas of complexity arise when we try to study the activity of this protoplasm. We find that the fibers are themselves wonderfully fashioned structures with special powers; that the granules show marvelous properties. The nuclein, whether in the tubule or free in the nucleus, undergoes curious changes in the life of the cell. The tubule breaks into fragments, it splits longitudinally, the fragments separate into groups and unite together again. Sometimes they break off pieces of themselves, which are then thrown away and thrust out of the cell entirely; and sometimes the fragments receive pieces of the nuclein tubule from another cell, fusing with them to form a new nuclein mass. A ceaseless activity is going on, and the nuclein seems to preside over it all. In short, the nature of this substance, formerly regarded as a single definite compound, has been in the last ten years becoming a study of wider and wider import, till a new branch of science has arisen, called cytology, a science whose field is simply to study cells and protoplasm.

We say the study of protoplasm. But in the light of the facts mentioned what is protoplasm? What part of this wonderful complex should now be regarded as the physical basis of life? Is it the liquid? or the fibers? or the granules? or the tubule? or the nuclein? None of these plainly can deserve the name protoplasm. The word originally applied to all the parts together, and if it is to be retained at all it should plainly apply to the whole compound. But if so it is still more plain that protoplasm has ceased to hold its former position as a factor in the life problem. We can no longer regard it as the simple potter's clay out of which different forms of life can be molded. In itself, in its simplest form, it already shows the work of the artisan's hand. In this new science of cytology we scarcely ever hear of protoplasm. Its meaning is too vague and it in-

cludes too much. The word has almost disappeared from the cytologist's nomenclature, and its place is being taken by a host of new words given to the various parts of which the former substance, protoplasm, is composed. We hear of nuclein and paranuclein, of pyrenin and amphipyrenin, of karyoplasm and nucleoplasm, but seldom of protoplasm. This word promises soon to remain only as a matter of historic interest and as marking a prominent step in the analysis of life; a step, indeed, of special significance, since it stimulated thought in the new direction of studying the mechanics of the life process.

Protoplasm is thus not a simple substance, and, indeed, is not a substance at all, but rather an abstraction from a series of structures each built of many different parts. It exists as a distinct substance no more than mankind exists as a distinct entity. *Men* exist, *mankind* is purely a thought. In the same way granules, nuclein, etc., exist, while protoplasm is a thought only. And thus it follows that the famous title, protoplasm, the physical basis of life, has lost all of its former significance.

But we may now ask whether in this analysis, which must have brought us nearer to the basis of life, there has not been found something which can take the place formerly held by protoplasm in the minds of biologists. Such a result has certainly up to the present time not been reached. The significance of the discovery of protoplasm lay in the fact that all parts of all living things, however unlike they seemed, were found to be made of one and the same compound, with supposed definite character and definite chemical composition. This body, everywhere found and everywhere alike, showed in itself the essential characters of living things. It at once united plants and animals on one common foundation, and for the first time made possible a science of biology in distinction from botany and zoology. It was, indeed, the one living thing in nature, and animals and plants were only products of its activities. But its significance in the life problem lay in its being regarded as a single definite compound, and now that it appears a complex in itself we must look deeper for the ultimate life substance. But such a body does not appear. Nothing has been found within protoplasm that bears the same relations to this body that it was supposed to bear to animals and plants. We find nothing more simple which exhibits the essential

characters of life. To fill the place formerly occupied in our thoughts by protoplasm some body should be found within it, present in all forms and all parts of protoplasm and having all of the essential characters of this body, and thus forming its physical basis. But we know of none. There is no uniting bond for the different parts of protoplasm except that they are probably all composed of the same chemical elements. Whether the granules, the liquids, the nuclein, or some other part should be regarded as the most fundamental is not decided, nor is there any consensus of opinion that there is any one part really more fundamental than another. The chemical elements alone appear fundamental, and our search for the primitive life substance to-day appears to take us down to the very chemical elements themselves; and thus all significance in a physical basis of life is lost. Cytology, having robbed us of protoplasm, offers nothing in its place.

The significance of all this in regard to the mechanical theory of life must be clear to every one. Cytologists and chemists have hoped to be able to make protoplasm. The chemist has learned that he could make synthetically compounds formerly supposed to be possible only through the direct agency of the life essence, and he has found more and more complicated bodies appearing in his retorts every year. Hence he supposed he was getting nearer to protoplasm. This body he regarded simply as the final round in the ladder of which the lower rounds were being rapidly surmounted. It was a simple and logical conclusion that some day the whole ladder would be climbed, and if protoplasm were at its summit that, too, would be seized as a final glorious prize. The logic of the position cannot be gainsaid. But while the chemist has been climbing this ladder the microscopist, quietly and unperceived, has shown that protoplasm does not rest at the top of the ladder, and does not, indeed, belong to the series of chemical compounds at all. Chemical compounds, of howsoever great complexity, chemists can hope to make at some time; but even the most sanguine chemist, the most extreme adherent to the mechanical theory of life, must be appalled at the task of manufacturing a bit of the simplest protoplasm, with its fibers, liquids, granules, and nuclein inclosed within a special nucleus. So far as our knowledge goes all of these structures are necessary that there

be even the simplest form of life. We know of no living matter simpler than protoplasm, and no protoplasm simpler than the above-described structure. Plainly, then, we must abandon the hope of making life. It is as hopeless to try to crystallize a man out of an organic solution. Seemingly, too, we must give up the expectation of discovering any evidence for spontaneous generation. As easy to imagine a steam engine to develop spontaneously from an iron mine. We know of forces which can produce chemical compounds; and so long as the life substance was supposed to be a definite chemical compound we might hope for its manufacture. But we know of no natural forces which can produce physical structures with complex internal relations. Chemical forces may produce chemical compounds, but never machines. The microscope thus seems to have set a limit to the tendency of scientific advance in this direction. Having given us protoplasm to think over for fifty years, it has now taken it away from us and offered nothing in its place. Our experiments and speculations must now be turned in a different direction.

It cannot be questioned that the study of cytology has given a serious blow to the mechanical theory of life. But we must not imagine too quickly that these discoveries prove fatal to that theory. It is still possible to hold the mechanical theory with certain modifications. Our biologist, in spite of the facts outlined, will still believe in the natural origin of life, though he may acknowledge the impossibility of his ever obtaining an explanation of such an origin. The mechanical theory of life, it will be remembered, involves two questions. So far as the view that life is simply a name for the properties of the substance protoplasm is concerned, it is left unaffected by these new facts. Or rather it is perhaps somewhat strengthened. A complicated machine is capable of exhibiting varied powers, and the greater the complexity the greater the diversity of powers. It takes a complex machine to perform complex actions. The water wheel is a simple machine and has very limited powers; but a modern printing press, which regulates its own motions, performs many simultaneous duties, corrects its own errors, and stops voluntarily when out of adjustment to its conditions, is a marvel both of function and complication of parts. It is the marvelous variety of the properties of living nature which

has separated it in our minds from inanimate nature and has led us to believe that some special force is needed in explanation. But, having now proved protoplasm to be such a complex machine, it is easier for us to suppose that its properties are the result of its structure than it was when we looked upon it as a simple, definite, homogeneous compound. It is easier to believe that motion might result from the activities of the *machine* protoplasm than from a homogeneous jelly.

But while this may simplify one side of the problem it only renders the other more difficult of solution. The greater the complexity of protoplasm the greater the difficulty of imagining its production by natural means. How came this marvelous machine to be first built? When we thought of it as a single compound we could suppose that at one time in the earth's history conditions were such as to produce the union of the elements carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen in such a way as to form it; for chemical forces are sufficient for the manufacture of chemical compounds. We can no longer make such a supposition, for we are dealing, not with a chemical compound, but an intricate machine.

But even with this view there is still a solution of the problem for those who look for it. A few years ago the structure of the animals and plants offered the same problem, and no one could comprehend how natural forces could have produced such complicated organisms as our higher animals and plants from the simplest forms of living matter. But our evolutionists have studied this problem until they have shown how this result was accomplished. They have shown, at least, some natural forces which go toward the building of *structure* by development. This same general view they can now apply to protoplasm by assuming that it is not the simplest form of living matter, but has itself been produced by the processes of evolution from simpler compounds. They may tell us that the first step in the life process was not the production of anything even approaching protoplasm, but of some simple chemical compound, which by the long, slow processes of natural selection or other natural laws was gradually evolved into a living mass of what we now call protoplasm. The passage from the elements to the simplest form of protoplasm was perhaps as long and complicated as the passage from the simplest form of unicellular animals of early

ages to the higher orders of animals and plants. But if natural forces could produce the evolution of the higher orders of animals from the lower it may logically be imagined that they would also be sufficient for the evolution of protoplasm from simpler forms of carbon compounds and their accidental mixtures.

Such a view as this is certainly a logical one, and will doubtless be held by biologists. But it must be admitted that the whole history thus imagined has left absolutely no trace. The process of evolution of animals has left its record in the rocks; but the passage from the elements to protoplasm is a complete blank. It must, therefore, be a matter of mere speculation, and one which takes us further into the regions of the unknown than any earlier view held concerning the origin of life. We cannot as yet even make a guess as to the nature of these steps. They could not have been chemical changes, and we cannot conceive what physical forces could have produced such organization as is shown by protoplasm. But we must, at least, admit that the view is a logical possibility, and thus recognize that the mechanical theory of life, while necessarily much modified by our new knowledge, is not disproved. But the manufacture of a bit of living protoplasm, it will be admitted by all, is as hopeless as the artificial manufacture of a fully developed man. The forces which produced it are not within our control.

In conclusion, then, we see that here, as elsewhere, the nearer we get to what seems to be the solution of nature the further that solution is removed from our grasp. The physicist explains optics only to find that his explanation has involved him in inextricable difficulties. The chemist solves many of nature's problems only to find his chemical forces and atoms utterly incomprehensible to him. The astronomer explains the origin of a solar system only to find that the matter and forces out of which he formed it are as unfathomable as ever. And so the biologist, while bringing more and more of living nature into the realm of chemistry and physics, only finds his solution of the life problem retreating further and further into the shadows of speculation.

Art. III.—PHILLIPS BROOKS.*

"Every man's power is his idea multiplied by and projected through his personality." This is Phillips Brooks's statement of the law of influence. A still better statement of a preacher's power is found in the three divisions which Dr. Brooks makes in his *Lectures upon Preaching*. In that volume he advances the idea that a preacher's power consists in the truth which he gives to the world, in the art with which he adapts the truth to the audience and to the age in which he lives, and in the personality which lies back of his truth and wings it with the power of conviction. Let us see how these three principles are illustrated in this prince of modern preachers.

1. Let us learn, if possible, what was the fundamental idea which molded his character and projected itself through his personality. The inspiring thought of his life was, in his own words, "the fatherhood of God and the childhood of every man to him." Dr. Brooks gladly acknowledged his indebtedness for this idea to Frederick William Robertson, who presented it with perhaps even greater distinctness than did his American brother. But plainly both Brooks and Robertson owed their inspiration upon this theme to St. John, and through St. John to Christ.

Although not a theologian in the ordinary sense of that word, Dr. Brooks might be said to be in hearty sympathy with evangelical theology, especially of the broad Arminian type. While a hundred preachers worked in conjunction with Mr. Moody in Boston, in 1877, Dr. Brooks was the only one who could hold the immense audiences and continue the work on Monday evenings, while Mr. Moody was resting. But even on such occasions his conception of man differed slightly from Mr. Moody's. We well remember his marvelous sermon on one such Monday evening from the text, "I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision." Mr. Moody had presented man as the prodigal and Christ as the Saviour. Dr. Brooks presented man as primarily, or by creation, a child of God, and Christ as the "firstborn among many brethren," whom he must bring to perfection. The preacher produced all the more

* The substance of this article was delivered as an address at Chautauqua, N. Y., July, 1893.

books. In this regard he resembled Darwin. In fact, he seems to the writer to have been gathering materials for a great spiritual science, but never to have elaborated them. So his sermons impressed hearers with their originality rather than with their scholarship or art. Those who stood close to him felt, not simply that there was more in his character, but that there was more in his mind, than his sermons revealed. Professor A. V. G. Allen says that Brooks has contributed more material than any other man of his age to what, for lack of a better name, we may call the new field of spiritual psychology. Had Darwin died when he had amassed all of his materials, but before he had fully elaborated the doctrine of evolution, Brooks might be compared with the great scientist and called the spiritual Darwin.

2. Let us learn, if possible, the art with which Dr. Brooks adapted his truth to his audiences and presented it to the age in which he lived. In one sense Phillips Brooks was entirely devoid of art. Certainly he never cultivated art for its own sake. He had none of the studied graces of his noble kinsman, Wendell Phillips, the prince of the American platform. Born and bred in New England, a child of Harvard University, he was apparently uninfluenced by the studied eloquence of Sumner or the polished periods of Harvard's most cultivated president, Edward Everett. He did not live in the senses or in practical affairs. This was a partial advantage and a partial defect. It was one source of the rare strength of his sermons; yet it gave rise to limitations in his church activity. He believed so strongly in character and so little in environment that he thought the former would always shape the latter. In this regard he followed Christ's example, but followed it perhaps too literally. Dr. Brooks thus describes the Master's method:

> The Master never cared to reshape circumstances until he had regenerated men. He let the shell stand as he found it until the new life within could burst it for itself. Almost instantly, as soon as the disciples began their work, they seemed to have been filled with a true conception of the divine message—that, not from outside, but from inside, not by the remodeling of institutions, but by the change of character, not by the suppression of vices, but by the destruction of sin, the world was to be saved.

So Dr. Brooks chose the spiritual, to the neglect of the materialistic, view of man. Modern science lays stress upon envi-

ronment. M. Taine attempts to rewrite the history of literature by making environment explain Milton and Shakespeare and account for the writings of Pascal and Corneille. Upon the other hand, Brooks's life, hid with Christ in God, led him to pay too little attention to surroundings and institutions. He had not the constructive ability of Spurgeon, who established a newspaper, an orphanage, and a college. He had not Chalmers's talent for organization, or Beecher's talent for agitation, or the intuitive power of reading human nature and of adapting means to ends which made Bishop Simpson the greatest administrator, as well as the greatest preacher, of his Church for the generation in which he lived. Nor did he feel that interest in public problems which made Wendell Phillips a reformer and swayed Whittier and Beecher and Lowell from their chosen fields in order that they might mold public opinion upon the slavery question. The period in which his activity fell was slightly unfavorable to the development of a talent for public affairs, provided it existed in him. He was not quite old enough to take part in the antislavery contest, and he died too early to become a leader in the coming battle of the home against the saloon. But his instinct and his philosophy alike made him a preacher to individuals, and not a reformer of society.

In a word, Dr. Brooks was by nature a preacher rather than a teacher. There is a subtle difference between the two professions. The teacher imparts information characteristically, although the great teacher gives inspiration to the life as well as truth to the intellect. The preacher, upon the other hand, imparts truth incidentally, but must bring life and inspiration to dead souls. It is possible to enlighten the mind so that it shall see more clearly all its daily duties without imparting specific information. Dr. Brooks's abandonment of teaching as a profession shows that he wisely recognized his limitations as an instructor. Even his sermons seem to us to be wheels with lines of thought running out like spokes from his central truth rather than pyramids built up layer by layer upon an established foundation. In hearing him preach and in reading his sermons the writer has often thought of Ezekiel's vision of the wheel with the spirit of the living creature in it and the glory of God above it. Perhaps a better illustration of his sermons is the sun, pouring out light and warmth, but

never showing its foundations or revealing the method by which it is built up. We incline to think there was a limitation to his nature on the practical side. Protestantism in its revolt from an external spiritual authority lost the vision of a kingdom of heaven upon earth. It is just regaining this truth in its crude attempts at applied Christianity. Brooks was the spiritual product of Protestantism. He furnished the inspiration and the ideals for individuals, rather than methods for reform or laws for the kingdom of heaven upon earth.

Again, it must be confessed that Dr. Brooks not only lacked somewhat in knowledge of practical affairs, but that he was an optimist by temperament, that he was spared by circumstances close contact with the most sinful and degraded classes, and that he saw the glory of manhood rather than its shame, and dwelt upon the privileges of sonship more than upon its duties. Some of us recall, in one of his sermons, the reference to the coarse caricature of Christ as a winebibber and a glutton. He said that there was just enough truth at the bottom of this caricature to give us an insight into the healthy, bodily life of Jesus. "That physical pleasure should be the accompaniment of spiritual joy, Jesus accepted as a part of the harmony of the universe." So Brooks's optimistic philosophy, his lack of any large knowledge of the deceitfulness of sin, and his belief in the appropriateness of the physical appetites led him to indulge in two habits which are common to our age, but which a more scientific study of dietetics will condemn. In the use of wine he did not feel that he was going a hair's-breadth beyond the example of his Master. In this view and practice he was in the company of such men as Godet and Spurgeon in our generation and a host of saints in all ages. But Brooks was remarkable for his common sense so far as he was brought in contact with practical problems; and the fashionable society with which he was surrounded thrust upon his notice the fearful problem of intemperance. He seemed puzzled at first; for the example of his Master, as he understood it, seemed to him safe. But he later reached a conclusion on the subject alike creditable to his head and heart and abandoned the use of wine entirely, not because he felt that there was a precept in the New Testament against it, but because the spirit of his Master forbade the use of that which was harming his fellow-

men. So for the last few years of his life this great, good man threw the influence of his powerful example upon the side of total abstinence.

For ourselves, we wish he had given the tobacco problem equal consideration. There is universal agreement among scientists to-day that nicotine is a poison. Law is no respecter of persons, and tobacco in some measure injured Brooks as it certainly injured Grant. Sincerely do we wish that he had not impaired his strength and set a dangerous example to the young by the introduction of that poison into his system; but no one who knew him or listened to his preaching ever dreamed that he violated his own conscience upon this question any more than Stonewall Jackson violated his conscience by fighting for his native State. But while we insist that Brooks was not consciously doing wrong, yet his lack of insight on these points shows that his knowledge of men and of practical affairs was defective. He was, therefore, lacking in one element of a great teacher.

But before deciding hastily that Phillips Brooks was destitute of art one other important fact must be considered. The basis of all real and genuine art is love of the truth one preaches and of the people to whom he preaches. If a preacher loves truth for its own sake he will constantly cultivate the best form of presenting it, and so grow in art as the ideal form of truth. If he loves the people he will surely find access to their hearts. So a preacher or reformer who seldom thinks of the graces of rhetoric or the arts of oratory will, through his love for others, cause his truth to have all the weight, and perhaps even more weight, than it inherently deserves. In this respect Dr. Brooks displayed the highest art. His life was remarkable for its unselfishness and its love for others. When he was preaching at Trinity Church, Boston, on a salary of ten thousand dollars, he was offered twenty thousand dollars to serve another church. He declined the call because he could not seem to preach for money, and because he felt that his labor in Boston was not done. Later Trinity Church raised his salary to fifteen thousand dollars a year. We may know that he was a generous helper of all good causes because, despite his large income as a preacher, at his death he was found to be worth little aside from his house and his library. But one may be unselfish and still

lack influence, because his unselfishness springs out of his indifference to life, his lack of interest in himself or in others. But Brooks's unselfishness sprang from no such weak and unworthy motive. Surely he never could have developed so Christlike a character had he not recognized himself as a child of God, a prince in the King's household. His appreciation of his own spiritual worth was swallowed up in his love for others. His secretary says that he never talked about himself, and apparently never thought of himself. Dr. Brooks speaks in one of his sermons of Jesus's "discovering an interest in people whom the world would have found dull. And this same habit, passing over to his disciples, made the wide and democratic character of the new faith."

Phillips Brooks's freedom from fastidiousness, his breadth and sympathy and hope, gave a largeness to the life of the great preacher which everyone who knew him recognized. He showed all the warmth and directness of personal affection without its distortions and partialities. The wideness of his friendships redeemed his mind from narrowness, while they kept it eager and intense. Who will forget the picture of this giant, weighing nearly three hundred pounds, bounding up four flights of stairs and slipping a twenty-dollar bill into the hands of the foreman of a printing office as his contribution toward sending a consumptive printer to a health resort? Who will forget this popular idol walking with two fashionable young ladies of his congregation across the Boston Public Garden until he meets two servant girls who also belong to his church, and then excusing himself from his delightful companions and turning back to speak a few words of encouragement to those faithful toilers? Who will forget the picture of the poor woman grasping the hand of her boy, pressing in with the great crowd to catch a last glimpse of the face of the dead man, and telling the policeman as he thrusts her back, "My boy must see him; he paid for the operation which gave my son his sight?"

But aside from his unselfishness and his interest in other people this man carried about with him a strange sense of the presence of God. This was the chief source of his influence over others. What wonder that such qualities made a success out of even the dull administrative office of a bishop! His brief episcopate is the most brilliant in the history of the diocese

over which he presided. If God intended him, as he doubtless intended Chrysostom, for the pulpit rather than the episcopate, there was yet so much manhood in him that he could not fail even in an uncongenial office. Indeed, we incline to think that there was so much humanity at its best wrapped up in Phillips Brooks that he would have made a great statesman or a great business man had occasion demanded it. We believe, therefore, that his love for others, trained by his practical experience in the bishopric, would have made his administration the most brilliant and helpful which his Church in America has thus far known had his life been spared a quarter of a century longer. His large unselfishness and love for others, combined with the presence of God in his soul, enabled him to adapt his truth to the people to whom he ministered and to the age in which he lived.

3. But, whatever our views of the truth which Phillips Brooks taught or of the art with which he influenced his generation, all unite in bearing witness to the majestic personality of this princely man. His conception of man's sonship to God was not simply a theory; it became the controlling thought of his life, a fact of consciousness ever present with him. The power of Emerson consisted in his intellectual apprehension of man's divinity. Accordingly he sings:

> So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
> So near is God to man,
> When duty whispers low, "Thou must,"
> The youth replies, "I can."

But Brooks applied Emerson's philosophy far more personally than did the sage of Concord. He loved communion with God. When Horace Bushnell was an old man he was asked one morning how he had rested through the night. He replied that he had not slept much, but had enjoyed a delightful visit with God. So we imagine Brooks enjoyed many a delightful visit with the heavenly Father. In speaking of the night which Jesus spent with God before calling his disciples Dr. Brooks insists that Jesus did not spend the time in begging the Father to furnish him the best twelve candidates for the apostleship. He thinks the night was spent chiefly in communion, and the decisions upon the persons for the apostolate occupied a comparatively short time near the dawn. The speculation throws light upon Dr. Brooks's habits. He probably did not spend

many nights wrestling with God for external blessings, like Jacob and Elijah. His praying was rather such a communion with Christ as St. John must have enjoyed after the ascension of the Master. Dr. Brooks fully believed that he was a son of God, and his life was as fully controlled by his consciousness of such a relation to God as a prince's life is controlled by the consciousness of his relation to the royal family. It was this which made the life of Phillips Brooks so dignified and yet so attractive. He was certainly one of the most lovable men on the globe. At the center of his being he was not primarily an ecclesiastic or even a preacher. The core of all was manliness. But manliness with him was not simply earthly. At the center he was consciously the child of God. Better still, he claimed the same privilege of divine fellowship for every other human being, and was himself, therefore, simply the representative of our humanity at its best. So we love to call him Phillips Brooks, just as we love to call our great martyr President Abraham Lincoln, because each represented manhood in its grandeur and its simplicity.

It was this blending of truth and of love for others, with his noble personality, which made Dr. Brooks one of the greatest preachers of his age. Surely his cultivation of spiritual vision by obedience to the light, his humility in not even asking to know everything and in not aiming to frame a philosophy of the universe, and the harmonious blending of his intellectual and emotional and moral life produced a great preacher and remarkable sermons. The sermons were written almost spontaneously. His thought in them flows with the swift rush of Niagara between Lake Erie and the falls. What largeness and breadth and sympathy and insight, what discernment of the principles of spiritual life and growth, and what vital truth he preached his sermons reveal in part, but only those who heard him can fully know. His consciousness of God, his insight into spiritual truth, and the atmosphere of the other world which he carried with him made him essentially the prophet of his age. It has been the writer's privilege to hear, aside from the leading preachers of his own Church, Beecher and Talmage and Moody and Storrs in America, and Spurgeon, Farrar, George MacDonald, Père Hyacinthe, and Canon Liddon in Europe. Liddon was a greater logician than Dr. Brooks, although he did not see such

great spiritual truths as Brooks beheld. Beecher was a greater master of the art of oratory, but was not so inspiring a preacher as Brooks. Spurgeon was a man of greater practical knowledge, but did not impress one so fully as did Brooks as a man sent from God to bear witness to the truth. In this respect Bishop Simpson most nearly resembled him. Both were prophets, seeing visions and revealing the mind of Christ. Simpson sometimes caught visions of the third heaven, which transcended the experiences of Brooks. But Brooks dwelt far more constantly in the atmosphere of the first heaven than did his great compeer. As a preacher he will probably exercise a wider influence upon thoughtful ministers in the twentieth century than Beecher or Simpson or Spurgeon or Liddon, or perhaps than all of them combined. But posterity will never see his princely form, towering six feet and a half in height, and his majestic face, combining the thoughtfulness and fire of Webster with the sweetness of Fénelon or Fletcher, and his massive frame, impressing one at first as a giant, yet so filled with light and life that he seemed as radiant as an angel.

We are all disappointed that just as his long years of communion with God were blossoming into fruitfulness, just as all America was learning to love him and Europe was beginning to recognize him, just as the material philosophy of our nineteenth century was becoming leavened by his spiritual thought, projected through his consecrated life, while the problem of his success as an ecclesiastical statesman was unsettled, and when his own Church so greatly needed him, this great, good man, without a family and without a sympathizing word from friends who did not dream of his danger, and with his great tasks apparently unfinished, was suddenly called away. But perhaps it is well. Every life has its Gethsemane and its Golgotha. His great work and his sudden death will hallow his life and place an aureole around his brow. Like Enoch "he was not; for God took him." So passed the Chrysostom of America, the St. John of the twentieth century. "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?"

J. W. Bashford

Art. IV.—THE ORIGIN OF EGYPTIAN CULTURE.*

There is an ever-growing interest in Egypt. The land itself becomes yearly more accessible to tourists from Europe and America, whose interest in its history is stimulated and satisfied, not only by a sight of its monuments, but also by the books of modern scholars. Every year the number increases of those who go to the Nile, not for one visit only, but to spend successive winters amid "such weather as cannot be found anywhere else in the world."† Those who go annually—happy opportunity—become, perforce, scholars in greater or less degree, and by letters or addresses, or even by papers of scientific importance, awake new interest in the old cultureland of antiquity. Scholars (in the strictest sense of that word) multiply whose lives are given to the study of Egyptian texts and to all that history, religion, and art which are found in those texts or buried with them. Other scholars also, whose days and nights are devoted to the Greeks, to the Hebrews, to the Phœnicians, and to yet other peoples of antiquity, find necessary for their special work more or less knowledge of Egyptian language or literature or history or art. All these classes have been contributors to a knowledge of Egypt, either by their own work or by the work of those whose interest they excited. Egyptian studies have also been fortunate in the aid received from successful fiction; and Ebers and his imitators and successors have given many their first impressions concerning the "black" land. From travelers and scholars and novelists the presses are ever teeming with new books concerning Egypt.

This widespread interest has had great influence for good, not only in the culture disseminated, but also in that it has induced gifts of money for archæological research and for the establishment of museums. It has at times perhaps worked ill; for untrained men have been led by it into the production of books and papers written to satisfy the popular demand, but

* *Der babylonische Ursprung der ägyptischen Kultur nachgewiesen;* von Dr. Fritz Hommel. München, 1892. Price, 5 marks (circ. $1.25).

Das Verhältniss des ägyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen, von Adolph Erman. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, xlvi, pp. 93, *ff.*, 1892.

Ueber den Grad der Verwandtschaft des Altägyptischen mit dem Semitischen, von F. Hommel. Beiträge zur Assyriologie, ii, p. 342, *ff.*, 1892.

† Professor Sayce, in personal letter to the author.

serving only to perpetuate errors or to popularize impossible theories. To day the curiosity awakened and maintained by these various means is in every land where books are read and lectures heard. There is, indeed, in some quarters a feeling so strong and an interest so deep that other races of the ancient world are counted of little moment. These students find in Egypt the home of every great discovery and of every great idea of antiquity. The alphabet was there invented; God was there cognized as one; sculpture had there its birth; writing was there first practiced; and so on through an imposing, though for the most part erroneous, list.

Within the last few years there has been growing a new department of archæological study—Assyriology. Its progress has been rapid beyond precedent. It numbers to-day more active scholars in the great universities of the world than does Egyptology. It has devoted its energy to the study of the monuments found in the great Mesopotamian valley—monuments left by the Assyro-Babylonian people and containing their vast and important literature. The new science has fought its way to recognition with many difficulties and with but little assistance; were it not for the fact that Assyrian scholars have produced from the newly found treasures some valuable illustrations of the Old Testament their department would have received less public favor. Assyriology can to-day report that it has successfully deciphered the Assyrian and Babylonian languages; that it has constructed a grammar more accurate and detailed than is possible to-day for Egyptian; that it has made a number of special vocabularies to portions of the literature, and has well advanced larger lexicons to the entire published body of inscriptions; and, finally, that it has contributed part of the material for, and much of the inspiration toward, the construction of a comparative grammar of the Semitic languages.*

For some time there have been indications that Assyriologists would soon claim more for their science and for the fields to which it is devoted. The claim is now definitely made, and if granted it will revolutionize the study of comparative language,

* By this latter statement the writer does not intend to imply that Assyrian holds the place among the Semitic languages that is rightly held by Sanskrit among the Indo-European. He does not consider that analogy a true one, for the reason that Assyrian does not hold the same relative position of age to the sister tongues that Sanskrit does in the other family.

literature, art, and religion in the ancient world. It is briefly this: that the culture of Egypt was not a native product—that it was, indeed, derived from Babylonia. It would be difficult to imagine a more revolutionary hypothesis than this. The popular writer has long pointed to the high antiquity of Egyptian civilization and the fact that a noble culture there held sway when all Europe was in barbarism. The statement now made is that the hoary dates in Egyptian history are much later than the early dates in the history of Babylonia, and that all the glory of Egypt's superb civilization finds its roots in the land between the rivers.

This claim has had precursors in various attempts to find some connection between the Egyptian language and the Semitic family of human speech. One of the earliest advocates of this relationship was Benfey,* who endeavored by arguments chiefly philological and lexicographical to show that the Semites are but one branch of a greater family which includes Egyptian and all the other languages of northern Africa. Benfey went much too far in this theory, the logical outcome of which would be to deprive us of the classification of the Semitic group altogether and leave us with a group as absurd as the Turanian.† Benfey's theories were adopted by Bunsen, who made them thoroughly absurd by adding a new hypothesis, that Egyptian was the link which connected the Indo-European with the Semitic family, forming a transition between them.‡ Ernst Meier§ and Paul Böttticher‖ also attached themselves to the original theory, and partly also De Rougé.¶ But though these were great names in support of Benfey, yet greater names were arrayed wholly or partly in opposition, especially Pott,** Ewald,†† and Renan.‡‡ These men made short work of

* *Ueber das Verhältniss der ägyptischen Sprache zum semitischen Sprachstamm.* Leipzig, 1844.

† Comp. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 33. Cambridge, 1890.

‡ *Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, i, pp. xi, xlii, 338, *ff.* (Hamburg, 1845), and v, second part, p. 69, *ff.* (Gotha, 1856).

§ *Hebraisches Wurzelwörterbuch. Anhang über das Verhältniss des ägyptischen Sprachstammes zum Semitischen.* Mannheim, 1845.

‖ *Wurzelforschungen.* Halle, 1852.

¶ *Memoire sur l'Inscription du Tombeau d'Ahmès*, p. 195. Paris, 1851. On De Rougé's attachment to this theory comp. Renan, *Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques*, p. 82 (Paris, 1878), with W. Wright, *Lectures*, etc., p. 33.

** *Hallische Jahrbücher*, 1838, p. 461.

†† *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1845, p. 1964. So Renan.

‡‡ *Ibid.*, p. 85, *ff.*

Benfey's extravagant theory; but the really central truth was still a truth, and that would not down.

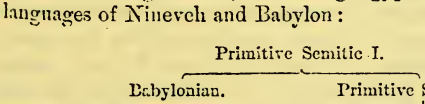
There was a close relation of some sort between the Egyptian and the Semitic languages, and that fact found increasing recognition among scholars in both departments. Plain evidence of this relation is, for example, seen in a comparison of the personal pronouns in Coptic and in Hebrew, Arabic, and Assyrian, a comparison whose effectiveness is somewhat lessened by the proof that the Coptic use of those forms as real pronouns is of relatively recent date.* But this proof is supplanted by a better one. The pronominal suffix in the pyramid texts, used to indicate the possessive relation in the noun and the subject (not the object) in the verb, is exactly the same as in the Semitic languages, save only in the third masculine singular. Here is proof enough of some relation. It is better proof than a list of words, the same in both Egyptian and Semitic, would be, for the simple reason that words may often be borrowed by one language from another; but the borrowing of a set of forms is highly improbable. Such a list requires careful sifting to eliminate the words which are surely or even probably loan words.

Here now is some relation made out between the language of the Nile valley and its northern neighbors. Whether that relation is close enough to warrant our placing Egyptian among the Semitic languages is quite another and much larger question. But even if answered in the affirmative we have not made a very important assertion to any but the philologist. The ethnologist is not greatly moved by it; for it is now admitted on all sides that language is no proof of race. When the barbarous Teutons from the depths of primeval forests in northern Europe poured into Italy and overturned the Roman empire they soon abandoned their Teutonic language and adopted Latin, from which, in their speaking of it, Italian was ultimately developed. In their case surely the use of a Romance language was no proof of Romance race. In like manner the Goths in the Iberian peninsula adopted a Romance tongue; while the Kelts in Cornwall abandoned their own speech for English. The religion of Mohammed has driven out the ancient Coptic speech of Egypt and supplanted it with Arabic.

* So Sethe, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, xxix, 121. Comp. Erman, Z. D. M. G., xlvi, p. 96.

And everywhere in the world the Jew has abandoned his own language for the language of the nation or people with whom he lives. Speech proves nothing concerning origin, but gives proof only of social contact. In every instance above cited social contact explains the change in language, and the same explanation will suffice for many other instances not here cited.*

Now, there can be no doubt that there is a strongly marked resemblance between ancient Egyptian, on the one hand, and the Semitic languages, on the other. This resemblance is found to be marked in the lexica of these two groups, and long lists of words have been collected which are identical in Egyptian and in the Semitic languages. If these words were few in number or confined to one class of ideas they might be called loan words, and it might be said that the Egyptians had borrowed them from some Semitic people with whom they had been in contact. But they are so numerous and so varied that this explanation is impossible, and it must be admitted that there is a closer relation to be found than this of mere borrowers and lenders. When to these lists of words there is added the great resemblance in pronouns and the marked resemblance in some of the verb forms we see at once why Hommel regards it as certain that Egyptian is to be placed in the circle of the Semitic languages. He notices that the resemblances between Egyptian and Semitic are found most clearly when Egyptian is compared with Assyro-Babylonian, and not quite so markedly when the comparison is made with Syriac, Arabic, or Hebrew. He therefore makes the genealogical tree in the following manner, connecting Egyptian closely with the languages of Nineveh and Babylon:



We have, therefore, swung round the entire circuit of views concerning the relation of Egyptian speech to the Semitic languages. We have seen how Benfey put not only Egyptian but

* For a thoroughly admirable statement of this truth, see Professor A. H. Sayce's valuable little book, *The Races of the Old Testament*, chap. II (London, 1891), and the same author's *Principles of Comparative Philology*, pp. 175, *f.* London and New York, 1893.

also the dialects of northern Africa into the Semitic group. We have followed the various denials and disproofs of his theory, some of which went so far as to deny that there was any connection between Egyptian and Semitic. We have now reached the state of investigation where the connection may be said to be proved, and where Hommel claims that it is sufficiently close to prove that the Egyptian language is a sister to the Assyro-Babylonian. Hommel may have gone too far and too fast in this conclusion. It is, perhaps, not yet demonstrated that Egyptian is Semitic. It may yet be demonstrated, but we must go slowly in such investigation.

For our present purpose it makes no difference whether Egyptian is a Semitic language or not. We have already secured all the proof that is needed for our argument. We have shown that the entire body of Egyptian and Assyrian scholars are agreed that Egyptian is closely related in some way to the Assyro-Babylonian language. Now, *language is proof of social contact.* If, therefore, Egyptian is closely related to the Semitic languages that is proof positive that at some period in their history the Egyptian people must have been in close social contact with some Semitic people. But it has also been shown that the forms and words in Egyptian which are most like the Semitic are to be found in early Egyptian, and especially in the pyramid texts, and that the Semitic forms and words which they most closely resemble are to be found in Assyro-Babylonian. It follows, therefore, that the Egyptians were in contact with the Assyro-Babylonian people, and that the period of contact was prior to the pyramid period, that is, before 2700 B. C.,* and the contact sufficiently close to have a deep and abiding influence upon the Egyptian tongue. A further proof of this fact is found in a comparison of the ancient hieroglyphic signs of Egyptian with the most ancient forms of the Babylonian characters. It is impossible to expound satisfactorily here this relationship, for that would necessitate the use of Egyptian and old Babylonian founts of type. It must suffice to say that the Egyptian ideograms for many of the most common words are the same as the ideograms in old Babylonian, such, for example, as the signs for land, city, night,

* The date is almost certain to be earlier than this. This is the latest possible date for the end of Dynasty V, according to Eduard Meyer and Adolph Erman. Wiedemann would say that it was about 4000 B. C.

woman, house, day, fish, etc.* These resemblances are so great that they can only be explained as having been taken outright from the Babylonian syllabary by the Egyptians. But if the Egyptian language and writing were either identical with those of Babylonia or were borrowed from them or influenced by them it is *a priori* probable that the Egyptians borrowed something else from the Babylonians. That they borrowed also the fundamental elements of their culture we shall now attempt to prove.†

One of the most ancient cities of Babylonia was Eridu. The name *Eridu* in Babylonian was originally composed of two words, *Urru-Dugga*, which are found in a still older form as *Gurru-Dugga*, which means "city of the good (god)." In very earliest times the name was *Nun-ki*. This city of Nun-ki or Eridu was the center of the worship of the god Ea. The early literature of Babylonia is full of allusions to this city and to the worship of Ea which it represented. Ea was the "good god," who drove away from his people the demons of darkness and death and disease. The old incantations address him, and the very oldest of them mention Eridu as the place of his worship and, indeed, as his home. These indications point to a great antiquity for the city. It becomes plain, indeed, that it was the oldest religious center of Babylonia; for, no matter how far back we go in the tracing of religious ceremonies in Babylonia, we shall always find that behind the usage in Ur and in Babylon and in Larsa there lurks always in the little clay book a reference to Eridu. But there is still further proof of the antiquity of this city. Before there was any kingdom in southern Babylonia there were little confederacies clustering about Ur, Larsa, and other places. The earliest of these little political centers was Shirpurla.‡ The first ruler of Shirpurla known to us was Nina-ur. Several inscriptions of his were found by M. de Sarzec at Telloh, and have since been published in Paris.§ After this king there is a line of kings and rulers of considerable length before the well-known name of Gudea is reached.

* For long list see Hommel, *ibid.*, pp. 61, *ff.*

† The main lines of this proof are Hommel's. The exposition of them, as well as their supplementing and sundry translations, are the present writer's.

‡ The reading of this name, on the tablets, is very uncertain. I follow Amiaud (R. P., new series, i, p. 49, *ff.*). Jensen reads Shir-bur-la, but thinks that this is only an ideographic writing for Lagash (K. B., iii, p. 2).

§ *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Paris, 1884–1887.

Now Gudea ruled about 3000 B. C. The origin of his city goes back far beyond that day, for he is one of the later rulers in the dynasty whose earliest representative was Nina-ur. That gives to Shirpurla great antiquity. But Eridu is older than Shirpurla, for on these very inscriptions it is referred to as a religious center of great importance which must be older than Shirpurla itself. The city of Nun-ki, Urru-dugga, or Eridu, the "city of the good (god)," is therefore the oldest Babylonian city known to us.

One of the very oldest cities in Egypt is Memphis. Memphis is celebrated not only in history but in fable, and these two unite in representing it as of great antiquity. Herodotus says that Memphis was founded by Menes, the first historical king of Egypt, who had himself come from Thine, near Abydos. We are not able to trace the city back to Menes by any Egyptian documents, and we must leave that to stand with Herodotus as sponsor for it. But we have clear Egyptian testimony concerning it at an early date. Pepi I, a pharaoh of Dynasty VI, made Memphis his residence and built there his pyramid, with the name *Mn-nfr*, that is, *Men-nofer*, or Memphis; and the date of that building was about 2500 B. C., or perhaps somewhat earlier. We cannot establish any historic foundation for Menes, but we can trace Memphis back to Pepi I; and it probably goes back somewhat earlier than that. There is, however, nothing to make us believe that it is as old as the Babylonian Eridu, "the city of the good (god)." It is now a noteworthy thing that Memphis also means "city of the good (god)," or in other words that *Mn-nfr* is an Egyptian translation of the Babylonian *Urru-dugga*. As Eridu is older than Memphis we are at once inclined to say that the people who built Memphis named it after Eridu, especially as we have already seen that these same Egyptians had been in social contact with the Babylonians. But it might be objected that this name, "city of the good (god)," is just the kind of appellation that might have originated in two places without either being copied from the other. Let us then see if there is any other connection between these two cities than their names.

We turn back again to Eridu and the Babylonians. The Babylonian creation stories represent a great chaos of waters as existing before the creation of the earth. When the earth was

created there was stretched above it a great firmament studded with stars. Between this firmament and the earth was the air, the home of the god In-lilla or Bel. Above the firmament were the waters, the "ocean of heaven," and beneath the earth were also waters, called by the Babylonians *apsu;* hence ἄβυσσος, and the English word *abyss.* But the waters above the firmament were in connection with the waters beneath the earth, the whole forming a great ocean somewhat similar to Homer's ὠκεανός. The Babylonian name for this ocean was *anum* or *anun,* and in a still shorter form *nun.** But we have said above that Eridu was also called Nun-ki. In Babylonian *ki* means place; hence this old name of Eridu means simply *ocean-place,* a place so called, we might say, because it was the place of worship of Ea, the god of the earth and of the waters under the earth. But there are other connections between Nun-ki and Ea. The three great gods of Babylonia were Anu, the god of heaven, Bel, the god of the air, and Ea, god of the earth. There were other gods, as we shall see, but in the earliest times they were held to be subordinate to these three gods. Anu—exactly the same word as *anum, anun,* or *nun*—is the god of the heavens and of the great heaven ocean beyond the firmament. Bel, or In-lilla, is the god of the air or of the space between the heavens and the earth; while Ea, or In-ki, is the god of the earth and the waters under the earth. These are the fundamental relationships of the gods of the earliest Babylonian mythology.

If now we turn back again to Egypt we shall find that in the early pyramid texts there were three chief gods venerated: Nun, heaven's ocean; Shu, god of the air; and Qeb (written *Sb* by some), the god of the earth. In other words, we find the same order of deities in Memphis as in Eridu, and one of them has the same name in both places. That can hardly be accidental. But the parallel goes still further. By the side of Nun the Egyptians placed a feminine personification called Nut (probably pronounced originally *nunit*), while the Babylonians did exactly the same, calling her Anunit. Now, in Egyptian this goddess Nut becomes the wife of Qeb, the earth

* Practically the whole of this view of the Babylonian ideas concerning the waters of heaven's ocean was made out by Lenormant from Diodorus. But he failed to see its great applications to Assyrian and Egyptian mythology. Comp. Lenormant, *Magie der Chaldäer,* Jena, 1878.

god, and in Babylonian Anunit becomes the wife of Ea, the earth god. There are still other relations. In Babylonia Bel is the son of Nun or Anum, while in Egypt Shu, who corresponds to Bel, is the son of Nun. In Babylonia Ea is the son of Bel, and in Egypt Qeb is the son of Shu, the god of the air.

This is certainly sufficient to show that the genealogical tree of the gods of Memphis is the same as the genealogical tree of the gods of Eridu. But we can go still further in our comparison of these two mythologies. In Babylonia Ea had a son, Marduk (the biblical Merodach), and in Egypt Qeb had a son, Osiris. The names Marduk and Osiris certainly do not sound alike, but in the two languages the ideograms for these two gods are exactly alike. In Babylonian the sign for Marduk is composed of two elements, one meaning dwelling, the other meaning eye; and in Egyptian Osiris is represented by the same ideographic values. Further than this, these two gods have closely corresponding qualities and powers. Marduk is the creator of the world; so also is Osiris. Marduk is the friend of men and Ea's interpreter to them; Osiris is a god friendly to mankind. Marduk has as his sister and wife the goddess Istar, Osiris has as his wife Isis; but Isis is written also Ist, or Wst, and that is apparently the same word as Istar. Marduk slays the great dragon Tiamat, Osiris slays the great dragon Apep; but Apep is the Greek Apophis, with which we may compare the Babylonian *abubu*. In one word, these two gods of Babylonia and of Egypt correspond in every essential particular. In order to see at a glance their correspondence let us set down side by side the genealogies of the great gods of Babylonia and of Egypt:

BABYLONIA.	EGYPT.
Nun	Nun
Bel—In-lilla	Shu—Tef-nut
Ea—Anunit	Qeb—Nut
Marduk	Osiris.

These correspondences are so close, so definite, that they must remove all doubt of accidental correspondence. Memphis spoke a language which had been influenced deeply by the language of Babylonia; Memphis was named after the oldest city of

Babylonia; Memphis borrowed from Babylonia its greatest genealogy of gods, and adopted for its reverence these Babylonian gods with their characters and works. This is certainly a long step forward in our attempt to find the source of Egyptian religion in Babylonia. But we can go still further.

In very early times there was in Egypt a city which is known to us by the name of On, or by its Greek name of Heliopolis. Now, On is called in the pyramid texts 'Innu, which is only another writing of Nun, just as 'Itum is another form for Tum. We have, therefore, presumptive evidence that the earliest settlers of On named their city after the Babylonian Nun, or Nun-ki. This presumption is greatly strengthened by an examination of the gods who were worshiped in On. They were Tum, Shu, Tef-nut, Qeb, Nut, etc.; that is, the very same gods which the people of Memphis borrowed from Eridu, with this exception, that Tum takes the place of Nun. This is easily explained. It was customary in Egypt for cities to place first in the list of gods that particular divinity who was the special protector of their city. Tum was the patron god of On, hence his position here. To our collection of material we may, therefore, add On as an evidence of the borrowing of the Egyptians from the Babylonians. We have, therefore, shown that in two of the oldest cities of Egypt the deities of highest rank came from Babylonia.

Let us turn for still further evidence to some of the minor deities. The moon god appears in Egypt in two forms, named Dehuti and Chonsu. The Babylonian moon god bears the names of Sin and Enzu, or in its older form, Gunzu. Gunzu is evidently the same word as Chonsu. Further than this, Gunzu means lord of knowledge; but the Egyptian Dehuti (Thoth) is the lord of knowledge. In name and in character the moon deities of Babylonia and of Egypt correspond. Among the Babylonians Istar is the goddess of that great star which we call Sirius; and in Egypt the corresponding goddess, Isis, mentioned above, is also the goddess of the same star. We saw above that in On the god Tum took the place of Nun. In Babylonia this very name Tum appears in the form of *Dun*, and one of the Babylonian syllabaries shows that Dun was another name for Anu, or Anum. And so we might go on to identify one god after another, in name, in character, or in

ideogram, or even in all three of these particulars. But we rest this portion of the case with only one little added touch of tone-color.

In early days, in the far-off Mesopotamian valley, when the people sang praises to Ea and Marduk they used certain words in the psalms in their liturgy which were maintained centuries later in the worship of the Semitic Babylonians. In Egypt, in those splendid and stately temples, down through the ages a few of those same old pre-Semitic liturgical words were still in use. We have shown that in two great branches of their culture the Egyptians owed much to the Babylonians. Their language, in its form and content, was either borrowed outright from Babylonia or was deeply and forever influenced by the Babylonian language. And we have shown that the religion of Egypt, in its fundamentals and in its externals of worship, was borrowed from Babylonia.

In still another branch of their culture, neither linguistic nor religious, we find a little hint of Babylonian influence. We have recently grown somewhat accustomed to academic and ecclesiastical jubilees. The jubilee among us means commonly the celebration of a period of fifty years. The pope celebrates the jubilee of his ordination to the priesthood, and Professor Max Müller celebrates the jubilee of his doctorate received from the University of Leipsic. In Assyria and Babylonia the period celebrated was not fifty, but thirty, years. But this same period exactly is found to be celebrated in early times among the Egyptians. As Tiele has noted, Usertesen celebrated a thirty-year jubilee of his coronation as King of Egypt. This fact by itself would have little weight; but as one feature of a long series of cumulative evidence it adds considerably to the proof of Egypt's dependence upon Babylonia.

Finally, the most thoroughly characteristic form of Egyptian architecture is borrowed from Babylonia. The pyramid looms up before every visitor to Cairo as the most genuine product of the soil. There are about seventy-five pyramids in Egypt, and besides that the pyramid form appears constantly as the top of tombs and of obelisks. But before Chufu (or Cheops, as he is called by Herodotus) built his pyramid in Egypt the pyramid was represented in numerous enormous temples and

other buildings in Babylonia. So that even the pyramid, which seems at first blush to be so thoroughly a product of the Nile valley, is rather to be ascribed to the land of the great river, the River Euphrates.

As in language, in religion, in customs, and in architecture the Egyptians have been shown to be borrowers rather than originators, so could we also show that they borrowed from the same source the fundamentals of their plastic art. But we forbear, with this word of warning. We believe it has been shown that in all these things Egypt borrowed from Babylonia; we believe that the culture of Egypt had its origin in Babylonia; but we do not deny or even imply in any sense that the Egyptians were not a great culture people. They did borrow the foundations of their culture, but they built on those foundations a splendid superstructure. We have still much to learn from them and about them. Our investigations, and especially that part of them in which we have been following the learned and brilliant Hommel, have served chiefly to push still further back the origins of the culture of Egypt, and to remove them from the valley of the Nile to the valley of the Euphrates.

Robert W. Rogers.

Art. V.—THE ALLEGED ESTRANGEMENT OF THE MASSES.

It has come to be understood or, at least, currently reported in some quarters that "the masses" are estranged from the Church, if not also from the Gospel of Jesus Christ. That this witness is true in so far as it is therein implied that the masses are not in love with the Church, are neither members of it nor regular attendants upon its services, common observation must affirm; and it is allowed on all hands that this regrettable fact constitutes one of the gravest problems of our times.

If writers upon this subject were content in general with this putting of the matter, or were in the least enthusiastic over the ever-multiplying efforts of the modern Church to reach and save the masses, this article would have remained unwritten. It is undeniable, however, that a majority of current complaints concerning the estrangement of the masses are pervaded with the idea that the problem is new; that in some strange way it has been generated in the alembic of our modern life—an uncanny sprite never seen by our fathers, and begotten only in the decay and feebleness of the Church and as the progeny of its marriage with the spirit of this lower world. We are asked to believe that the masses are now estranged in a sense and to a degree unknown a generation, a century, or a millennium gone by.

It is in no captious spirit that we venture to raise the question whether this indictment of the modern Church is sustained by the facts. He must be strangely unmindful of the past who suffers himself to imbibe the notion that opposition from without or sharp, biting criticism from within are new facts in the history of the Church. Yet because of certain manifestations of opposition and estrangement on the part of "men of corrupt minds," and also of sincere though misguided people, it is latterly assumed that the Church has, in some sinister way, trespassed against the common people, and that it should forthwith apologize and proceed to amend both its doctrines and its methods, so as to render itself more acceptable to men "who mind earthly things." Adverse criticism of the Church on this particular line is just now a favorite pastime with the

many. No modern "fad" is more prevalent. Many who yesterday were busy with evolution, the mistakes of Moses, and the intricate questions involving the authorship of various books of the Old and New Testament Scriptures are finding it possible to make rather more noise, and with less expenditure of the gray matter of the brain, by joining in the hue and cry against the Church for its alleged neglect of social problems in general and of the common people in particular. This popular vein is, however, already well-nigh worked out, and will probably ere long be abandoned for another. But these questions, or rather the unwarranted handling of them, "overthrow the faith of some," and others, devout souls, are to-day in perplexity and trouble on this account. It may be serviceable, therefore, to keep certain facts steadily in mind:

1. The Church is not a machine ordained and warranted to operate unfailingly upon mankind, everywhere converting sinners into saints with or without their consent. The Church itself is made up of those who have yielded themselves to God. The masses, in these Christian lands at least, have had in general the same opportunities as those who are now in the Church. Some writers seem to have forgotten that the crime which Stephen charged upon his murderers, "Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost," is still possible in the nineteenth century, and that the same class whom Jesus charged with loving darkness rather than light are with us still. Of all the vagaries put forth in recent years the notion that the opposition or indifference of ungodly men amounts to final proof of the Church's culpability is one of the most transparently unsound, and particularly in a period when the opposition is tempered from the ferocious and blood hostility of earlier times to mere estrangement. Yet here and there a really able man tumbles into this pit with all the awkwardness of an unwary bear.

Those who heard Dr. Rainsford's address on "City Evangelization" at Chautauqua, last summer, will recall the incident which he narrated of his walking one evening close behind two men on their way home from work. Passing by a church edifice, one of the men looked up and uttered a common and vulgar oath against the Church. "Why should a workingman damn the Church?" asked the doctor; and his treatment of the inci-

dent was to the point that if the Church were what it ought to be the workingman would be in love with it and would extol rather than anathematize it. Here, then, you have a principle, announced by a school of modern apostles of reform, as follows: Whatever a profane man sees fit to damn is thereby proven to be wrong, and must be reconstructed to suit the profane swearer's notions of things. Dr. Rainsford then proceeded to recommend the reconstruction of the Church so as to include the dramshop (admitting that he did not expect to carry his audience with him), as well as the reading room and gymnasium. His picture of the working-girl, coming out of the factory in the evening weary with her day's work and needing the dance hall rather than the church prayer meeting, is suggestive of much that is now challenging the Church in the name of "reform."

Another bright and piquant writer of national reputation, a woman, proposes that the Church shall win the public by devoting itself to the servant-girl question. She wants the preachers to stop preaching about the life to come and turn the churches into training schools for hired help, and the "sessions" and "official boards" into agencies to secure the needed relief for overburdened and well-nigh distracted housekeepers. Others are equally confident that the Church will neither conciliate nor win the masses until, by some magic influence, it brings about an equality of social condition between rich and poor, vicious and virtuous, industrious and idle. In short, their name is legion who kindly offer to point out the mistakes of the Church and to give inerrant advice as to its proper reconstruction.

It might be a sufficient answer to many complaints to say that the world is wide, and if the case of the Church is as bad as is sometimes reported it is the solemn duty of these clear-eyed censors to unite, go among the masses, and form a Church which shall more fully represent modern ideas and keep abreast of modern progress. This should be a matter of easy accomplishment, since only a small proportion of the population are now members of the Church, and of these an overwhelming majority are women and children. Upon the authority of the complainants themselves there must be a vast preponderance of the world's intellectual and moral force

unable to cooperate with the Church as now conducted, but anxious to fall in with a live, progressive Church in which "the religion of humanity" is taught and practiced.

It is worth while for those who make so much of the matter of estrangement to inquire whether the indorsement of the unregenerate masses can ever be given to the true Church of Jesus Christ in the sense which is deemed so desirable. "The disciple is not above his master. . . . If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?" We almost feel like apologizing to the modern critics for quoting another text which they do not like to mention, because it seems to leave an unpleasant taste in some mouths: "The carnal mind is enmity against God." Many are willing to admit that the carnal mind now and then behaves badly—for the want of proper education; but what a shock it gives their sensibilities to be told, and by divine authority, that the carnal mind is enmity against God. Every movement that has aimed at bringing the apostate race back to God has encountered, in some of its myriad forms, the clash and collision of this enmity—none the less enmity because, owing to its insidious nature, unperceived and, therefore, in general denied by fallen man himself. It was this enmity which led the masses in olden time to kill God's prophets and stone the holiest men sent as messengers of mercy among mankind. It was this enmity which led the masses to give only a doubtful hearing to the Son of God himself, and eventually to reject and put him to death.

But "the common people heard him gladly." Yes, for a short time; but they soon wearied of him, and their merely curious interest turned to indifference, so that the chief priests and rulers no longer had occasion to fear the people and encountered no opposition in putting him to death. It is an amazing perversion of the gospel narrative to represent the common people as uniformly in accord with Jesus of Nazareth in the days of his flesh, and only alienated from the modern Church because of its unlikeness to its Lord. The estrangement of the multitude from Jesus—if there can be estrangement where there has never been loyalty and love—began during his own personal ministry. Witness his treatment on the occasion of his visit to Nazareth, the home of his boyhood.

Here, if anywhere, he might have looked at least for toleration; but even this was denied him. He was not allowed to finish even a single discourse. For a while "they wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth;" but presently as the preacher reaches the heart of his sermon the scene changes, "and all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong." Granted that this was done at the instigation of the leaders, yet "all they in the synagogue" rose up against him. Another sad instance of estrangement is furnished in the narrative of the erring woman brought to Jesus for judgment. It was not the length or tediousness of the sermon nor any unwisdom of method on the part of the preacher that presently left him no audience but the woman to preach to. The common people and the rulers were alike in this, that neither class heard him gladly when he rebuked their sins and demanded repentance and amendment of life. There were very few, indeed, of any class who consented to take the yoke of Christ upon them and to learn of him. "From that time many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him." His doctrine did not suit them. Yet his disciples were taken in general from the common people.

Nor was Jesus deceived as to the nature of his short-lived popularity. A large measure of it was due to the superhuman wonders which he wrought and the expectation of present temporal benefit. "Ye seek me, . . . because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled." The estrangement of the multitude could go no farther than to choose Barabbas rather than Jesus, and to demand the death of him who was "full of grace and truth." Why should it be thought so marvelous a thing that Barabbas is still the choice of at least a proportion of the multitude? The personal history of Him who "went about doing good" stands as a perpetual protest against the much-vaunted notion in these latter days that the world needs only to see goodness and benevolence illustrated in human character in order to be won to God thereby. If this assumption were founded in truth Jesus would have had no occasion to weep over the doomed city, already drunken with the blood of proph-

ets and not to be appeased until his own had been poured out with every humiliating circumstance which implacable hostility could devise.

2. Emerging from these dark and dismal shadows cast by the awful spectacle of depraved nature spurning the Saviour whom it so sorely needs, a ray of light darts through the gloom as we behold Mary, out of whom the devils were cast, worshiping her Lord with tears of gratitude, and the penitent Zacchæus hastening to restore his ill-gotten gain and to henceforth consider the poor. It is instances like these, repeated over and over again in history, of personal choice of Jesus rather than Barabbas, which vindicate God's remedy for sin and prove that Jesus is the all-sufficient Saviour of them that believe. It is not given to mortals to estimate the work of the Redeemer upon the earth, it was so vast and varied; but as a winner of men to his standard, peerless preacher though he was, his success was not conspicuous. Many a modern apostle is now winning in the slums and highways and darkest depths of sin more souls than did the Master himself. It is worthy of note also that these wise winners of souls are not the men who complain about the estrangement of the masses. Statistics can only inadequately measure the progress of the kingdom of God; but nevertheless they are indispensable. They serve to show that the kingdom gains ground at a more rapid rate than ever before. Protestant Churches in this country made a gain of fifty per cent in actual communicants during the last decade, while the proportion of communicants to the whole population has advanced from one in fourteen at the opening of this century to one in five at the present time. Does this prove estrangement as a distinguishing feature of our times?

3. But it is charged that the Church is unfaithful to her true mission, and is drifting away from the poor. Sad, indeed, if true. Yet common observation, reinforced by careful examination of the facts, must dismiss the complaint as, in the main, groundless. Sporadic cases of various evil diseases may be found even in periods of general healthfulness; but it is neither just nor wise to cry "epidemic" on that account. Whatever may be the regrettable history of a few exceptional societies the Church in general continues, as in former times, to make her converts chiefly among the common people. Of our own

branch of the Church it may be questioned whether the proportion of conspicuously rich men is relatively larger than among the first generation of Methodists. It was not without reason that a paper read a short time ago upon a public occasion bore the suggestive title of "The Neglected Rich." If the Church fails at any particular point in these later days it is rather in reaching the hearts and consciences of the wealthy class. From the altars of our churches and our modern training schools we are sending out a hundred devoted workers, courageous and skillful in dealing with poverty, rags, filth, and the commoner vices, for every one who is either qualified or willing to invade palaces of luxury and win the rich to Jesus Christ. That there is here and there a "rich man's church," which in its exclusive spirit and aristocratic methods is a discredit to the general Church, cannot be denied. So also a wart or mole or other blemish is liable to fasten itself upon the fairest human body without being in any sense an essential or representative part of it. The rich man's church is rare in proportion to the millions who constitute the strength and conserving force of the Church of Jesus Christ. If all the church organizations in Christendom which refuse to welcome the poor were to-day eliminated the general Church would hold on its way as aforetime, with very slightly diminished numbers and no enervating sense of loss.

"Our people are mostly poor, a few only in comfortable circumstances," was remarked to the writer recently by the pastor of a congregation which, after heroic struggles, was about to dedicate a new church. Is not this, except in a few favored localities, the usual testimony which greets the great body of our pastors on going to assist their brethren with dedications, reopenings, etc.? Candidates for the gospel ministry are admonished by bishops and presbyters that their work will be mainly among the common people. The pillars of their various congregations, the aggressive and managing forces which are a pastor's right arm of strength, as well as the people whom he is expected to reach and save, are by overwhelming majorities those found in the common walks of life, including the poorest of the poor. This fact must not be lost sight of by those disposed to complain of the Church's lack of large expenditure in dealing with the poverty that is all around it. Is it

nothing that there is a vast amount of poverty within the Church which is taken care of by the Church, and that everywhere the Church is gathering more and more of the world's poverty and want into its own bosom? The writer of this article, on assuming the pastorate of a church in a large city, had among his earliest converts two people fairly representative of a numerous class which enters the Church in all large cities every year. One was a drunkard whose family was upon the verge of starvation. The man was saved and remained faithful, while his sick and helpless family became the care of the church. The other case was a woman burdened with a worthless though not intemperate husband. The little furniture had all been seized for rent, with the exception of a cook stove and a couple of washtubs. The woman had recently cut off and sold her hair to buy bread for her two little children. When the writer visited the family they could not offer him a chair to sit down on, only one of the tubs turned bottom upward. Kindly Christian hearts and willing hands not only furnished this desolate home with food and necessary articles of furniture, but the man was coaxed into making an effort to earn something. It was a revelation to discover what a vast amount of this same sort of work the city churches in general were doing. Who can estimate the number of sick, destitute, and aged people supported in whole or in part out of the funds of the various religious congregations, and the number of orphans and other young people assisted to an education or placed in positions to earn their own living, to say nothing of the hospitals, asylums, schools, and colleges erected and in great part maintained by the contributions of God's people. If the Church at large did nothing for the next five years for the outside poor the care of those recently gathered into her communion from the ways of sin and poverty would be in itself a mighty work of benevolence and tax her resources to the utmost.

4. One more complaint only can now be noticed; and this, for want of space, though the subject is most alluring, can be but briefly touched upon. In the present period of unrest in the industrial world it is asserted that the sympathy of the Church is not as fully on the side of the wage-earner as it should be. This would be a strange fact, if fact it could be shown to be, since wage-earners constitute the bone and sinew of the Church

itself and easily govern this most democratic of all organizations by reason of their vast numerical preponderance. The Church, in standing for law and order and for rational and peaceful methods of adjusting the differences between employer and employed, is the true friend of the workingman, and on this account has incurred the resentment only of the thoughtless and reckless class, whose counsels of bloody riot, poison, and dynamite are at this day the most serious menace to the workingman's cause.

Which of the numerous and oftentimes mutually antagonistic expedients for the abolition of poverty put forth so confidently by their various champions shall the Church adopt? Can it indorse any of them without at the same time injuring the wage-earner's cause and forfeiting the right to his esteem? "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?" was the Master's reply to one who, as others do now, misapprehended the true function of the religious teacher and the Church. There are economic questions upon which the Church, as such, can pass no authoritative judgment. In a community where the greenback heresy ran riot for a time we were importuned to preach this new evangel of deliverance for the oppressed multitudes, and, upon refusal to convert the church into a greenback club, were solemnly admonished by good citizens that the church which refused to espouse the cause of the poor was doomed to perish. Those men have, for the most part, changed their views, and no longer believe that greed is to be restrained or poverty abolished by the unlimited issue of fiat money.

That there is dissatisfaction with present industrial conditions is certain; but is this a new thing? When was that golden period vaguely hinted at nowadays when labor and capital were alike satisfied with the share assigned to each by the then existing plan of distribution? "Be content with your wages" was John the Baptist's earnest exhortation nearly two thousand years ago to men who believed then, as others believe now, that the wage question is the one which must be allowed to dwarf all others; while at a still earlier day God's anger is kindled, and he promises to be "a swift witness against those that oppress the hireling in his wages." Happily, it is easy to demonstrate that the modern tendency is toward a shortening of the hours of labor, an increase of wages, and a consequent mul-

tiplication of home comforts for the workingman and his family. In all this the Church rejoices, and she may justly congratulate herself that these results, though only the beginnings of better things, are mainly found where the Gospel has been the most widely preached and the most generally accepted.

But is there not a widespread demand for some new adjustment of the relations of employer and employed? Undoubtedly. Strikes and uprisings are unfortunately numerous; but history is witness to the fact that disturbances, revolts, and even gigantic rebellions are not always either rational or born out of real grievances. It will not do to make too much of "tendencies." There are tendencies which require to be watched, restrained, and, if need be, put down by force. He is only poorly acquainted with human nature who has not discovered that there is a kind of restlessness, not to say recklessness, which is born of prosperity. Is the millionaire satisfied with being a simple millionaire, or any the less keen or more law-abiding in the pursuit of his second million? It is not poverty which goads him on in a career which, in many instances, is nothing short of criminal. Why should the wage-earner be supposed to be exempt from this general passion for acquisition? Why should he, or any friend of his, put forth the claim that he is capable of making disturbance and defying law only when his rights have been invaded? This is to claim for the workingman a kind of virtue which does not reside in human nature in general. Common observation the country over teaches us that the man who yesterday was glad to earn a dollar a day is to-day easily made dissatisfied with twice that amount or more under the sinister teachings of certain would-be reformers. Prosperity has its dangerous tendencies no less than adversity. That genial old angler, Izaak Walton, speaks of a time when "the nation [England] was in peace and happy, though inwardly sick of being well." Many a man has had to lament with bitter, unavailing tears his own inability to perceive when he was doing well.

That anarchistic and socialistic tendencies are rife among us is not a matter of question. That the former are to be resisted by force, if need be, is agreed by good citizens in general. But are not also the socialistic and semisocialistic agitators among us culpable in this, that they seek to trade upon the anarchistic clamor against law and order and to sow the seeds of disaf-

fection among contented and quiet people? In the controversy now pending it is worth while to note that the God of the Bible has no quarrel with rich men as such nor with the relation of employer and employed. The whole issue must turn upon the question whether the wage-earner is receiving his due proportion of the joint earnings of labor, enterprise, and capital. Cooperation promised a few years ago to be the equitable and satisfactory policy of industrial effort in the future; but the general failure of those enterprises in which the workingmen have had the gains, as well as the losses, to divide among themselves is a fact of great significance. It may be questioned whether the industries of the country can be so managed as to yield a larger percentage of earnings to labor in the aggregate than it is now receiving. While in some instances the lion's share of profits is carried off by capital, it is a demonstrated fact that a large majority of all ventures which employ paid labor result in positive loss, and very many even in bankruptcy to their projectors, the wage-earners being the only parties who derive any financial benefit from them whatever.

Nor is there the slightest hint in the word of God that individual ownership of land is wrong, or that the Creator ever intended absolute equality of worldly substance, any more than of brain power or physical stature. The community of goods attempted at Jerusalem is mentioned as an interesting incident in early church history, but nowhere is it commended and nowhere is it prescribed as the duty of the Church. For aught that appears in the record, this incident may be intended to serve as a beacon of warning, lest unnatural conditions of life should put needless temptation in the path of weak disciples to repeat the crime for which Ananias and Sapphira suffered death. Furthermore, there is nothing new in the schemes of socialistic and semisocialistic agitators for leveling human conditions; they have been tried over and over again and found wanting. The Christian minister will best serve his fellow-men by preaching the divine Fatherhood and insisting on a recognition of the human brotherhood in all the relations of life.

There are morning stars big with prophecy of a better day for the industrial world already appearing above the horizon. It is good, wholesome, soul-refreshing exercise for ourselves, as well as mightily helpful to our fellow-men, to direct the

common gaze upon the all too few, but luminous, instances of men who stand here and there in modern business life as witnesses for God and righteousness and the human brotherhood, undismayed and uncorrupted by the spirit of greed and turbulence raging woefully all about them. The proprietor of a great daily newspaper in Philadelphia, whose varied and ingenious philanthropies on both sides of the sea are well known, represents the typical Christian employer of labor. He pays his men more than the market price of labor; the sick are cared for and the aged veterans pensioned. Other examples of the brotherly treatment of employees might easily be given. Instances now and then occurring of the unsolicited increase of wages on the part of corporations have also in them elements of hopeful prophecy, and the long-suffering patience of the many delights to hear of them.

The following instance of what is occasionally taking place in the business world was narrated at the session of the Evangelical Alliance held in Washington, D. C., the writer being present and noting the effect of the incident on the great audience: A manufacturer, embarrassed by debt, urged an acquaintance in the same line of business to relieve him by buying him out. He was willing to sell for fifteen thousand dollars, though his factory was well worth twenty thousand. The gentleman thus appealed to consulted his wife about the matter, and returned the next day with the following answer: "I am ready to buy your factory, but I agree with my wife, who says I must pay you the full price for it. It is a settled principle with us never to take advantage of another's necessities to get property at less than its actual value. I think your factory is worth twenty thousand dollars, and I am willing to pay you that amount for it."

The sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty are still among us. Let us make their acquaintance.

Robt. F. Bishop

Art. VI.—CREED AND HOME OF THE EARLIEST ARYANS.

Few investigations are more fascinating than that which by purely scientific methods attempts to determine the ideas, language, location, and life of the prehistoric community from which the Indo-European peoples are descended. Priceless results have already been achieved by these studies, but even greater are sure to follow. In the present paper it is proposed to call attention to certain new books in this field and to their teachings. Several of these publications seem not to have been noticed as yet in any of the reviews on this side of the Atlantic.* The first, by Alexander William, Earl of Crawford and Balcarres (Lord Lindsay), is a privately printed work for which the present writer is indebted to the courtesy of the Dowager Countess of Crawford. Its title is as follows: *The Creed of Japheth, that is, of the Race popularly surnamed Indo-Germanic or Aryan, as held before the Period of its Dispersion: ascertained by the Aid of Comparative Mythology and Language.* The volume is a stately octavo of pp. xlvii and 829. Only one hundred and fifty copies were printed, and these for private circulation only. Within the limits of this paper it is difficult to characterize this learned work as it deserves. It differs almost *toto coelo* from the mass of recent treatises on the subject. Without showing traces of having been influenced by such older writers as George S. Faber, the author reaches conclusions almost identical with theirs touching a positive primeval revelation of God to the first fathers of the human family and touching the promise of a divine-human Redeemer. The traces of these and other revealed truths discovered by the author in the oldest Indo-European myths, rites, symbols, and institutions are at the close of the book woven together into an articulated Proto-Aryan confession of faith startling in its definiteness, in its extent, and in its agreement with fully developed Christian theology. Whatever final verdict scholars may

* The uninitiated reader will find the most comprehensive and scholarly account of the literature of all questions in this field, to the year 1890, in *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, by Dr. O. Schrader, translated by F. B. Jevons, London and New York, 1890. Part First, chapter iv, reviews opinions as to the original home of the Aryans, and Part Fourth, chapter xiv, gives the author's own conclusions. Chapter xiii treats of Proto-Aryan religion.

pass upon the work—which, though only lately printed, was written more than ten years ago and appears under the disadvantages of posthumous editing—it is refreshing to the reader to encounter so bold and able and learned and modern an advocate of a theory of mythology now wholly unfashionable. The unexpected defense of the same general theory of primeval monotheism by Walter Bradford Woodgate, M.A. (Oxon.), barrister of the Oxford Circuit, in his just published book entitled *A Modern Layman's Faith concerning the Creed and Breed of the "Thoroughbred Man,"* despite its very curious associated speculations, suggests the question whether, after all, the time-honored biblical conception of the primeval religion and of the origin of the various ethnic paganisms is forever shelved.

The latest and one of the most significant of German works upon the religious ideas of the Proto-Aryans and their implications is *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas*, by Ernst Krause (Carus Sterne), Glogau, 1893. This is an octavo volume of three hundred and thirty-two closely printed pages, with twenty-six illustrations. In a previous work, *Tuiskoland, der arischen Staemme und Goetter Urheimat*, Glogau, 1891, Dr. Krause had set forth an astonishing array of facts and combinations of facts going to show that all Indo-European mythologies and symbolisms and forms of worship point back to a primeval cradle-land high in the north of Europe. Of course in this view there was no striking novelty, as nearly all recent writers have abandoned the old theory of an Asiatic Aryan cradle-land in favor of one in Europe. As long ago as 1884, in preparing the third edition of his *Principles of Comparative Philology*, Professor Sayce remodeled his book in such wise as to conform it to the new view, one consequence of which is that the Sanskrit and Old Persian, instead of being, as nearest the old home, the best representatives of the primeval Aryan tongue, must, as farthest removed from the original home, be considered as the worst representatives of that primeval language. In *Tuiskoland* Dr. Krause argued with great force that the language, myths, legends, sagas, etc., of the Germans best represent the ideas and beliefs and habits of the primeval Aryans, and that as between a Greek or Latin form of an ancient myth or custom and a German form preference is always to be given to the German as truer to the original from

which both proceeded. Even the sacred *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were made to submit to this canon of judgment. In this new and supplementary work, *Die Trojaburgen*, after replying in a lengthy introduction to some of the critics of the first treatise, the author presents another mass of most singular and out-of-the-way facts and considerations illustrative in fresh and striking ways of his original thesis. The number of Troy towns, or Troy fortresses, or Troy labyrinths, etc., which he finds in the northern regions of Europe is certainly surprising, and the indications furnished that the Asiatic Troy of Homer was only a late copy—one of many copies—of a far older cosmical one common to the undivided Aryans in the high North are full of interest to every student of the past. The superiority of his interpretations to those of Sir George W. Cox on this head is striking.*

In London, recently, appeared the first volume of a still more remarkable work by Mr. John O'Neill. It is entitled *The Night of the Gods.* Its sub-title reads, "An Inquiry into Cosmic and Cosmogonic Mythology and Symbolism." The book (a large octavo, pp. 582) is a marvel of learned research and of scholarly insight. It is not written to support any preconceived theory as to the cradle-land of mankind or of the Aryans. Indeed, it rigidly rules out all philosophizing as to prehistoric migrations and all inferences as to the bearing of the collected facts on biblical conceptions of human origins, human history, or human character. In a purely objective manner it investigates the mythologies and the religious symbolism of all historic nations and brings together whatever can throw light upon the cosmogonical and cosmological ideas of the early men. The result is a work which no future student of mythology or of the philosophy of mythology can safely neglect. Its fundamental thesis is that the visible revolution of the heavens

* Since this article was sent to the printer we have received from Dr. Krause a new work entitled *Die nordische Herkunft der Trojasage bezeugt durch den Krug von Tragliatella, eine dritthalbtausendjährige Urkunde*, Glogau, 1893. This is an interesting supplement to the above mentioned *Trojaburgen Nordeuropas*. In the year 1877, at Tragliatella, in Italy, among other relics of ancient Etruscan art, a remarkable pitcher was found. Expert archæologists date it as far back as the sixth or seventh century before Christ. The decorations upon the surface of the vessel are very curious, and in one of them our author finds so remarkable a confirmation of his views of the origin and cosmical significance of the labyrinth, or "Troy-town," in ancient thought that he compares it to the Rosetta stone in the decisiveness of its testimony. All teachers of Homer should certainly read it and the work to which it serves as a supplement.

around the axis of the universe and the primeval worship of a supreme, almighty, world-directing God enthroned at the summit of this axis in the northern celestial pole furnish us a more effective key to all the great mythologies than has ever hitherto been applied to their interpretation.

Learned opinion touching the quality of the religious beliefs and rites of the primeval Aryans has seemed of late less positive than it was twenty-five years ago. Then the view generally prevalent was substantially that presented by Pictet in his monumental work, *Les Origines Indo-Européennes*, namely, that while comparative philology shows that before their dispersion the ancestors of the Indo-European peoples were polytheistic it also shows clear indications of a faith on their part in a supreme God—a heaven-God, father and lord of all lesser divinities, father and lord of men. This was the view of Max Müller. As late as 1883 it found expression in J. Darmesteter's *Le Dieu Suprême dans la Mythologie Indo-Européenne.* Since that time writers have in many cases, like Schrader in 1890, expressed themselves very cautiously and obscurely on this point; or, like Professor Rhys in 1886, expressly denied to the primitive Aryans anything more than a theology of the type usually found among modern savages. In Professor Rhys's case this teaching is the more noticeable, as ten years earlier he had expressed himself in a very different way. His own explanation of the change is that in the meantime he has read Andrew Lang's *Custom and Myth* and learned to apply to all myth-products the generalizations of anthropology.* Unfortunately for this defense, the generalizations of anthropology, as represented by Mr. Lang, are not likely to be very long-lived, particularly those that relate to the gifted spirits who created the primeval arts and myths and symbolisms of humanity. Current writers may speak less confidently of the religion of the primitive Aryans than did Pictet; but if the progress of recent study has brought to light a single fact that clearly invalidates the general representation given by him more than thirty years ago the present writer must confess that he knows not where to find it.

Coming now to the authors immediately before us and to their relation to the standpoint occupied by the readers of the

* *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 110. London, 1887.

Methodist Review, it seems evident upon a moment's reflection that Lord Crawford's view of primeval Aryan belief is by no means the only one compatible with the biblical account of the world's history. While the Bible teaches that the earliest men were monotheists it nowhere states or implies that the postdiluvian ancestry of the Indo-European nations were so. Indeed, according to the biblical account of the origin of nations, from acts of human depravity the speedy loss of the knowledge of the one true God would naturally follow the dispersion of the race and the loss of its common tongue. The author of *The Creed of Japhet* seems, therefore, quite unnecessarily anxious to vindicate to the primitive Aryans a high and directly revealed knowledge of God and of his redemptive purposes.* The works of Krause and O'Neill do not attempt to determine the precise grade of primitive Aryan ideas relative to a monotheistic standard. Still less are they concerned to take into account any bearing of their discussions upon the Bible or upon its representations of ancient history. As between the two, it is evident that Mr. O'Neill makes the nearest approach to an ascription of monotheistic ideas to the authors of Aryan and of all the primordial mythologies; but it is not clear that his supreme, world-directing Deity is to be conceived of as possessing creative or ethically absolute powers.

As to the part of the world in which the oldest myths of the Aryans originated there cannot long remain a serious doubt. It is, indeed, conceivable that these myths antedate the rise of the Aryan stock, and hence that they do not necessarily fix the birthland of the Aryan peoples; few, however, seem as yet inclined to take such a view. One thing, however, is constantly coming into greater and greater prominence, to wit, the fact that circumpolar phenomena of nature are clearly discernible in the oldest of the myths preserved to us in the Aryan tongues. In 1886, in attempting to interpret the Celtic myths, Professor Rhys found it necessary to recognize this fact.† A few pages later he expresses his belief that the cradle of the Aryans will have

* It is not without significance that, while Earl Crawford did not question the traditional view respecting the Asiatic birthland of the Aryans, he yet considered the religious faith of the western or European Aryans as far purer and less adulterated than that of the Asiatic branches. Had he lived till the date of the publication of his work one can scarcely doubt that he too would have advocated the now current view touching the common mother country.

† *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 632, 633.

to be located at some spot "within the Arctic Circle." Then, referring in a foot-note to a book entitled *Paradise Found* and to a paper therein quoted, he argues that no fatal objection is likely to be brought against the view that within the same circumpolar district is to be found the cradle of the entire human race. The recent treatises advocating the European origin of the Aryans are now so numerous and so much in demand that the Boston Public Library two years ago printed the extended list of their titles for public use. See *Bulletin*, vol. ix, pp. 130–134. Among the authors there cited many recognize with more or less distinctness the Arctic character of essential features in the Aryan myths. Several base upon them arguments of no small cogency relative to the primitive Aryan habitat. Penka anticipates some of Krause's insights, just as years ago Wolfgang Menzel in other instances anticipated Penka.

The above-named works by Krause and O'Neill are certain to concentrate attention for some time to come on these geographical birthmarks traceable in the oldest traditions of the Indo-Europeans. Dr. Krause's championship of *Tuiskoland* is so able, and Mr. O'Neill's accumulations of Aryan and extra-Aryan facts are so abundant and significant, that neither can be ignored. To a believer in the origin of the human race at the North Pole the issue of the debate over the location of the cradle of the Aryans is not material, for the reason that the origination of the Aryan stock was postdiluvian, and hence subsequent to the period when the polar region was habitable. It would interest him, however, should the final verdict of science be that the invention of the zodiac was antediluvian, and that the elaborate primeval astronomy and cosmology of which it is a part were constructed from a polar standpoint. Such a conclusion would not only settle the long-mooted question as to the location of the cradle of mankind, but would also demonstrate the supersavage endowments of quaternary or tertiary men. Moreover, it is perfectly safe to say that the reaching of this conclusion was never so strongly probable as it is to-day.

William F. Warren.

Art. VII.—CONSTANTINE AND CHRISTIANITY.

No picture is ever hung on the walls of the Louvre, in Paris, until the artist shall have been dead at least ten years. It is supposed that an artist's real worth cannot be estimated while living. So, it is claimed, the true character of a great man and his work can never be ascertained while living, and that posterity alone can judge of the value of his life to the world. While this is doubtless true in the main it must be confessed that very great difficulty attends the effort of one who attempts to analyze the character and weigh the work of a man who has been dead nearly sixteen hundred years; for, while in some respects the passage of years brings out more clearly the intrinsic value of a man's life to his own and to succeeding generations, the motives that inspired him, the prejudices that warped his judgment, the ambitions that impelled him can only be understood by putting one's self, as far as possible, into the midst of his environment. The critic should never forget that he is himself the creature of educational surroundings and the product of the generation in which he lives, as well as is the character that he may attempt to criticise. The influence of environment, therefore, at both ends disqualifies one, to some extent, to give an impartial and just estimate of a man's character and work who lived and wrought at so great a distance in the past as Constantine the Great. Ruter says:

> No character has been exhibited to posterity in lights more contradictory and irreconcilable than that of Constantine. Christian writers, transported with his profession of their faith, have perhaps magnified his abilities and virtues to excess and thrown an almost celestial splendor over every part of the portrait; while pagan historians have spread their gloomy shades upon the canvas and obscured every trait that was great and amiable.

Constantine was born at Naissus, in Mœsia, A. D. 274. His father was Constantius, a general in the Roman army, who was promoted by Diocletian "to the dignity of Cæsar, a sort of lieutenant emperor," and assigned to Britain, Gaul, and Spain. Helena, the supposed discoverer of the real cross on which our Lord was put to death, was his mother. Both his parents were friends of Christianity, while in later life his mother became a

most enthusiastic, if not a superstitious, follower of Christ. In his early life Constantine was a pronounced pagan. At thirty-one he joined his father in Britain. Upon the death of Constantius, at York, his soldiers immediately declared Constantine his successor. Two years later, in A. D. 308, there were five emperors of Rome besides himself, each being assigned to a department of his own.

Three things at this time were manifest: (1) that the Roman empire could never be restored to its former glory while divided into so many fragments; (2) that paganism was tottering to its fall and rapidly losing its hold upon the people; (3) that despised and persecuted Christianity was multiplying its adherents with marvelous rapidity and was on its way to the throne of the Cæsars before Constantine blessed or cursed it (a matter still in question) with his toleration and subsequent support. He therefore at once addressed himself to the herculean task of uniting the empire under one head, and that head himself, by dethroning his rivals. In six years he had conquered four of them, leaving the empire to the joint rule of himself and Licinius. It was when on his way into Gaul, and when he was in doubt as to whether he should accept Christianity or continue a pagan, that he claimed to behold in the clear sky, shortly after noon, a vision of the cross bearing the inscription, "By this conquer." This vision was related by the emperor himself to Eusebius, the historian, confirmed by an oath, and was received with implicit confidence during many ages of Christianity. But the more critical investigations of modern historical inquiry have almost destroyed its authority with rational men. "His vision," says Bishop Hurst, in his *Short History of the Early Church*, "though in the line of his sympathies, was probably only a shrewd method to attract the Christians to his support." The probability is that the emperor saw a remarkable natural phenomenon, and that his lively imagination gave it the form of a cross with the accompanying inscription. His succeeding dream, in which Christ, as claimed, appeared to him and ordered him to make a banner in the shape of the celestial sign, under which his army would be crowned with certain victory, can easily be accounted for without admitting a divine revelation. Certain it is, however, that Constantine believed in both the vision and the dream, and therefore proceeded to make the

famous *labarum*, a shaft encased in gold, bearing the image of the cross and the name of Christ, together with the bust of the emperor and his family, which was ever afterward carried at the head of his army. Says Milman:

> And so for the first time the meek and peaceful Jesus became a god of battle, and the cross, the holy sign of Christian redemption, a banner of bloody strife. This irreconcilable incongruity between the symbol of universal peace and the horrors of war, in my judgment, is conclusive against the miraculous or supernatural character of the transaction.

But this circumstance created boundless enthusiasm among the soldiers, and at the battle of Milvian Bridge Maxentius went down in the Tiber, leaving Constantine and Licinius joint rulers of the empire. Following this victory came the edict, bearing the names of the two emperors, granting toleration to all religions, including Christianity, of course, and ordering the restoration of all Christian churches, giving as a reason for the issuance of the same the manifest favor of the Christian's God to the army. It is worthy of note that this was not the first edict of the kind emanating from a Roman emperor. In A. D. 260 Gallienus, when he saw that his father prospered as long as he favored the disciples of Christ, declared Christianity to be a lawful religion, and ordered the restoration of all confiscated churches and property to their rightful owners. This first edict of toleration was revoked by Aurelian in A. D. 275.

Licinius soon became jealous of the growing fame and power of Constantine and returned again to the old method of persecuting the Christians, who had universally rallied to the support of Constantine. The lines were now drawn more distinctly than ever between paganism and Christianity, and a war, virtually between the two systems, but involving the unity of the empire, was carried on by the respective leaders. In the year 324 Constantine conquered his last rival and was left the sole emperor of the Roman world. Christianity soon became the state religion, though paganism was tolerated and to some extent supported by the emperor.

Following his successful enthronement as sole emperor came domestic crimes that seriously becloud his name. Suspicious of his son Crispus, born of his first wife, Minervina, he condemned

him to death. Then Fausta, the empress, for no better reason, was sent to the same fate. Crime followed crime until the mind of Constantine was haunted day and night with bloody specters. A bold satire privately circulated, and also posted on the walls of the royal palace, compared the splendid but bloody times with those of Nero. The populace of Rome became indignant, restless, and threatening, and the emperor, in punishment of the Italians, and doubtless also to protect his own person, removed from the city on the Tiber to the city on the Bosporus, where he established the new capital of Constantinople. After a reign of several years of great worldly show and extravagance, which cannot be followed in this paper, Constantine died, aged sixty-three years, having been emperor thirty-one years. He was not baptized and formally received into the Christian Church until a few days before his death. After his baptism he laid aside his imperial purple and dressed in white, which he wore until his death. He was interred in Constantinople under a church of his own construction.

Constantine was a shrewd political trimmer. I have already said that when he first came into power, as one of the six emperors of Rome, he found paganism falling to pieces, and the empire with it, under the leavening power of Christianity. It did not require a very great mind to forecast the future of Christianity. Galerius had forced Christians into the army, and his generals ordered them to adore the image of the emperor and sacrifice to the gods. The one act was blasphemy, the other idolatry. A young Numidian sublimely refused and was slain. When the army was honoring Cæsar in pagan style at Tangiers, Marcellus, a centurion, rose from the camp table and flung down his belt and sword, saying, "From this moment I cease to serve as a soldier. I despise the worship of your gods." He was executed. The word of God was ordered to be burned. Diligent search was made in every house to find and destroy this precious treasure. An African bishop said, "Here is my body; take it, burn it; but I will not deliver up the word of God." A deacon said, "Never, sir; never! Had I children I would sooner deliver them to you than the divine word." He and his wife were burned together. But in the midst of all this Christianity marched on toward the throne. It could not be stamped out or burned out. He must have been

dull indeed who could not see its superiority to paganism, and that a restored empire, to be permanent, must have a better religion than paganism. It is quite evident, therefore, from a calm survey of the environment and character of Constantine, that his conversion to Christianity was from state or political considerations. In his real life for the most part he was nearly as much a pagan as a Christian. He rebuilt and refurnished pagan as well as Christian temples. He is charged with sacrificing to pagan gods, while he certainly consulted their oracles. He accepted and held the office of pontifex maximus—high priest of paganism—all his life, while he assumed to be father and head of the Church. His edict concerning the general observance of Sunday (*solis dies*), day of the sun, was quite as acceptable to the pagans as to the Christians, since under the new paganism the day among the heathen corresponding to the Christian's first day of the week was the sacred day of the sun worshipers. So feeble was his personal faith in Christianity that his more pronounced successors hesitated not to enroll him among the divinities of paganism.

That he was by nature tolerant is admitted by most historians.

> Let all enjoy the same peace; let no one disturb another in his religious worship; let each act as he sees fit; let those who withhold their worship from God have their temples of falsehood if they think right.

So he wrote in one of his edicts, according to Eusebius. This is carrying toleration almost to excess. He was so anxious for the peace of the Church, and so indulgent in his nature, that he thought secret impunity to sin was better than public scandal. Gibbon says:

> The Nicene Council was edified by his public declaration that if he surprised a bishop in the act of adultery he should cast his imperial mantle over the episcopal sinner.

But in his generous sentiments of religious liberty and freedom of thought he is worthy of commendation and imitation in these times, with the single qualification that no religion should be tolerated that interferes with the duty of the citizen to the State or to his home or with the peaceable enjoyment of the right of religious discussion and worship by others. In this age it ill becomes us to exhibit a spirit of intolerance

and bigotry that was condemned by a Roman emperor so far behind us in culture and civilization.

The union of Church and State, however, as far as accomplished by Constantine is not a matter of congratulation. Freeman says, "The Church conquered the State." Bishop Hurst says:

> This is a great error. Constantine's adoption of Christianity as the state religion was the conquest of the Church by the State. All the moral forces of the Church were now impaired. The bondage of the Church to the State thus early begun produced the great evils of the following twelve centuries—superstition, the purchase of office, the angry controversy about theological trifles, the moral corruption of the clergy, and the ignorance of the masses.

Neander says:

> The reign of Constantine bears witness that the State which seeks to advance Christianity by the worldly means at its command may be the occasion of more injury to this holy cause than the earthly power which opposes it, with whatever virulence.

The lesson to us is absolute separation of Church and State, with pronounced and perpetual independence of the one from the other. While the sphere of each, when rightly interpreted, is not antagonistic to the other, they should not encroach upon each other's territory. The demand for religious instruction in the public schools, the appropriation of public funds for the support of sectarian schools, even among the Indians, the affiliation of the Church in her official character with any political party or civil administration, are all matters to be deplored and condemned. Even the appointment of chaplains by government and the payment of their salaries out of public funds is thought by some to be a matter of questionable propriety still open for debate. This is a relic of the times of Constantine, and is claimed to be contrary to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution of the United States, which guarantees to every man the right to choose his own method of religious worship, to select his own spiritual guide, and to be exempt from all governmental tax for the support of any system of worship. Absolute independence of all legislative control, with absolute voluntariness in all religious thought and worship, is unquestionably the best and safest maxim for both Church and State.

While Constantine as a soldier was a man of war, as a statesman, or rather as a churchman, he was a man of peace. He desired the unity of the Church quite as much as the unity of the empire. Indeed, to his mind the one seemed to require the other. He was therefore greatly disturbed by the doctrinal divisions and disputations of the theologians.

Considering the age in which he lived, the condition of the Church, and the gravity of the questions involved at that time, it must be admitted that one of the best acts of his life was the convocation of the Council of Nice, A. D. 325. It is easy for us, living under such different circumstances, to criticise this act and the proceedings and results of that council; but if we had been living in that day we would doubtless have been in the debate, and most probably on the emperor's side. The divinity of our Lord was seriously doubted, and by many denied. While with our advanced knowledge we may object to some parts of the outer clothing in which the Nicene Creed comes down to us, yet who can estimate the influence of those formulated doctrines? They have been accepted in the main for nearly sixteen hundred years "as the standard of the orthodox faith in both Catholic and Protestant Churches;" and, while the debate did not stop with the decision of the council, the creed stood and "was the anchor of religious faith in the Middle Ages." Whether with the greater knowledge of the future, and in the exercise of that liberty of thought and criticism which is the admitted right of every man, there shall be any serious modification of this creed remains for some unborn historian to record.

The civil administration of Constantine was, without doubt, a great blessing alike to pagan, Jew, and Christian. Many of the laws enacted by him have come down to us and to all the people of Europe. He separated the military and civil departments of government and introduced many reforms and humane laws, that were followed by other rulers and will doubtless endure as long as civil government shall last.

Constantine was a man of providence. If God could use Moses, who in his haste killed an Egyptian, and David, who in his lust killed Uriah, and Solomon, who numbered his wives by the hundred, why could he not use Constantine, who had but two wives when it was the fashion for kings to have as many

as they desired, even though he had caused one of them to be suffocated in the bath? In his day and according to his light was he not as much the "man for the place" as was Abraham Lincoln?

I will close this imperfect review with a quotation from Dr. John Lord's *Beacon Lights of History:*

No emperor has received more praises than Constantine. He was fortunate in his biographers, who saw nothing to condemn in a prince who made Christianity the established religion of the empire. If not the greatest, he was one of the greatest, of all of the absolute monarchs who controlled the destinies of over one hundred millions of subjects. If not the best of the emperors, he was one of the best, as sovereigns are judged. I do not see in his character any extraordinary magnanimity or elevation of sentiment, or gentleness, or warmth of affection. He had great faults and great virtues, as strong men are apt to have. If he was addicted to the pleasures of the table he was chaste and continent in his marital relations. He had no mistresses, like Julius Cæsar and Louis XIV. He had a great reverence for the ordinances of the Christian religion. His life in the main was as decorous as it was useful. He was a very successful man, but he was also a very ambitious man; and an ambitious man is apt to be unscrupulous and cruel. Though he had to deal with bigots he was not himself fanatical. He was tolerant and enlightened. His most striking characteristic was policy. He was one of the most politic sovereigns that ever lived, like Henry IV of France, forecasting the future as well as balancing the present. . . . He tried to do right, not because it was right, like Marcus Aurelius, but because it was wise and expedient; he was a Christian because he saw that Christianity was a better religion than paganism, not because he craved a lofty religious life; he was a theologian after the pattern of Queen Elizabeth, because theological inquiries and disputations were the fashion of the day; but when theologians became rampant and arrogant he put them down and dictated what they should believe. He was comparatively indifferent to slaughter, else he would not have spent seventeen years of his life in civil war in order to be himself supreme. He cared little for the traditions of the empire, else he would not have transferred his capital to the banks of the Bosporus. He was more like Peter the Great than like Napoleon I; yet he was a better man than either, and bestowed more benefits upon the world than both together, and is to be classed among the greatest benefactors that ever sat upon the throne.

W. K. Marshall.

Art. VIII.—ANTISEMITISM IN AMERICA.

Ever since Abraham went out from Ur of the Chaldees under the banner of God's covenant, the Hebrew has trod the path of history. The force of the early command, "Get thee out of thy country," has been perpetuated through all the years; and the seed of the high father has been literally "Hebrew" (wanderer). He never held but a few acres of the earth as his own, and then only for a little while and with but a feeble hold. He has moved among the nations, mingling with, but not assimilating, the foreign blood, and in his wanderings has found America. His vitality has confounded the wisest students of men. Nations have arisen, declined, and passed out of history; but he is here still with his original force unimpaired. The evolution of other races has obliterated the ancient distinctive marks; but the Jew remains a Jew. Without a country or a language peculiarly his own, suffering for generations the most bitter and persistent persecutions, resisting the attrition of the centuries, he lives "a miracle of history." Many and varied have been the efforts to account for this exhaustless vitality. We believe it to be found in his providential destiny, as expressed in the original covenant, "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." The God of history raised up this people and endowed them with a great idea which it was their mission to give to the world. A great truth can take the place of country, speech, friend, and preserve for a final conciliation any company of men who have the strength and courage to suffer, to be misunderstood and contemned, until at last they will be lost in that conciliation. Other peoples have lost their individuality, either because they had completed the articulation of their thought or because they had forgotten it. Israel has done neither. Its work is unfinished, nor has its great idea yet vanished from its heart, namely, one God and Father of us all; one world-wide brotherhood.

But those whose mission is to bless the world are predestined sufferers. The world's saviours are familiar with Gethsemane's shadows and Calvary's horrors. Israel's pathways have been stained with blood. Even in America, which in many respects

has been the wanderer's Canaan, there lingers toward the suffering race a hostile spirit unworthy of a people which affirms in the charter of its liberties that all men have "certain inalienable rights," among which are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." A Jewish lawyer of great ability once startled the author of this paper by saying:

> You ask me when I expect the Messiah? He has come. He is right before you in my people. Your Christ is only a mere fragment of the sublime whole. My race is the Messiah. He gives to you your God, your divine truth, your salvation. But you despise and reject him. You crucify your Saviour; yet he lives. You lay him in his sepulcher; but the miracle of his resurrection is ever before you.

Antisemitism in America is as yet only a sentiment, and not, as in Germany or Russia, organized with a definite purpose, political or otherwise. But it is a sentiment that is dangerous, partly because it is the gnarled growth of a prejudice which has continued for eighteen centuries or more and, therefore, not easily eradicated, and partly because the policy of other countries to rid their lands of "the pestiferous race" is bringing to our shores a people with an education and genius alleged to be foreign to true Americanism. We need only refer to the single fact that the Jewish population in New York city increased from eighty thousand in 1880 to two hundred thousand in 1890 to convince ourselves that the Jewish question will necessarily become entangled with the emigration problem. Nor will we be able to dissociate it from its religious bearings; for, however the Jew may account for his singular individuality, the Gentile believes that it is his faith that makes him a Jew. It will be a sorry day for American liberty when religious questions are suffered to agitate it. But sorrier far will it be, when this cruel sentiment crystallizes into a definite political doctrine, for that people whose destiny is to be misunderstood and to suffer. Before this impending calamity the thoughtful Christian is impelled, by motives both patriotic and religious, to study this Jewish question, learn if possible the source and significance of the existing prejudice, and so in some measure eliminate its dangerous elements.

The antisemitic feeling in America is certainly not in any large degree due to an instinctive racial antipathy. Too many bloods commingle in this land and too many nationalities jostle

each other to admit of any physical revulsion from a race so closely akin as the Jew. Personal antipathies will doubtless arise, but, as in the case of other races, they are individual, and not racial. Indeed, it can be shown that the best specimens of physical manhood and womanly beauty are found among the rejected race. Dr. Guthrie pronounces the ideal head to be that of the Jews. There is in the very physiognomy of the choicest of the Hebrew race the unmistakable mark stamped by divinity. In all art centers, as Florence, Munich, Rome, Jewish models are at a premium. Many of us remember Joseph Cook's description of the light which shone from the face of certain Jews like a light from behind thin, translucent marble, and which he never saw in any other race. The absurdity of the so-called racial repugnance is evidenced by frequent intermarriages, and that in spite of the fact that the genius of the Jewish economy antagonizes such unions with the fury of religious conviction. The strain of Jewish blood in the Gentile races has improved the stock. In addition to this, art and fiction have thrown a glamour about this singular people and created for them in many minds a magnetic charm. Many of us go in and out among them as in story-land.

There are doubtless multitudes of Jews, like those recently exiled from Russia, who are repulsive indeed to the native American; but are the repulsive features essentially Jewish, or are they the marks of shame with which a foreign superstition and despotism have defaced an otherwise noble personality? The children of the wilderness were so spoiled by their Egyptian slavery as to be unworthy of the Lord's land. Nevertheless, in their loins were kings, psalmists, and prophets—aye, the Christ in whom civilization has its divinest thought. It is not given to many to see the noble side of the vulgar; and when vulgarity has foreign mannerism the task is yet more difficult. But his vision must be dull indeed who cannot see a splendor of promise in the most repulsive children of the wilderness who are unable yet to grasp the spirit of the promised land. What manhood is that which has impelled them to spurn all hope of material advancement, to renounce the soil on which they were born, all hallowed associations, and the graves of their dear ones, to brave exile, and all to remain true to a religion which had been to them only a precious burden? How

shall we characterize that spirit which, under an intolerable distress, remains strong in the joy of a deathless hope—"In the name of our God we will set up our banners?" Surely he is a poor lapidary who cannot see the latent fires in the uncut diamond.

The most recent mode of accounting for the baneful antipathy to the Jew is the one from which its victim revolts with a strength of protest which is really startling. It is, as stated by an English antisemite, that "the Jews are a parasitic nation. Detached from their own country, they insert themselves, for purposes of gain, into the homes of other nations, while they retain a marked and repellant nationality of their own. The Jew is detested because he eats out the core of nationality." The vehemence with which the Jew, especially in America, repels this charge is due not merely to its falsity, but to the ardor of the love he bears the land which has given him such unequaled opportunities in the fight of life. It is not the untruthfulness of the charge that so stirs him, but the insult it offers to a holy sentiment—the profanation of the inner sanctuary of his soul.

His appeal to history is, or ought to be, a complete vindication of the charge. He has shown that the characteristic of his race is to cling to the soil of the land in which it has been planted, and that patriotism is a passion which neither his own resentment nor the persecution of his Gentile countrymen can eradicate. In Germany, up to the time of the establishment of the kingdom of Westphalia, the Jews had been oppressed with such social and political restrictions as would naturally alienate them forever from their German oppressors. Napoleon was the first to give them equality of civil rights in their native land. Yet when Germany rose against the great emperor these Jews remembered only that they were Germans, and took the field for their German fatherland. It is familiar history which a recent Jewish advocate states in language as forcible as it is beautiful:

> Had the Jews eaten out the core of the nationality of Spain when they drove the Moors forth from the city of generations—the Jerusalem of the West—and established the throne of Alonzo *el emperador*? Where had been the deathless glory of the Cid but for the Jews of Toledo? What Spaniards did Spain better service in that marvelous twelfth century than Spanish

Jews, who laid the pavements of La Blanca in soil from Mount Zion and who framed of cedar wood from Mount Lebanon that lofty and noble ceiling which still delights the artist and the architect?

It has been proven beyond dispute that the policy of representative Jews, such as Moses Montefiore and Nathan Mayer de Rothschild, has been to cultivate among their people the national feeling, to persuade them to use the tongue of their several countries, and, where possible, to purchase land and identify themselves with the great national institutions. In America it is a shame to insult this people as a drain upon the national life, when so many battlefields of American liberty are stained with Israel's blood. Patriotism arrays Jew against Jew. Can we so easily forget Lyon, who supported the government with his sword, and the Belmonts and Seligmans, who supported the national credit with their gold in the hour of peril? And when we remember that on the other side of that dread war the Jew stood shoulder to shoulder with the men of that section to which they owed allegiance, we have a proof positive that the passion of country is not lost in the stronger passion of the Jew.

It is an oft-repeated statement that the Jew is peculiarly a money-getter and, as the dominant power in the financial world, menaces the peace of the country. But how much of truth is in this statement? Doubtless there have been and there are Jews of immense wealth; but we have yet to learn instances in which their wealth was used to embarrass the governments under which they lived. Certainly we would not name as instances governments which, with military force, imprisoned the capitalist and confiscated his millions. Was Russia menaced by the millions which M. Samuel Solomonowitz put into the railways and educational institutions of his land? Did Rothschild embarrass the English government by loaning it $200,000,000? The Jew has proven himself a competent tradesman by introducing a principle of keen competition, which cuts down prices and profits to the advantage of the consumer, but not to the advantage of the commercial classes who are set against him as rivals. Does this fact menace the country?

But, aside from all this, we candidly ask, Is the money power peculiarly Jewish? Certainly in America it is not. *The New*

York Tribune a short time ago published a directory of the millionaires in all the States in the Union. Gould, Vanderbilt, Astor, Huntington, Stanford, Crocker, Garrett, Mills, Carnegie, and probably a hundred or more others were ranked as possessing more than ten millions. We do not remember that a single Jew was named in this class. It is surprising how few of the so-called money-getting race were in the whole list. The writer could not identify more than one who reached the five-million mark. Considering that a large body of Jews have enjoyed American citizenship for more than fifty years—fifty years in which such fortunes have been accumulated as the world has not in the same space of time seen gathered in any other age or land—it is strange that these tradesmen, with equal opportunities, have been left behind in the race.

Is it true that the Jew wields the scepter in England? The landed aristocracy there, the great brewers, distillers, East Indian merchant princes, the great banking houses, the owners of shipping lines, the Cunards and Inmans, all combine to send "British gold" to the four corners of the earth. There are Jewish bankers also; but what we call the money power of to-day is not Jewish, but it is English and American. Freedom and a higher Christianity prevent its being confined to a class of citizens. Competition distributes this power without respect to blood or faith. It is despotism and a lower Christianity that, by persecution and uncertainty in the tenure of one's possessions, compel an oppressed class in any land to seek advantage solely in the power of wealth. This Saxon race of ours, that has outstripped in fair competition all other men in wealth-getting, has many Jewish qualities. This race takes life seriously, industriously, zealously, pertinaciously; by much study of the Bible the Saxon has made to a large degree Jewish conceptions his own. When the Anglo-Saxon shall emulate the Jew's temperance he will outrival the Jew in genius, power, wealth, and every other quality. In fact, he has done so already. So long as there is to be a *Judenhetze* there will be men who, by iteration of a trite untruth, will lead other men to believe it who have not the time, in the midst of ardent daily duties, to investigate. But if we listen to passionate Jew-baiters, like Treitschke, Stœcker, and Drumont, fidelity to truth demands that we give equally careful

audience to such scientific searchers as Virchow, Mommsen, and Leroy-Beaulieu.

Another thing affirmed as a peril to the nation is that the very soul of the communistic movement of the day is the Jew. In an article in the *Methodist Review* a few years ago we were misled by the following:

> The socialistic and communistic movements originated in 1848 with the Jews, Karl Marx and Liebknecht, who initiated the crusade against existing social order and the relations of capital and labor. "Capital is robbery" is the fundamental principle of Marx. Ferdinand Lassalle, who founded what is now the German Socialistic party, was a Jew. The members of the Kagal, a Jewish secret society in Russia, show themselves to be the most radical of nihilists. Ten times as many Jews as Russians, Poles, or Germans recruit the nihilist ranks.

We deplore the false impression made by this statement. When men speak generically of "the Jews" they frequently attribute to all the shortcomings of some. That there are some Jews who threaten governments we concede. So there are some Christians; and the Jews supply no larger proportion of the ferment than the Christians. A moment's reflection must show that such statements are assertions so broad as to slander more Jews than they truthfully picture. Marx and Lassalle were Jews, but Fourier, Saint-Simon, Louis Blanc, Owen, Henry George were not. All of these cooperated in the holy cause of speaking for the oppressed, of compelling attention to the degradation and sufferings of the poor, of bringing about better conditions in all civilized lands. This much we say without subscribing to the philosophical premises on which they based their doctrine. When the pulpits of the world had no better remedy for the wrongs of men than that those who suffer shall have faith, these men, like the American abolitionists, by a line of writing, by the pen, not the sword, awakened the slumbering conscience of mankind. Soon the pulpits responded, and to-day Christian socialism has enlisted in its ranks the eloquence and the power of countless eminent divines, the cardinal in Baltimore, aye, the pope in Rome.

Many are the ministers who have echoed in sympathy with this modern spirit and have felt every place sacred where they could stir hearts to humane regard for the abstract rights of men. These socialists were Christians and Jews, extremists

sometimes, but never more extreme than One whose words are still a test of hope to the downtrodden, one who said, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." If there are elements of danger for States from such philosophies, these elements are not Jewish. They are not Gentile. They lie in the weakness of wrong, in the strength of right; for so far as a government is in the wrong it will break down, and so far as its opponents are right they will prevail.

But even in the midst of social philosophy the Jew is a lover of order. Johann Most is not a Jew; but if he were, and if all his followers were Jews, they are altogether so few that it would be injustice to condemn the thousands of conservative, law-abiding Jews because of these. We have heard of only one Jew who belongs to this outcast section of society. None were prominent in the leadership of the Paris commune during the dreadful days of 1871, and none stood on the scaffold with the anarchists in Chicago. In Russia, where any man who dares protest against governmental crimes is called a nihilist, it is quite likely that Jews are numbered among them; yet who would not rather be one of those "nihilists" whom Kennan visited in furthest Siberia, the possessor of manhood and love for fellow-men, than the despotic author of their sufferings in his winter palace? It is worthy to note, however, that the founder of the nihilist school of thinkers was Michael Bakunin, of the high Russian aristocracy, who, by reason of his extreme views, was expelled by the party of Karl Marx from the International Society at its congress at The Hague in 1872. Even among socialists—we cannot forbear the repetition—the Jew is representative of law.

The limits of this paper prevent a review of all the alleged causes of the antisemitic feeling in America. We believe it to be an inheritance, begotten in distant ages and for reasons which do not here exist. It has been so inwrought into the selfishness of national politics and the cruelty of church theologies as to acquire an age-defying strength, transmitting a deadly hatred from generation to generation. If at times it disappears in any measure, like the disease of an ancestor which overleaps a generation or two, it is sure to return and poison a later age. The latent evil is awakened by the most trivial occa-

sions. The reciprocal principle of exclusiveness between Jew and Gentile, now already continued as a living force for many centuries, combined as it often is with an irritating intrusiveness on the part of some Jews who have acquired a degree of wealth without a corresponding degree of education and social refinement, has depopulated many a fashionable hotel and ruined the social tone of many an elegant avenue. And this purely personal and social irritant has been enough to rouse the ancient and slumbering antagonism. Such is the atavism of prejudice. When such trifles can produce such results, how portentous must be the consequences of the fiercer antisemitic discussions now waging in Europe! Unless suppressed by an intelligent Christian conscience the morbid sentiment will stain American liberty with mediæval intolerance; and there will be another chapter to write on Israel's sufferings.

But by the will of God there is a divine future, foretold by prophets, for these wanderers of the weary centuries. It is a future for which they have never despaired and which they believe is even now dawning. We believe that the Christianity of America will hail its coming, seek to cast off the sins of the fathers which have blighted the growth of souls, and "put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him: where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all."

A. H. Tuttle.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

By a blunder in the press-room an imperfect table of contents for the volume of 1893 was appended to the November-December number of the *Review*. All subscribers who desire to bind the volume for the year will be furnished, on application to the publishers, with a correct table of contents to preface the bound volume.

Several changes in the typography and general arrangement of the *Review* will be noticed in this number. We hope they may commend themselves to our readers as improvements. The scope of the *Review* is widened, and we trust its value increased, by the introduction of two new departments, one of which will report whatever is most significant in the progress of Christian missions, and the other the discoveries and developments in the intensely interesting, as well as vastly important, fields of archæology and biblical research.

The following item of discovery in Egyptology was presented in a paper before the London Society of Biblical Archæology by the Rev. Camden M. Cobern, Ph.D., Pastor of First Methodist Episcopal Church, Ann Arbor, Michigan; and its value may be judged by the fact that it was reprinted by that society from the report of its proceedings by its own option in June, 1893. It shows that the Egyptians in ancestor worship avoided the use of the most sacred posture, reserving it for the worship of their deities. Its significance lies in its "important bearing upon Mr. Spencer's theory of primitive ancestor worship."

The writer, a few winters ago, while in the Ghizeh Museum, made the observation that the typically sacred posture of the uplifted empty hands, which was used in innumerable instances where men appeared before the divinities, was carefully avoided in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and very rarely used in the New Kingdom, when they appeared before their ancestors. This observation was afterward confirmed by a visit to the British Museum and the Louvre, and by an examination of the plates of Rosellini, Lepsius, etc. That this posture was a peculiarly sacred one is proved by its use from the very earliest times in the hieroglyphic "to worship." Thus also the gods adored the supreme divinity:

"Hail to thee, Râ! . . . thy mother Nut presents her hands to thee in the act of homage." (Ani Papyrus, Plate I.) This attitude is of all others the most common one taken by the worshiper when he enters the presence of his god; yet almost universally is it avoided when the relatives gather to reverence their ancestors.

It cannot be denied that there are a few exceptions to the general practice, but in almost every case the exception proves the rule. Hate and Kheti do stand in the sacred posture before Usertesen and Mes-en-hotep, who are figured as little creatures standing on top of the table of offerings; but the inscription is one distinctly addressed to Osiris and Anubis. (Louvre C. 19.) Another significant exception is that of Khent-Khat-ur, who stands before his ancestors in this sacred posture, but stands with his face turned from them and his hands uplifted toward the unseen. (Plate 109, Eg. Inscrips., British Museum, London, 1837.) There can be no doubt that this habit was too universal to allow the possibility of its being accidental. That there was one special attitude saved for the deity proves how greatly elevated were the gods above the deceased, and would seem to have some bearing upon the theory of the origin and meaning of ancestor worship which is now generally accepted by non-Christian philosophers.

This theory, invented by Herbert Spencer, is that all religion is an evolution from man's fear of ghosts. Through dreams, etc., the original savage caught the idea that he possessed a double self, which could wander away from the body and return to it again. The resemblance between death and sleep was such that this primeval savage began to suspect presently that the dead man's second self might be near the body, ready to avenge any insult paid to it. This fear of ghosts gradually led to offerings of food and drink and to praises of the dead or petitions that the spirit of the departed would not harm the living. From this to ancestor worship was only a short step. But, as the spirits of dead men were thought of as taking possession of birds, animals, and trees or flying to the stars, in course of millenniums polytheism with all its various forms of worship arose, and finally, after many centuries of philosophizing, monotheism. The bearing of Dr. Cobern's discovery upon such a theory is plain; for if there was one posture, and that the most sacred of all, which was invariably reserved for the worship of the gods and never used before the ancestors, it would indicate that a radical distinction was made by the ancient Egyptians between deity worship and ancestor reverence. Thus in the oldest worship known to man a relation exists between ancestor worship and god worship the exact opposite of that which would seem to be required by the evolutionist theory.

Is it possible to give a good education to our sons without sending them to the institution having the best record in boating,

in baseball, or football? Is it a proof of deficient paternal affection to send our sons to colleges devoted to and excelling in certain literary and scientific studies? These questions are not asked altogether in a sarcastic vein. The athletic demand has risen to so high a pitch that we really need to estimate its claims. If they are to be conceded without deduction, then a good father will inquire into the athletic record and prospects of the college asking his patronage. If the record is good and the present "team" a promising one a good father will not ask any foolish questions about the other and minor parts of the college. This may seem to some of the older brethren a mystery—possibly a mystery of iniquity. But they and we belong to a past which did not know the value of a football college course; and we must try to understand the lads who are treading on our heels. They value the college for its athletics—at least many of them do—and they are our successors in American citizenship. We must reject the claims they make, and give our reasons: (1) There is no sufficient proof that the battles which these games have become are ministrant to physical perfection; there is much proof of the contrary. Good physical development must be attained by more sober and more regular and constant exercise. Physical contests are not the best, they are probably the worst, method of bodily culture. (2) The American people will be too far gone in decadence for any hope of salvation when they come to prefer a physical contest to an intellectual one. Roosters and wild bulls will furnish necessary "sport," and if men must be used the Sullivans will always be numerous enough to meet the demand. The coarse tastes to which a combat ministers will, if they master us, require something more brutal than a set-to of college boys; but we believe that the nobler instincts of the people will survive and that the better mind of the rational public will retain its preference for intellectual superiorities. (3) The immoral environment of the conspicuous physical contests of college boys has become so clearly visible, so obtrusively active and destructive, that it cannot be ignored any longer. Athletic barbarity and gambling—and worse things—thrust themselves into our faces and force us to approve or condemn. Keep the athletic exercise; let our lads play and wrestle, under limits of safety; but abolish the battlefield. The prudent and affectionate father will keep his son as far as possible from a college having a high athletic record. That record has cost blood—and character; and it is a menace, not a promise.

SECTIONAL CONTROVERSIES.

The danger of sectional antagonism has come up for discussion in connection with the silver purchase debates in the press and in Congress. Some ill-advised persons went so far as to suggest a sort of commercial divorce of the West from the East. The proposed convention to consider the matter will not meet. The good sense of the people promptly rebuked the begetters of the scheme. We are still too near the civil conflict for any sectional movement to gain much favor; it is certain that the majority of the people of any State would reject any such plan. Still, the danger is thought of and sometimes spoken of as one of the disagreeable possibilities, if not probabilities, of the not very distant future. The matter is therefore worthy of some consideration.

It must be assumed at the outset that in our country antagonisms in the interests of different sections is the only possible cause of sectionalism. Differences of race do not exist in a sectional sense; nor do differences of religion. These are usually the two chief causes of sectional feeling within a nation. The sectional conflict which ended in the civil war was a very peculiar one; and such a one can never again arise. The conscience of the North after the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law created "an irrepressible conflict." Slavery was undoubtedly a question of interest at the South; but it was not such at the North. If it could have been reduced to a matter of dollars and cents there would have been no attempt to secede. Questions of sectional interest can be compromised; doubtless many such will be compromised in the next half century. Something of this nature may be found in the legislation of every Congress. Fiscal measures and appropriations are, in minor details, modified by the diverse interests of the several large sections of the Union; and the anti-Chinese legislation has been from the first a concession by the rest of the nation to the Pacific slope, not without some conscientious scruples not yet silenced or satisfied.

Are there likely to be opposed and irreconcilable sectional interests? Do such antagonisms now exist? Apparent or professed antagonisms there are; but are they real and uncompromising? We think them to be rather sentimental and temporary than real and permanent. The silver question stands now just where the protection question stood for half a century. The South opposed protection, just as the West, or a part of it, opposes a gold stand-

ard. But no one now seriously considers the tariff a sectional issue; the difficulty has been completely overcome, and no kind of a tariff will arouse sectional animosity. The silver question is a more temporary matter than the tariff. There are possible events which might swiftly settle all disputes. And there are possible settlements of the controversy which would remove the subject from the field of discussion; for example, an international agreement adjusting the two money metals to each other. Opposition of interests between creditor States and debtor States furnishes matter for considerable newspaper comment and epithet. The "money shark" is an ugly creature supposed to be an eater of Western men. "There be land sharks and there be water sharks." No section can ever have a monopoly of bad men, of grasping and cruel men. Some Eastern people of small means think they have reason to regret their relations to "sharks" of the far West; and honest farmers of the prairies have unpleasant emotions when they think of a "shark" supposed by them to swim in "Wall Street" —a term very confusingly employed in sectional literature. But all these are relations of individuals, and not of great sections of our common country. Nor is there anything new in this experience. There has long been a lending East and a borrowing West; nor is there now any dangerous acuteness in these relations.

Doubtless there are people who think there is a real antagonism in creditor and debtor sections of the nation. But in this case thinking does not make it so. If the antagonism were necessarily a menace to peace every town in the land would be a scene of conflict, for every village has creditors and debtors. There is certainly a considerable difference of opinion about silver, and in a measure this difference is sectional. But the difference is one about facts, and there is a strong presumption that the facts will be so well known on both sides long before any conflict arises that a settlement satisfactory to all reasonable persons will be made. They are few in any section who desire to pay less than they borrowed or to receive more than they lent. Most borrowers and lenders are honest people. The question of silver may not be settled for some years. It is a very novel one, and it has come to us through an extraordinary and sudden increase in the supply of silver and an equally strange and sudden decrease of the demand for it. It would be strange if such an experience did not very seriously disturb currencies and perplex politics. But there is every reason to believe that the wisdom of the commercial nations will solve this problem in an equitable

way. There is no excuse for the belief that it will set great sections of the United States by the ears. There is a common interest and a sturdy belief in a sound and stable money. The honest people are a large majority, and they are evenly distributed over the whole Union. Pending a settlement of this serious question patriotic men of all sections will have need of a more praiseworthy temper and a larger measure of reasonableness than the demagogues and sensational newspapers ordinarily display. But in no possible contingency could the controversy have enough explosive power to rend the Union.

It must not be forgotten that the Union is a common blessing, and that to keep this good our citizens are sure to make some necessary sacrifices. Sections at outs in feeling will bear with each other for the sake of the Union. Let a difference become grave, and immediately patriotism will revive in force and heal the breach. A sudden and fatal madness lighting the conflagration of a civil war is not among the possibilities in an intelligent country bound up in one by so many common interests. The tendencies which attract most attention are not toward conflicting interests. Manufactures are moving West and South. No large region—large enough to revolt—can have more than temporarily its peculiar pursuits to the exclusion of those followed by other regions. Railways and trade bind us together more and more closely; we know each other better across the whole continent. Interminglings of every social description tend to make us more united and to arrest the growth of sectional sentiment and politics. Before we can forget the awful years of our one civil war we shall be a much more compact, homogeneous, and fraternal people than we were in 1861. Common laws, common recollections, common speech, and common religion will unite with the common elements of our social life to make the Union indissoluble. Hot controversies, yes. Disunionism, no.

SCIENCE, RELIGION, AND LIFE.

That is a dangerous period in the history of thought when investigation is beginning to reveal new facts in any department of physical inquiry. Such discoveries are usually the result of some one particular line of investigation, and bear a strong generic resemblance to each other; and they appear, therefore, to point in the same direction and to the same conclusions. They come slowly, too, with perhaps long intervals between them and with an air of

finality about them, so that any deductions based upon them seem to be enduring and unchangeable. Theories are adopted often destructive of the old systems of thought and opposed to all the formulas of logic. Assumptions are made often unwarranted by any facts yet known to science. In the haste to arrive at the very secret of mysteries which have ever baffled explanation, desire outstrips achievement, and logical chasms are left unbridged and still unfathomable. Missing links in the chain of reasoning, it is claimed, will be supplied by the next new discoveries. It is assumed, without proof, that whatever new facts remain to be yet revealed by science will eventually only strengthen and support theories which have been hastily constructed and so far imperfectly furnished. Thus elated by new knowledge, partial though it be, the ultra apostles of science demean themselves with haughty contempt or worse indifference toward the old truths of revealed religion; and religion itself accepts the defensive, its disciples, overwhelmed with the clamor of empirical science and rash philosophy, assuming an apologetic air which ill becomes their professed faith in the God of the Bible and the Christ of the New Testament.

It is embarrassing, however, when the missing facts obdurately remain undiscovered, or when new facts are brought to light which overthrow the theories so loudly and triumphantly proclaimed. Then logic begins to assert its supremacy. Then science becomes modest, recognizes its limitations, and confines itself for the time to the strict region of fact. Then believers in the Christian religion regain their courage, and revelation reappears as unchangeable as ever. It is such a period of reaction against the overconfidence of science which seems to be about to dawn with the dawning of the coming century.

It is well, therefore, to glance anew at certain radical differences between science and religion. They occupy entirely separate planes. The sole business of physical science is to deal with facts which can be perceived and tested by the senses. The sphere of religion comprises mental, moral, and spiritual conditions which are above the apprehension of the senses, but which constitute the most important elements of human happiness or misery. Both exemplify God's power and embody the results of his will. Hence they cannot contradict one another or be mutually discordant or repellent; yet any attempt to "reconcile" the two, in the ordinary meaning of the term, must terminate in failure. That God should have enforced certain methods in the material

world does not interfere with the truth that he enacted other and different and higher laws in the moral and spiritual realms. Science and revelation are not coincident or coextensive; they cannot clash or intercept one another; they are complements each of the other, and products of the same divine mind, working in different channels, it is true, though to the same distant and ultimate end. Neither can be explained by the other; yet both are essential to the supreme purposes of God.

Science has not so far discovered any fact which fails to fit into the system of revelation. She has, indeed, compelled new revisions of traditional interpretations of a few scriptural texts; yet the fault is seen to have inhered in the old interpretation and not in the original message. Nor has she attained one whit nearer to the solution of any of the mysteries of existence. In the discussion of all organic data, for instance, she must begin with an acknowledgment of the fact of life. She cannot explain why a seed of corn, lying dormant for years, should retain its latent life, and then, by being planted in the earth, become capable of producing not simply one but many multiplications of itself. Nor can the cause or the method of either the origin or the reproduction of human life be discovered or accounted for by any experiments or investigation which science may institute. When, deserting her own province and invading that of philosophy, she attempts to force her way to the citadel of life she loses herself in dark and unknown regions, and either travels in an unending circle to arrive again and again at the point of departure; or else, after a mighty battle of unwieldy and unmanageable words, resulting in much smoke and obscurity, she retreats at length, baffled and defeated, to her own peculiar territory.

Revelation, on the contrary, starts with the only conceivable and consistent explanation of the cause of all the varied phenomena of the universe—the existence of a personal, intelligent, and all-powerful Creator. It does not, indeed, present all the steps in the methods of creation. The full understanding of the age-long and world-wide designs of God will be occupation for eternity, and the continual wonder and admiration produced by our ever-fresh advances in the knowledge of his works will be the spontaneous and unceasing incentive to the praise which we shall ever offer him. It is enough that he has revealed himself as the one sufficient and only possible explanation of all things; that he has taught us, not only by example and precept, but by the actual evil results of transgression, the path he has intended

for us; that he has revealed not all the minute details, but the simple and essential statement, of his design in our creation, the only statement of design which satisfies the apparent inconsistencies and wrongs of human existence; that he has given us, by his promises of future happiness, every motive to comply with the conditions he has marked out as best serving his far-reaching purposes.

Philosophy, in its endeavor to explain the origin and end of human life, is a confessed failure—self-confessed in its continual readoption and rejection of worn-out hypotheses. Science, confining itself modestly and consistently to its own sphere, has nothing whatever to do with these questions. Scientists and inventors, utilizing the discoveries of their predecessors and avoiding their errors, may make visible progress from generation to generation. No such advancement is possible in the essential traits of human nature. Men start in all ages and the world over from the same level of undeveloped infancy and pass through the same gamut of experience from childhood to age, leaving their successors to repeat, with individual variations but essential uniformity, the same story of human existence; and religion, ordained in revelation and designed by the Author of human nature to meet its needs and fulfill its destiny, far from being superseded by the improved conditions of civilization, remains the only rational explanation of human life, the only remedy for human wrongs, and the only hope of the race both now and hereafter.

FANTASTIC REFORM.

In November last a somewhat fantastic English reformer visited Chicago and held a public meeting to organize a movement "to drive the devil out of that city." He invited the virtuous classes and the vicious classes, the miserable and the affluent, to meet and confer with him and set on foot this great movement. A crowd assembled, but the professionally vicious classes did not come. The talking part of the assembly came from the ranks of the labor reformers, socialistic reformers, and those advanced people commonly called cranks. The listeners embraced many curious folk and a few of the persons who are actually engaged in fighting the devil as pastors or working members of churches. The talk had nothing new in it, except that it was a mixture of several varieties of fantastic reform. A committee

was duly appointed to arrange a plan of campaign, and there the movement, as is common in such matters, ended. The English reformer got a page or two in the newspapers the next day and started for home, leaving the devil in Chicago. The reformers who are not sensational and who have fought the prince of darkness on that field year in and year out remained at their posts and continued their fighting through their church work, their schools, their charities, and their courts. They could have welcomed a leader capable of more effective and more rapid work; but the leader did not lead, and they are, in Lincoln's phrase, "pegging away" in the old ways.

In the course of this fantastic meeting, when the customary attention was being paid by some socialist to the richer people, a young man in the gallery suggested that "men became rich by economical habits and by keeping out of the saloons." This hint was coldly received by the audience, and the English reformer filled up a painful pause by sarcastically replying, "We thank you for your copy-book truisms." The sarcasm was well received by the assembly; but in cold type it loses some of its sting. In fact, it discloses a state of mind, a state of feeling toward copy-book truisms—in other terms, plain morals—which deserve serious attention. The impatience of fantastic reformers with plain moral truth, their want of faith in the power of religious education, their strange conviction that the Churches are doing nothing, their despairing calls for some effective help, their belief that the vicious classes are rather better than other people, their rejection of temperance and missionary relief measures—all these singular notions and beliefs are furnished with a battle-cry in the words "copy-book truisms." The number of persons in this singular mental condition is perhaps not very great, but they make more noise and get more attention from the press than all the real reformers in the country.

For the real reformers are at work putting copy-book truisms into the mind and into the life of the people. A great army of mothers, teachers, preachers spend their lives in this great work, and their success is known of all candid persons. They teach, train, enlighten, and save multitudes, while the fantastic reformers are making speeches and appointing committees. They produce character, while the fantastic people are producing discontent. We do not wish to discredit the complaints of the poor; but a suggestive thing happened in Chicago that same November. For many months a "Helping Hand" society had existed there, and

it chose that particular time for falling to pieces. The active agent of this society, a man with years of experience among "people out of employment," expressed the opinion that there were not twenty men in the city who could not get work when they wanted work. The "Helping Hand" found itself doling out alms to idle and characterless persons, and that was not its mission. It desired to assist honest poor in finding employment; and such people did not come to it for aid. We hesitate to accept the conclusion; but it is certain that much of the complaining comes from persons out at elbows in character rather than in opportunity to obtain an honest living.

The real reformers have a mighty task; but their copy-book truisms bring salvation, and nothing else ever brought it to a human life. The failure of the flighty fantastic people appears the more strikingly when they flout truisms. The person who held this meeting in Chicago declared that the temperance people were a great obstacle to reform; the true way would be to get good saloons to suppress the bad saloons. Another speaker eulogized the beer-drinking habit as a particularly anti-Satanic influence. It was a congress convened to set up a new theory of virtue, or rather to raise vice to the rank of a virtue; and the English reformer seemed to think that Jesus Christ, when he went among the fallen, elevated their vices to social dignity. The tendency to disparage Christian reformation has gained some ground in these years; it comes to its apotheosis in such an assembly as the one here described. It is a helpless, hopeless, and ignorant movement away from plain morals, away from the truths that character is essential to the success of the poor and degraded and that we must lift them into heroic abstinence from such things as saloons into heroic self-help, or fail to lift them at all. If we cannot get the leverage of character under them they must fall into the ditch of degraded poverty; and if we do get that leverage under them we shall lift them, even out of the deepest abysses of degradation.

THE PROGRESS OF HUMANITY.

THERE are those who would have us believe that humanity has made no progress; that, on the contrary, from an indefinite period, perhaps from the very beginning, it has been steadily, if not rapidly, degenerating. It might seem that such a theory was so wild and irrational, so flatly contradicted by plainest facts, as not

to deserve sober treatment or respectful consideration. But when we perceive that distinguished men in all ages of the world have been occasionally given to chanting these funeral dirges, and that the average observer who looks out at the time and place immediately around him is easily misled as to the trend of things, we are convinced that there is abundant call for clear and frequent statements concerning this matter. The very fact that every age has considered itself so extremely bad is a strong proof that the trouble is largely in the eyes of the observers and that their pictures are faulty through disregard of the laws of perspective. Let a few quotations stand in place of many.

Seneca, in the first century, writes:

> Vice no longer hides itself; it stalks forth before all eyes. So public has abandoned wickedness become, and so openly does it flame up in the minds of all, that innocence is no longer rare; it has wholly ceased to exist.

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage in the third century, thus describes his time:

> The public ways are obstructed by robbers, the seas are infested with pirates, the world is reeking with mutual bloodshed. Law has made a compact with crime, and guilt has become legal. What sense of shame, what probity, can exist where bad men have none to condemn them and where none are found but ought to be condemned?

In the fourth century Eusebius says:

> Hypocrisy and dissimulation have arisen to the greatest height of malignity. All things have gone to wreck by the factious willfulness and avarice of the bishops.

Chrysostom says, with reference to the Church:

> Our assemblies differ in nothing from a drinking shop, so loud is the laughter, so great is the disturbance. Nay, the church is like a market place, even a stage or theater. For the women who assemble there adorn themselves more wantonly than the unchaste who are found in the theater; so that on that account profligate men come to church. All things are now corrupted and lost. All are rampant and refractory as herds of wild horses. Everything is filled with their abounding corruptions.

In the tenth century a distinguished writer says:

> The clergy everywhere are composed principally of men who are illiterate, stupid, ignorant of everything pertaining to religion, dissolute, superstitious, and flagitious. Nothing can be conceived of so filthy, so criminal, or so wicked as to be deemed by the supreme bishops of the Church incompatible with their characters; nor was any government ever so loaded with vices of every kind. They made traffic of everything sacred. Everywhere were seen the profligate morals of the clergy and the monks. Their history is a history of atrocious villainies and crimes.

In the seventeenth century it is written of England:

> The best men are driven out of the Church. The doctrines of the Gospel are no longer heard in the vast majority of pulpits. The immoralities of the court are shocking.

Dr. South says:

> Blasphemy, irreligion, and debauchery were the prime characteristics of all men of wit and fashion. Their ambition was to reach daring heights in sin.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, a little before, in 1596, says:

> There is a universal coldness and decay of zeal in all men; ignorance and contempt of the word, ministry, and sacraments, superstition, and idolatry abound. There is universal neglect of justice in civil and criminal causes; the worst men are advanced to office, and bribery prevails in the court.

Declarations of a similarly doleful sort concerning the condition of England in the eighteenth century, before the Wesleyan reformation, might be given in large numbers; also concerning the state of things this side the sea, in every single period from the beginning of the settlements. One specimen will do as well as a multitude. It is from the pen of Jonathan Edwards, in 1735:

> The world has got to such a terrible state of wickedness that it is probable the cry of it has reached unto heaven, and it is hardly probable God will allow things to go on as they now are much longer. It is probable that God will appear ere long in awful majesty to vindicate his own cause.

And so the speedy dissolution of all things because of outrageous iniquity and inconceivable corruption has been perpetually prophesied all down the years. Every generation, or at least some portion of it, has firmly believed it was worse than the last. But it needs no great amount of reflection, and only a small acquaintance with history, to show that this is not possible. Those who delivered themselves of these jeremiads were doubtless sincere, but they were sadly mistaken. They got into the way of looking exclusively on the dark side. They overemphasized the evil in their laudable desire to arouse men to combat it. Their habit of thought was partisan, not judicial. Their conclusions were not reached from any impartial weighing of one period over against another or from any sufficiently careful examination of all the facts. More excuse can be made for their errors than for similar blunders by men of to-day, who have so much better opportunities of knowledge and who ought to have imbibed something of the scientific spirit of the times.

There is absolutely no reason now why anyone should doubt that

the world is growing better, or, in other words, that the physical, moral, and spiritual condition of humanity is improving. This earth is a much pleasanter place to live in to-day than ever it was before. The sum total of human happiness and human goodness is much larger at present than at any previous period in the world's history. A few reasons for this faith, which has become firmly established in us, we now propose to give.

THE INCREASING POPULATIONS.

The fact that the inhabitants of the earth are multiplying so rapidly in these later years is one of deep significance. According to the best available authorities the population of Europe did not materially increase from the days of Julius Cæsar to the Reformation, a period of over fifteen hundred years. It was just about one hundred millions at both times, at the beginning and end of that long interval. In the next three hundred years, from 1500 to 1800, the population had increased fifty per cent, so that the total was about one hundred and fifty millions. But during the present century it has increased one hundred and forty per cent, so that the total is now three hundred and sixty millions. In fifteen hundred years no gain, then in three hundred years a gain of fifty millions, and then in less than a hundred years a gain of two hundred and ten millions. In each of the three centuries before the present a gain of sixteen per cent, and then in this century a gain of one hundred and forty per cent. What does all this mean? What is the story that is behind these figures? What were the causes which kept the population stationary for fifteen hundred years and then gave it such a very slow growth for three centuries more? Constant wars, famines, and pestilences. These are words easy to pronounce or write, but the depth of wretchedness and degradation they indicate cannot be at all conceived. To have war, famine, pestilence, one or both, or all three, most of the time—life under such circumstances is almost unmitigated misery. The struggle for mere existence is so terribly severe that only the very strongest of the population survive, and the deaths are so many that the births only just manage to make good the perpetual drain.

It must be evident on slight consideration that one of the very best measures of the comparative peace, virtue, happiness, and prosperity of a people is afforded by the figures of the population. They prove in this case that Europe during the Middle Ages, before Christianity in its purity had got control of the life

of the people, was a pretty bad place to live in; that after the Reformation had cleared the air, breaking the bonds of thought, liberating the human mind, and unshackling the Bible, a great advance was speedily seen; and that during the past century, when, as never before, freedom and truth have come to the front and the Protestant nations have taken the lead, the hardships of life have been so immensely ameliorated that the statistics have moved forward with gigantic leaps and bounds.

The population of India, so far as can be ascertained, was about the same hundreds and indeed thousands of years ago as it was when the British took possession of it in the last century. The numbers were kept stationary by famine, pestilence, and war, and were not far from one hundred and fifty millions. But now, under the Christian government of Great Britain, which has maintained peace, prevented or alleviated famine, taught sanitation, and developed in every way the resources of the land, the population is very nearly three hundred millions, doubling in a century and a quarter.

England in the year 1100, or at the time of the Norman conquest, had about two million people. After five centuries, at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, it had four millions. After two centuries more, in 1800, it had about nine millions; while now, in ninety years, the population has leaped from nine millions to thirty. The increase has been two hundred and thirty-three per cent in ninety years, and that in spite of the immense emigration, against less than seventy per cent for the previous century. This one fact speaks whole volumes in testimony of increased safety against disease, better food and shelter, improved education, less exhausting labor, and easier, happier, more virtuous conditions of life in general.

Another fact of precisely the same sort is found in the increased duration of human life. It used to be set at thirty-three years, which was called a generation. It is longer now, in this country, at least, and in most of the countries of Europe. It has gone up above forty. That means greater thrift, greater temperance, better parental care, improved sanitary conditions, less of squalid poverty, less of sensual luxury. Vice is always unfriendly to life and longevity; virtue produces them. Therefore a lower annual death rate and an increased prolongation of life testify loudly that we are decidedly on the up grade as a people, and not on the down grade, as so many of our pessimists would have us believe.

THE FORWARD MARCH OF MIND.

Many evidences show what may be called the forward march of mind, the ever-increasing supremacy of mind over matter, the advancing victories of human intellect and intelligence. And this march may fairly be summoned as a witness to prove that the race is on the up grade. Consider the marvelous progress that has been made in the arts and sciences, the stupendous gains of invention and discovery, the magic and miracle of mechanical improvement which has characterized this century, especially its latter half. Who can really doubt that the world is a better place to live in now than it was when our grandfathers or great-grandfathers were young? Seventy-five years ago there were no steam railways. The first telegraph line in America, from Washington to Baltimore, was set up less than fifty years ago. The telephone is less than twenty-five years old. Think of the marvelous developments of steam in this half century. The steam power in the world to-day is four times as great as all the hand power, and twice as great as all the horse power. In other words, the working energy of the most civilized lands, the ability to exert strength for the accomplishment of desired results, has been a good deal more than doubled by the application of steam. And now steam is almost going out of date, so fast is it giving place to electricity, so rapidly are we learning to harness the lightning to our chariots and make it toil at our tasks and light our dwellings as well as carry our messages. Think of the triumphs of our ocean racers running more than five hundred miles a day, of our fast express trains making very nearly a mile a minute hour after hour, and compare this with the slow-sailing packets and rude, lumbering wagons of our grandfathers. We have almost destroyed distance, and nations have been brought into closest neighborhood, which tends beyond doubt to increase their harmony and mutual helpfulness. A simple catalogue of the things which even in our own time, so swift is the forward movement, have wonderfully added to the convenience and comfort of life would be too long for insertion here. But among other things may be mentioned street railways, photographs, phonographs, typewriters, sewing machines, elevators, ocean cables, the cheap postal system, anæsthetics, and the other improvements in medicine and surgery. If we were to take in a longer period the contrast would, of course, be still more startling. The wealthiest monarchs a century or two

ago could not with all their power procure for their palaces some of the simple things, like matches, for example, which no person and no hut, however humble, is to-day without.

All this plainly shows that the condition of humanity is steadily improving, not only physically, but mentally and morally. It may be said that the matters mentioned pertain only to material things. But surely man expresses himself in his works. Great achievements indicate a high type of manhood. In the governments men found, in the books they write, in the appliances they invent, in the obstacles they overcome, in the discoveries they make, in the enterprises they inaugurate, they disclose the quality of their power and the height of their advancement. Man is a more royal being than he used to be, more divine, with more of the Creator in him, more fully measuring up to the ideal which he was designed to fill when God gave him dominion over this mundane sphere and set him as the representative of Deity here below. Every victory of the higher part of man over the lower really elevates the race and shows it to be on the right path. We have every reason to rejoice at the growth of popular intelligence in recent years, the far greater diffusion of knowledge, the multiplication of schools of every kind, the better methods of teaching, and the larger numbers of the common people in many lands brought within the circle of education with all its manifest advantages. We may well thank God that labor also has been greatly exalted, that industry has more and more come to be recognized as indispensable to respectability, that work, instead of idleness or war, is coming to the place of highest honor as the foundation of society and the bulwark of the State. These, and many other similar signs of the times, are surely full of encouragement and give no countenance to the pessimist.

MARKS OF MORAL PROGRESS.

Leaving the tokens of physical, social, industrial advance, all of which things have close connection with morals, and yet are somewhat different, let us come still nearer to the heart of the theme and touch on things which have a yet more intimate relation to the happiness and true prosperity of humanity, which prosperity we claim is increasing, not diminishing.

For one thing, note the overthrow of slavery and the slave trade. Probably nothing has produced so much misery in the world and so much moral corruption as this, which Wesley fitly called "the sum of all villainies." The most glaring injustice,

the darkest ignorance, the grossest licentiousness, the wickedest waste of life were clearly included in it. Outrages of every sort and atrocities of every kind perpetually abounded. It was brutalizing to both black and white, bloody, barbarous, beastly beyond description. But at the beginning of this present century slavery existed through nearly all the world. Most of the peasantry of Europe were either actual slaves or, the next thing to it, serfs in the lowest condition. During the first seven years of this century English ships conveyed annually over the Atlantic forty thousand Africans, one half of whom, because of the terrible treatment, perished at sea or soon after landing. This century has seen the total cessation of the Atlantic slave trade, the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, the freeing of the serfs in Russia and other European countries, and emancipation in the United States and in Brazil. The addition to the sum of human happiness caused by this one item is absolutely inconceivable. Out of night into day, out of death into life, out of despair into hope, out of chattelization into humanization scores and scores of millions have been gloriously lifted. Nor is this all. Africa itself, the one remaining plague spot, has been taken hold of in right earnest for good by all the nations of Europe. Thanks to Livingstone, and Stanley, and Lavigerie, and many others of lesser fame, the slave trade, even in Africa, is surely doomed. Before many years there will be no such thing as slavery anywhere on the earth. A final end will be put to this climax of horrors that for scores of centuries has cursed mankind. This alone would be enough to prove beyond peradventure the upward movement; this alone must vastly change for the better the balance between human joy and human sorrow, between morality and immorality.

War has been another terrific scourge of mankind. We do not yet see it fully abolished; but we shall. Already it has been marvelously ameliorated. Wars are but pastimes now compared with what they once were. In the olden days kings fought when they pleased, and they were almost always fighting. The people had no voice; they were looked upon as only food for powder, unfit to be considered. Single wars hung on sometimes for thirty years, with little or no cessation. Neutrals had no rights, noncombatants were not spared, the armies lived on the country; pillage, outrage, robbery, rape, and murder were going on all the time. It was a veritable hell upon earth. Things are very different now. Diplomacy in most cases takes the place of bru-

tality. Arbitration four times out of five is found sufficient to settle disputes that once would have brought on devastating campaigns. The public sentiment of Christendom is powerful, and frowns upon bloodshed unless in cases of extreme necessity. Wars have become so expensive that very few nations can afford them. Thrones are so insecure and the people have so much strength that it is no longer possible for kings to follow their whims in this matter. And when war comes it is simply a duel between two great armies, often settled in a single contest or ended in a few weeks of maneuvering. The great Christian and commercial nations, whose interests are bound up in keeping the peace, more and more are getting into their hands the numerical and financial and martial power of the world; and this tends mightily to prevent war. It seems clear that before long the industrial rivalry of America will compel the disarmament of Europe, since the nations there cannot with their crushing military burdens compete with us in the markets of the world. Then shall we see a United States of Europe, where all the great questions that now breed bad blood will be settled in some representative assembly. Then will the war drums throb no longer and the battle flags be furled in the "parliament of man, the federation of the world." The progress seen in this one item of war has been quite enough to make the earth a far happier and better place to live in than it ever was before.

Intemperance is an evil that still has enormous proportions, but it would be unjust not to recognize the many cheering tokens of improvement—the great change in public sentiment, the verdict of science against alcohol, the dissemination of knowledge in regard to the evils of strong drink, and the improved condition of the laws. One hundred years ago everybody drank. Clergymen and deacons, the best citizens and statesmen, were frequently the worse for liquor, and nothing was thought of it. To have a ministerial convention or a church gathering of any kind without a bountiful supply of all sorts of alcoholic beverages would have been considered altogether impossible. Dr. Leonard Woods, of Andover, who died in 1854, said, "I remember when I could reckon up among my acquaintance forty ministers who were intemperate." Another gentleman living in those times subsequently said in a Boston newspaper: "I have a list of one hundred and twenty-three intemperate deacons in Massachusetts, forty-three of whom became sots; a good many deacons in New England died drunkards." This is but one item which shows

what the moral condition of things was in our grandfathers' days —those good old times. And things were equally bad in regard to licentiousness. There certainly is a different feeling in the air now. Things that once were readily tolerated would now be severely frowned upon. Resolutions of public bodies such as were passed by the last General Conference, condemning in the strongest terms the slightest complicity with the liquor traffic by voice, vote, or influence, and declaring relentless warfare against the saloon and the license system, show that the tide of public opinion is magnificently higher than it once was and is steadily rising all the time. It has already achieved much in banishing the diabolical business from a large portion of the land, and is going straight on till it makes a clean sweep of the whole.

A similar advance has taken place in many other directions, for the proper recital of which no space can be taken. Prison reform has done marvels to improve the condition of the jail population. Only about a century ago English law recognized two hundred and twenty-three capital crimes. Hanging was the penalty for about everything, even the most trivial offenses. Off to the gallows men were sent by the hundreds for really nothing. The criminal laws of the most civilized countries were atrociously savage and were relentlessly administered, and the condition of the prisons was simply horrible. All that has been wholly changed. The rights of women have come to be recognized as never before, and the rights of children. How numerous almost beyond enumeration the philanthropic agencies of every kind that have been set in motion for the amelioration of all sorts of suffering—hospitals, asylums, infirmaries, dispensaries, institutions for the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the idiotic, the insane, homes for the aged and the orphan, societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals and cruelty to children! Most of these are of comparatively recent growth, and are being marvelously multiplied every day. Political and religious liberty of every kind is greatly growing. Reform is the watchword of the hour, and never in any age of the world did virtue and morality, purity and honesty, have so strong a hold on the people. No progress? What can people be thinking about who say this? Where are their eyes, and their ears, and their heads?

THE GAINS OF RELIGION.

Driven from point to point, some of the croakers make a last desperate stand here, asserting that whatever may be the mental

and moral progress there is not as much genuine religion as there used to be. But it is just in this direction that the real facts, properly considered, afford us the largest reason for praising God. It is because of the religious gains that there have been gains in the other matters mentioned. For religion is the most fundamental fact in all history, the main factor in every sort of wholesome growth. If it were to lose its grip on mankind or decline in influence vainly should we look for any advance in morals or any improvement in the physical, social, and industrial condition of mankind. Irreligion, infidelity, is utterly destructive of all that makes life best worth having, all that promotes the progress of the race. Infidelity is high treason against civilization. Hence all that has been said thus far goes clearly to show that true religion must be of necessity advancing. There are also many other facts and figures to prove it.

How glorious has been the advance of the Christian religion as compared with the imperfect and inferior faiths which it is steadily displacing. By the year 1500 there had come to be about one hundred millions of Christians in the world. By 1800 there were two hundred millions. But by 1900 there will be not far from five hundred millions, for there are almost that now. While it took eighteen centuries to get two hundred millions, it took only one century more for the number to leap to five hundred millions. It must be rather hard to find much ground for croaking in that fact. But still more startling are the figures when we come to look at the numbers under Christian governments. A century ago there were three hundred and forty millions under the sway of Christian rulers. Now there are eight hundred and forty millions, or about four sevenths of the population of the globe ; and the other three sevenths cannot move hand or foot except as Christian powers permit. Is there not some cause for encouragement here? Practically all the foreign commerce of the world—and what that means anybody can see—is in Christian hands, and of the twenty-one million tons engaged in it seventeen and a quarter million tons belong to Protestant powers. Protestants have increased within the century threefold, while Roman Catholics have only doubled. And, still better, it is the English-speaking nations, those most energetically Christian, most progressively Protestant, that are advancing most rapidly of all. They have multiplied fivefold within the century, while the population of the world has only doubled. In another century they will be at least eight hundred millions strong, and will completely dominate the globe. In John

Wesley's day, one hundred and twenty-five years ago, only five parts in thirty of the world's population were Christians. To-day between nine or ten parts in thirty are Christians. A century ago Christians were only twenty per cent of the whole population, or as one to four compared with non-Christians. Now they are about thirty per cent, if not thirty-three, or about one to two.

If it is said that this is but an increase of nominal Christians we are ready with a still closer test. The communicants in the Protestant Churches of America through all the periods of our national history have been steadily gaining on the population. In 1800 there was one communicant for fourteen and one half inhabitants—a very small proportion. In 1850 there was one for every six and one half; in 1870 one for every five and a half; in 1880 one for every five; in 1890 there were over thirteen million communicants, or one for less than five. There has been a gain of ten million communicants in the evangelical Churches of this country since 1800—a gain without parallel in religious history. That does not look as if we were going behind very much. Tried by the severest test, in the teeth of the immense immigration with which we have had to contend, most of it hostile to evangelical Protestantism, we have still gained at a faster rate than has the population.

Another point. The Christian faith, besides spreading more and more widely over the world, was never so firmly rooted in the affections and convictions of men as now, never so pure in quality as well as large in quantity. How vast the improvement by the Reformation under Luther! How vast the improvement by the revival under Wesley! How signal has been the defeat since then of high Calvinism, that travesty of the Gospel which once so largely prevailed! There never was so simple, so reasonable, so sensible, so biblical a statement of Christian truth as that which now is commonly made. The spirit of inquiry and investigation now abroad in the land, which makes some people uneasy, is really one of the best signs of the times. Theology has certainly been improved. Mediæval monstrosities have been shaken off. We are in far better condition to meet the attacks of infidelity than ever before. Those attacks have everywhere failed to make any important impression on the defenses of the faith. And infidelity has not a tithe of the power it had a hundred years ago. New churches are being built in this country alone at the rate of one and a half for every working hour every day the whole year through,

and the missionary movement has swept so boldly into prominence in the last fifty years that it seems practically like a new thing in the earth.

In view of all this and a dozen other things which there is no space to mention it is perfectly plain that our God is marching on. In view of it all are we not fully warranted in declaring that the pitiful wail to which we are sometimes treated, that the world is growing worse and the times are fearfully degenerate, is absolutely ridiculous, unworthy of serious thought?

> The world is growing better, no matter what they say,
> The light is shining brighter in one refulgent ray;
> And though deceivers murmur and turn another way,
> Yet still the world grows better and better every day.

The venerable "good old times," dear as they are in memory to many minds, were not even at their best as good as are these. It is true there are great evils in the world, and a very dark picture could be drawn by dealing exclusively with the misery and poverty and crime that are so plentifully to be found. But the point to be oberved is that things were much worse in the past, and that not a very remote past, either. We have not yet reached the millennium, but there has certainly been great improvement. Anyone who says there has not must be set down as ignorant of history and of the world at large. He shows that he is not acquainted with anything but what he sees right around him or reads in the daily papers. He takes too short views, too limited and onesided views. He is not competent to form any judgment in the matter. We need not and must not follow these pessimistic thinkers, who have traduced and disfigured every age. We have a perfect right to the stimulus of life. Victory is in the air, not defeat. In spite of all obstacles and hindrances the world moves forward. It is sweeping out further and further into the dawn. The light is breaking, the morning cometh, the day is at hand. The golden age is not in the past, but in the future. The promised land is just ahead.

> Though some hearts brood upon the past, our eyes
> With smiling futures glisten;
> Lo, now the dawn bursts up the skies,
> Lean out your souls and listen.
> The world rolls freedom's radiant way,
> And ripens with our sorrow;
> The bars of hell are strong to-day—
> The Christ shall rise to-morrow.

THE ARENA.

EVOLUTION ON TRIAL.

Is it not time to call a halt? We have been making concessions, yielding point after point to the evolutionists, till we have found ourselves almost pushed from the outposts to the citadel of our faith, helping to fulfill the prophecy of Herbert Spencer, in his *Biology*, that the time would come when the supernatural would be "pushed out" altogether. Truly, that would be a dismal retreat, and for what? Atheistic evolution has been on trial for at least thirty years. What is the outcome? Virchow, from the advance posts of science, sends back the word, "The missing link not found." Perhaps he never heard of Professor Huxley's "horse" (?), a creature about the size of a wolf, with never a hoof yet evolved. We have been waiting for facts and have been met with fallacies—theories for truths, pretensions for proofs. What is the secret of such persistence? The purpose to push the Deity out of his universe. It is Hume's "No evidence can prove a miracle." It is Kant's dogged assertion that "no cause within nature can also give origin to nature." Professor Tyndall sees the nightmare of anthropomorphism even in the creation of Darwin's "primordial forms."

Here are some of the difficulties of Darwinian evolution: 1. A chance-made universe teeming with teleology and design—a contradiction, an absurdity. 2. "Life without previous life"—an unproved and improbable hypothesis. 3. Species developing into new species without any known connecting links. 4. Two negative principles, selection and adaptation, with all the potency of positive powers, producing a sentient world, the one by destroying, the other by changing what is already in existence. 5. Strata of fossiliferous rocks with definite boundary lines, separating species from species, but no forms *in transitu*. Where are all these half-developed creatures—the generations of bees and butterflies with only incipient wings, eagles with pinions powerless for flight, bulls without horns, elephants without tusks, apes without tails. 6. That inexorable law—"the survival of the fittest"—allowing monstrous creatures to live until they could be evolved into beings of permanent symmetry and beauty. 7. The enormous number of chances required to evolve a new organ in a series of generations, first its production, next its recurrence, then its growth—ten billions of chances for failure against one for success in only ten generations—as though printer's type, spilled out at random, should after billions of trials spell out an "Iliad" or a "Paradise Lost." 8. The clashing laws of heredity and variation, the first tending to permanence, the second to instability and a kind of fickle experimentation. 9. The vast extent of time required for the evolution of living creatures compared with the limited age of the living world—say fifty million years. Darwin's utmost estimate. Now, it has been shown that the coral insect has been building in exactly the same style for about two hundred thou-

and years, with no evidence of any variation in form or habits of work in all that time. Only two hundred and fifty of such æons are required to exhaust the limits of successive life. How and when and where did evolution do its work. 10. Variations of type merging into stability and fixedness with no directing hand—unlike Darwin's variations among pigeons, which were forced and unnatural, even reverting to the original type, if left alone. 11. The formation of organs fitted only for a future use and for an untried element—as the eye, with all its humors and lenses, formed in the dark, yet fitted for the light—the human eye, mobile, wide-ranging, farseeing; the eye of the dragon-fly, with its twelve and a half thousand facets, suited for observation in rapid flight; the eye of the bird, large, keen, adaptable. Aimless evolution somehow stumbled upon these magnificent results! As Martineau suggests, "A microscope invented in a city of the blind could hardly surprise us more." 12. The adaptation of plants to animals, as that of the orchid, stored with honey to attract the moth, then scattering its pollen upon its visitor for the fertilization of other orchids. 13. The marvelous instincts of animals. 14. The mind of man, conscious of a free will and a sense of accountability, yet evolved from a monod or from the slime of the sea—freedom coupled with mechanism, consciousness of power springing from insensate matter, confusion worse confounded! 15. The contrast of nature, with its apparent aims and ends and multitudinous adaptations of means to results, with the works of man, the latter leading back to a conscious will, the former leading back to an unknowable something—or nothing.

Such is evolution in its widest and wildest sense; and we may venture to prophesy that future generations will be astonished at the credulity of their ancestors, who could gulp down such preposterous propositions while straining at the simple teachings of evangelical theism. We must fight this godless evolution and its abstract and undefinable ally, agnosticism, unto the death. They are the deadly foes of all living faith and spiritual life. Evolutionists knock madly at the doors of life and say, "Grant us only a beginning!" Ah! but that discloses the God of creation; and as no one believes in a dead Deity it is easy to believe in a living and loving God, holding not only his universe in his grasp of power, but each of his redeemed and adopted children, as a mother whose circling arms hold her babe to her bosom.

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"LIKE PEOPLE, LIKE PRIEST."

THE proverb, "Like people, like priest," is usually reversed when quoted, and made to read, "Like priest, like people." The prophet (Hos. iv, 6-11) was describing the sinfulness of the people, and the proverb was given to show the effect of their lives upon the priesthood. The inevitable result of widespread demoralization among a people is to tone down their religious teachers. Quite unintentionally and unconsciously we lower our standard of morals by constant contact with those who are

in degraded moral conditions. What is at first shocking is soon endured, then condoned, and after a time practiced. It is still true that—

> Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
> As to be hated needs but to be seen;
> Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

The principle involved in the proverb and lines quoted find frequent illustration in heathen lands. There are many Europeans and Americans in China who, by contact with the heathen, have gradually taken on heathen vices. At first heathen practices were shocking and even horrifying, but time and contact gradually blunted their sensibilities, and little by little they have yielded until they have become even more degraded and shameless than the heathen. They are vividly described by St. Paul in Rom. i, 28–32.

The same principle finds illustration in these Eastern lands in a less offensive manner among the people who have come here as religious teachers. Their contact with heathen philosophy and worship has, in some instances, led them to what they now regard as an appreciation of the truth these systems contain and a readiness to incorporate that truth into the Christian system. There are a few ministers who came here many years ago and who, unfortunately, became connected with government affairs, who are now ready to incorporate some of the most important teachings of Confucius with Christian theology, and thus to practically unite the two systems.

One of the most prominent features of Confucianism is ancestral worship. In their temples they worship before the tablets of Confucius and other sages. They go to the graves of their ancestors at stated periods and offer their sacrifices and worship the spirits of the dead. It is now proposed to take ancestral worship into the Christian system. It is claimed that the acceptance of Christ need not necessarily interfere with this custom. It is believed that this concession on the part of Christian teachers will make Christianity more popular and render its success far more certain and rapid.

Recently I heard a doctor of divinity who has been in China many years quote from the Sermon on the Mount, "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill," and then go on to say, substantially, that Jesus did not come to destroy any truth, but to add to and complete any system containing truth, no matter where it might be found. His theory appears to be that Confucianism as an ethical system is in the main good, but needs the teachings of Christ to complete it—to bring it to perfection. Thus the teachings of Confucius and of Christ can be united and a complete system constructed. It was a clear case, unintentional, of course, of perverting the words of the great Teacher by quoting only a part of a most important utterance. The whole passage reads, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill." If the Lord had said, "Think not that I

am come to destroy existing systems of religion as such, but to complete them by supplying what they lack," the theory of the reverend doctor would have seemed more reasonable. Jesus did not come to complete and fulfill Confucianism, but to fulfill the *law and the prophets.* The learned doctor's idea seemed to be that Confucius taught the truth concerning human relations, and Jesus taught the truth concerning divine relations, and so by putting the two together the Chinese would have a perfect system of truth.

One of the dangers now threatening Christianity in the East is compromise with heathenism. The advocates of this policy are, no doubt, finding much to encourage them in the proceedings of the World's Congress of Religions at Chicago, in which it seems to have been conceded that all religions are more or less divine, and that they must hereafter mutually respect each other. When one turns to his Bible and notes the denunciations of all idolatrous systems and worship, and then looks toward Chicago and sees Buddhism, Confucianism, Brahmanism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity in mutual embrace, he can hardly avoid asking, What does it mean?

As a spectacular performance the appearance in the Chicago Congress of Buddhist, Confucianist, Mohammedan, Brahman, and Christian priests and ministers upon the same platform calling each other brethren was, no doubt, a great success; but did it help or hurt Christianity? Suppose the priests of these religions here in China should say to the Christian missionaries, "It has been decided by the World's Congress of Religions at Chicago that all systems of religions are divine, and that each system is peculiarly adapted to the peoples to whom it has been given. Why trouble us with your strange doctrines? Return to your own countries, and allow us to practice the religions that have come down to us from our ancestors in peace." What answer could they give?

Fraternization by Christian ministers upon terms of equality with the robed and mitered priests of heathenism may have a fine scenic effect upon a World's Fair audience at Chicago, but a view of their deluded, degraded, naked dupes and slaves in their native lands is quite another thing. Has the World's Congress of Religions brought heathen religions up or has it let the Christian religion down? If they have fallen into each other's arms it would seem that one or the other, or perhaps both, must have happened. "Can two walk together except they be agreed?"

Shanghai, China. A. B. LEONARD.

WERE ALL ANSWERS TO PRAYER PROVIDED AND ALLOTTED FROM ETERNITY?

IF we understand Dr. Mudge, in his article on Prayer in a former *Review*, he takes the affirmative. He quotes from Bushnell with distinct approval, as follows: "God can never once make a new purpose in time, because he can never meet a new case which had not already come into knowledge and had its merits discovered and its allotments deter-

mined." He then comments thus: "His purposes were made from eternity, made with full knowledge of all the prayers that would be offered and with special adaptation to them," etc. This may be good theology for a Methodist minister, and it may be what is taught in the schools; but to an unsophisticated layman it seems strongly tinctured with Calvinism. What are God's purposes but his decrees? His purposes cannot be thwarted or resisted. If all the answers to prayer were from eternity allotted and determined it reasonably follows that all things were allotted and determined. The doctor sustains his views by reference to various Calvinistic authors. I would fain hope that it was because he could quote no Methodist.

The import of the doctor's views is that God finished all things "*in the beginning*," and that since this creation he has had no new volition and never can have any. As Bushnell says, in the above quotation, "God can never once make a new purpose in time." He rested from his labors literally and forever. It does not relieve the matter to say, as is said in one of his quotations, that foreknowledge has no causative effect. His purposes were made from all eternity, and his purposes are certainly causative and efficient. If the doctor intends to assert only the doctrine that God foreknows all things that may ever come to pass, with diffidence I suggest that such doctrine is more fatal to free will than that of the Calvinistic decrees. The decrees may be and, as we understand from the Scriptures, are often changed; but even the Almighty cannot change any fact that has come to his knowledge. We grant that knowledge can have no causative effect; but nothing can be known until it has existence. God necessarily knows all things, because he pervades the universe; but he can know only what exists, and his knowledge necessarily coincides with the truth. Whatever future events he knows he knows because he has determined them and given them the quality of being known. The doctor asserts that God "fills all time and has always been as present with what we call *now* as at the given moment when we reach it." The necessary consequence of this view is that when God created Adam the whole history of the race was present with him. All the sin and suffering of time and hereafter were there present before him, and by one awful fiat he spoke the whole into existence.

The doctor's theory may be good theology, built upon the supposed necessity of God's omniscience including a knowledge of everything that shall come to pass; but it does not seem to accord with the tenor of the Scripture, and God's omniscience needs no support from such a theory. He necessarily knows all things that are subjects of knowledge. But he has made his free moral agents lords over their own actions, and those actions cannot be subjects of knowledge until determined by the free agent. To the unsophisticated reader the Scriptures indicate that God has frequently been disappointed in those actions, and that he sometimes changes his decrees. He seems to have been disappointed with the conduct of Adam, and he was certainly disappointed by the actions of the antediluvians, and by the conduct of the children of Israel in the wilder-

ness, and by the conduct of Saul and various others. He changed his decrees regarding Nineveh, and he distinctly says in Jeremiah xviii, 7-10, that it is a part of the system of his general administration to change his decrees according to the exigencies: "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them," etc.

S. HUBBARD.*

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THE MILLENNIUM.

In the July–August number of the *Review* there appeared a brief article on the Millennium, to which a reply seems called for. The first objection raised is against our taking the term millennium "in a material sense." This is exactly of a piece with the objections raised by Jewish and Gentile rationalists against our taking the conception of the Messiah by the Holy Ghost "in a material sense." We ask, Do Christians believe the incarnation of the Son of God because they can explain it or because they think it a fact well attested by human witnesses, or simply because the word says so? We find no greater difficulty in believing the word on future facts than on past facts. We see "interminable difficulty" in the way of those, rather, who wish, in the face of rationalistic unbelief, to hold fast to the real, material incarnation of the eternal Word, and who then turn round and, borrowing the weapons of the rationalists, proceed to spiritualize all that is predicted of Messiah's glorious kingdom over Israel. Literalizing backward and spiritualizing forward is theological seesawing.

We are next taken to task for not admitting "that Christ's kingdom was inaugurated at his [first] advent," and for not believing that the fallen tabernacle of David was built again when Christ "ascended the throne as the eternal successor of David, to reign henceforth over spiritual Israel," etc. Of course, we decline to believe any statements to that effect, except on as plain New Testament authority as can be produced to show that Jesus was the Christ. No New Testament writer states that Old Testament prophecy concerning Christ's kingdom found its fulfillment during Christ's life, or at Pentecost, or since. None is ever guilty of the device of transplanting David's "fallen tabernacle" to heaven. How could Christ, by ascending to heaven, become, in any sense whatever, the "eternal successor" of a king who never reigned there? Scripture never states that David's "tabernacle" means God's throne; nor that the "house of Jacob" means the (Gentile) Church; nor that believers are subjects of Christ's kingdom. Such looseness in the interchange of biblical terms, each of which has a definite and unchanging exegetical value, is not only unwarranted, but would soon convert the "impregnable rock" of the word into soft mud.

* The *Review* is especially glad to welcome the intelligent laymen of the Church to its "Arena."—ED.

Any theory which makes the ascension of Christ to heaven a restoration of David's throne over Israel confounds the human ancestor of Jesus. David, with his heavenly Father, God; merges his true Messiahship back into his eternal divine sonship. The very first book of the New Testament, Matthew's gospel, by the Spirit entitled, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham," is stripped of all specific meaning and purpose. No motive is left for the providential guarding and careful recording of Jesus's lineal descent from the royal house of David, none for his being a Jew at all. He might as well have been born a Roman, or a Persian, or any other son of man if all those prophecies are to receive, finally, but a spiritual fulfillment.

Again, the Church, Christ's body, bride, and fullness,* is never once in the New Testament confounded with Israel, God's eternal, earthly people,† chiefest among the nations,‡ sole channel of salvation for them.§ And these latter, for a time established in worldly dominion, for a time treading down Jerusalem and the Jew, and the mission field for the outgathering of Christ's body, the Church, are never confounded with either of the other two.‖ Over Israel and the nations,¶ not over the Church, which stands in wifely subjection only to her Lord and Head (Eph. v, 24), is the Christ to rule. In this rule the Church is called to share,** not in this age, but in the ages to come.†† Until then no kingdom, no ruling for her, but suffering, rejection, cross.‡‡

"My kingdom is not of this world" is hurled at us. Our opponents have a way of handling this word of the Messiah, as though he had said "*εἰς*" *τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον*, and not "*ἐκ*" *τοίτον τοῦ κόσμου*. We bow to the absolute authority of this word *as it reads*. We decline, therefore, to believe in or to look for any establishment of his kingdom by means of existing (that is, *τοίτον τοῦ κόσμου*) agencies. For these all, however completely under the control of the Spirit, are "of" this present, perishable, corruptible cosmos. No amount of Holy Ghost power will ever, in this age, transform them into something unchanging and incorruptible. We believe Christ's kingdom, when it comes, will come "out of" heaven entirely. Its heirs must be born thence now. Thus, and thus only, will be secured infallibility of judgment, incorruptibility of principle, stability of executive power—in a word, likeness with Him—in the coming kings and princes of the earth.

To refute the assertion that "in no place throughout all his teachings does he refer to any future period when these hopes respecting a temporal reign shall be fulfilled," we would call up only two passages. In Luke xix, 11–15, the Master speaks a parable "because they thought that the kingdom of God should immediately appear." Its objective point is, unmistakably, the postponement of the appearing of the expected kingdom until the nobleman "went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return." The allusion to the practice required of the Herodi-

* Eph. i, 23.
§ Isa. ii, 3; John iv, 22.
** Rom. viii, 17.
† 1 Chron. xvii, 22.
‖ 1 Cor. x, 32.
†† Col. iii, 4; 1 John iii, 2.
‡ Jer. xxxi, 7.
¶ Psa. ii, 6, 8; lxxii, 2, 11.
‡‡ 2 Cor. iv, 8.

ans, of coming to Rome before inaugurating their sovereignty over Judea, was familiar and striking. The obvious teaching is, no kingdom inauguration until his return. The second passage is the Lord's reply to the question of his disciples in Acts i, 6, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" We are told by commentators that these disciples, after hearing the good news of the kingdom from Jesus himself, after preaching it and seeing it divinely attested by signs and wonders, after additional instruction by their risen Master concerning the kingdom of God during the forty days before his ascension, "were still in gross ignorance concerning the nature of Christ's kingdom." were "still hopelessly wedded to low, carnal, Jewish conceptions of the same." We repudiate this slander upon their intelligence. We abhor the reflection cast upon the ability of the great Teacher. We shudder to think what a tremendous weapon is thus pressed into the hand of skeptic and unbeliever. For, if these disciples must stand convicted of utter incapacity rightly to understand Christ's teaching on the one central theme of his preaching, what other subject did they understand? We prefer to believe Christ's own words to them, "It is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven." We believe the Master succeeded in opening their eyes on the point which had sorely perplexed them. And thus their inquiry calls out no rebuff or reproof from the Master, but receives acknowledgment in his reply, "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power." Times and seasons for what? For reestablishment of the Davidic theocracy over Israel as an earthly nation. All the laws of the construction of language, of the relation of answer to question, of context to connection, demand this and forbid any other interpretation. The error of the apostles before Jesus rose from the dead was in thinking that the Messiah while in his mortal flesh should fulfill the old prophecies. Theologians in our day will have it that the Church, the fallible, corruptible and divided body, while in mortal flesh must fulfill, nay, is itself the very fulfillment of those prophecies. Which is the greater and more inexcusable error?

In conclusion, which is the more "carnal" conception of "kingdom," "reign," and "conquest"—that which denies to believers in this age all assumption of power, authority, and dominion, assigning to them, while in their mortal bodies, the position, exclusively, of humiliation, service, trial, suffering, and patient waiting for Christ; or that which in one breath tells the Church that she is, indeed, to be like him in this world, despised and rejected, and in the next tells her to "conquer the world," to take on and exercise authority, influence, and dominion in matters social and political even in this present evil world? Let spiritual things be spiritually discerned by the spiritual. But let the word of the Lord stand for what it says, "And the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David: and he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever."

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE MINISTERIAL STUDENT.—ARRIVAL AT COLLEGE.

In the progress of the young Christian toward a thorough education he has now passed the first period of formal educational life. Three years, more or less, have been spent at the academy. He has thus laid the foundations essential to the successful prosecution of advanced studies. The point which he has now reached is one of exceeding interest and importance. The college has a great charm about it to a young student. He has dreamed of it through all his preparatory years. He leaves home with a sense of importance new to him. His parents and friends share his feelings and give him the advice which they think will be needful amid his new environments and, as they fear, his new temptations. His first entrance upon the college campus is an occasion of strange delight. Everything around him is full of interest. The buildings are in some respects different from those to which he has been accustomed. The libraries are larger, and he sees everywhere the evidence of the care of the wise and benevolent founders and patrons of the institution.

His first duty will be to call upon the president or other officer designated to receive new students. If he has not already passed the examinations for admission he will, of course, be anxious until that has been done. When admitted, his first duty will be to secure a suitable roommate. This may be done by the college authorities in accordance with established regulations. If not, and if he is at liberty to make his own choice, he will do well to make haste slowly. One's roommate in college is a very important factor in his educational life. The qualities necessary in a suitable roommate are varied. All good people are not companionable, or, at least, not desirable to have in close association. A roommate may do much to make or to mar one's success in student life. While character and characteristics are very important, his habits of study and his ideals should not be forgotten. If one is associated day after day with a desultory student, or a companion to whom study is distasteful and who has no real object in view that is worth attaining, he cannot fail to be affected injuriously. On the other hand, constant companionship with a fellow-student of lofty aspirations and of careful habits is a constant inspiration to scholastic and moral advancement.

His companions at table are a part of his educational life. The daily talk of a rude man during meals may be very injurious. Men unpolished in manners or rude in speech should be avoided if possible. In case it be possible to make selections for the table as well as for the room his choice should fall on young men of intellectual acuteness, good manners, and scholarly tastes. Nothing has here been said of the duty of securing in these selections those who are religious, if possible, as this is assumed to be clearly recognized. Our ministerial student should always breathe the atmosphere of piety.

THE CULTIVATION OF ENGLISH STYLE.

One of the incidental requisites for ministerial success is the accurate and refined use of the English tongue. We cannot think that an undue emphasis is laid upon this phase of sermonic preparation and pulpit delivery in our universities and schools of theology. While laying all emphasis upon the weightier matters of the law, without which no ministerial furnishing is ever complete, it is encouraging that our great centers of education are also giving the subject the attention befitting its high importance. The pew should not surpass the pulpit in the correct and facile use of the mother tongue. With college graduates who have entered medicine, the law, or commercial life as auditors in all the churches it behooves the man who ministers to them in holy things that he lag not behind in the quality of his address to them. Though the misfortunes of early life may have prevented his graduation from classic halls, he, nevertheless, has a duty toward these particular auditors; that fortune has less highly favored him is no excuse for any slovenliness or inaccuracy of speech which it is within his power to remedy. The newspaper, also, in its daily circulation, the frequent magazine literature of the day, and the accessible libraries of all our larger villages and cities, to the extent that they act as educators of the common people, are a spur to the ministry of the day to the study and mastery of the English language.

As to the methods in which this most desirable end is to be brought about no invariable rule may, perhaps, be laid down. The circumstances of our ministers so widely differ as to earlier education, present environment, and personal facilities that to formulate any specific direction would be foreign to the present purpose. We may, however, venture the suggestion that the judgment of our best journalists, such as is expressed in the accompanying extract, has its definite value. A veteran editor, known for his terse and vigorous English, gives to young journalists the following advice, which merits the attention of ministers as well, and which, for its illustration of the excellencies to which it exhorts, is deserving of insertion in full:

> After a knowledge of the English language comes, of course, in regular order, the practice, the cultivation of the ability to use it, the development of that art which in its latest form we call style, and which distinguishes one writer from another. This style is something of such evanescent, intangible nature that it is difficult to tell in what it consists. I suppose it is in the combination of imagination and humor, with the entire command of the word-resources of the language, all applied together in the construction of sentences. I suppose that is what makes style. It is a very precious gift, but it is not a gift that can always be acquired by practice or by study.
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> It may be added that certainly in its highest perfection it can never be acquired by practice. I do not believe, for instance, that everybody who should endeavor to acquire such a style as the late Dr. Channing possessed could succeed in doing so. He was a famous writer fifty years ago in Boston, and his style is of the most beautiful and remarkable character. As a specimen of it let me suggest to you his essay on Napoleon Bonaparte. That was, perhaps, the very best of the critical analyses of Napoleon that succeeded to the period of Napoleon worship, which had run all over the world. Channing's style was sweet, pure, and delightful, without having those surprises, those extraordinary felicities, that mark the style of some writers. It was perfectly simple, translucent throughout, without effort, never

leaving you in any doubt as to the idea; and you closed the book with the feeling that you had fallen in with the most sympathetic mind, whose instructions you might sometimes accept or sometimes reject, but whom you could not regard without entire respect and admiration.

Another example of a very beautiful and admirable style which is well worth study is that of Nathaniel Hawthorne. In his writings we are charmed with the new sense and meaning that he seems to give to familiar words. It is like reading a new language to take a chapter of Hawthorne; yet it is perfectly lovely because with all its suggestiveness it is perfectly clear, and when you have done with it you wish you could do it yourself.

The next point to be attended to is this: What books ought you to read? There are some books that are indispensable, a few books. Almost all books have their use, even the silly ones, and an omnivorous reader, if he reads intelligently, need never feel that his time is wasted even when he bestows it on the flimsiest trash that is printed; but there are some books that are absolutely indispensable to the kind of education that we are contemplating, and to the profession that we are considering; and of all these the most indispensable, the most useful, the one whose knowledge is most effective, is the Bible. There is no book from which more valuable lessons can be learned. I am considering it now not as a religious book, but as a manual of utility, of professional preparation, and professional use for a journalist. There is perhaps no book whose style is more suggestive and more instructive, from which you learn more directly that sublime simplicity which never exaggerates, which recounts the greatest event with solemnity, of course, but without sentimentality or affectation, none which you open with such confidence and lay down with such reverence; there is no book like the Bible. When you get into a controversy and want exactly the right answer, when you are looking for an expression, what is there that closes a dispute like a verse from the Bible? What is it that sets up the right principle for you, which pleads for a policy, for a cause, so much as the right passage of Holy Scripture?

Then, everybody who is going to practice the newspaper profession ought to know Shakespeare. He is the chief master of English speech. He is the head of English literature. Considered as a writer, considered as a poet, considered as a philosopher, I do not know another who can be named with him. He is not merely a constructor of plays that are powerful and impressive when they are shown upon the stage, with all the auxiliaries of lights and scenery and characters; he is a high literary treasure, a mighty storehouse of wisdom, the great glory of the literature of our language; and, if you don't know him, knowing the language may not be of much avail after all. Perhaps that is an exaggeration, and I take it back; but it is an object to know Shakespeare; it is indispensable to a journalist.

There is another English author who ought not to be neglected by any young man who means to succeed in this profession. I mean John Milton, and I invite your attention to that immortal essay of his, too little known in our day, the "Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing." It is a treasury of the highest wisdom, of the noblest sentiments, and of the greatest instruction; study that, and you will get at once the philosophy of English liberty and the highest doctrine that has ever been promulgated, to my knowledge, with regard to the freedom of the press.

WEIGHING OUR SUCCESSES.

THE measure of success is a man's abiding personality and his abiding work. He whose influence for good lives in his achievements is the one who really lives. Mere transient popularity and temporary success are of little worth. They are the flowers which are beautiful for a day, but wither with the first breeze of the evening. They appear to the eye and gratify the sense, but leave no trace even of existence. Such is not the success of the true preacher. His work abides because it is God's work and is wrought by God's Spirit. "If any man's work abide . . . he shall receive a reward." This leads to the conclusion that the young preacher should seek such preparation and perform such labor as shall last. He must learn early in life to estimate at their proper value the mere praise and blame of men. He must not be elated if his sermons are

commended by admirers; he must not be cast down if they do not always win popular approval.

How then shall we weigh our success in our ministry? What standard shall we employ? Shall we make the social or the financial position of our Church the standard? In God's kingdom there are no first, second, or third class churches, and no first, second, or third class preachers. There is no keeping up our "grade" in the divine economy. All who are called to preach are equal in rank, although all preachers may not be equal in ability. They may do different work, they may command the attention of persons of different social and intellectual gifts, but they are all "ambassadors for Christ." They all persuade men in Christ's stead to be reconciled to God.

It would not be wise, therefore, to weigh our successes by the size or wealth of the church to which we are called to minister. It is true there is a kind of talent required in certain churches, and these churches can only be secured by those who are adapted to them. But the preacher must beware lest he regard the securing of some important pastorate as the achievement of success. That church exists for the performance of certain work, and it is his duty to see that this work is performed. He must be its leader and instructor in its great enterprises of personal salvation and practical benevolence. He may hold the position for a full pastoral term to the satisfaction of the congregation, and yet not be in the best sense a successful pastor. Only as he shall be the instrument of accomplishing all the good which that church ought to do, or is qualified to do, can he be in the highest sense successful. Once in a while the minister is forced to ask, "Am I succeeding as I ought? Where can I find a model of success?" And he will look around over his Conference and find some one of less talent and less opportunities of training and of work who has really done the work of the gospel minister, who has saved men and women, who has edified the Church, who has done good in manifold ways and, even though unknown ontside of his immediate circle, is indeed "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed."

NOTES FOR STUDENTS ON HARMAN'S "INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES."

This important book on a most important subject is placed early in the list of studies prescribed by the bishops. It requires careful and painstaking study. Some notes briefly calling attention to its salient features and the methods to be pursued in its study may be helpful, especially to those who have not had a previous theological training.

The student should first note and impress upon his memory the purpose of the book as stated by the author, taking care to define clearly the meaning of the several terms, "genuineness," "credibility," "integrity," on which there is often confusion. Accurate definition is important. Only by careful discrimination of terms and by keeping in mind the author's purpose will the subordinate parts be readily retained in the memory.

He will do well also to group in outline the points discussed in the introductory chapter, which, in brief, may be stated as follows:

1. The scope of the discussion.

2. The mental attitude in which we should enter upon the study.

3. The scholastic acquisitions which are important in order to pursue the subject critically.

4. The author's justification of the difficulties which are to be found in the Bible.

5. The human and the divine elements which appear in the word of God.

6. The views of Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Theophilus of Antioch, Origen, and others on the inspiration of the Scriptures.

These points are clearly stated by the author; but the student who is preparing for examination will do well to make an analysis for himself and to commit it to memory. It will not be difficult to memorize the analysis after it has been carefully prepared. The subjects are arranged in logical order, and thus can be more readily retained. When the analysis has been thoroughly mastered it becomes much easier to recall the details at the time of the examination. The whole discussion being before the mind in the outline, the bearing of each subordinate argument or illustration will be readily understood. This method should be supplemented by reading any discussions on the same topics which may be found elsewhere. Take, for example, the fourth point mentioned above. The author shows that the difficulties which are found in the word of God are analogous to difficulties which we meet in the physical world. On this point the student will do wisely to recall and read anew the discussion in Butler's *Analogy*, where this subject is very exhaustively treated.

A SUGGESTION.

It is the purpose of the "Itinerants' Club" to furnish such papers as will be most helpful to younger ministers, especially to those who are pursuing their Conference studies. During the past year attention has been called to the extent of the course which has been prescribed by the Board of Bishops, and an attempt has been made to emphasize the necessity of careful preparation in order to pass successful examinations. The course is now a rigid one, and the Conference committees are giving more than ordinary attention to this part of our Conference work. Conference itinerant clubs are holding meetings for lectures and instruction, and the committees are meeting at specified periods to examine the candidates, thus facilitating systematic preparation on the part of the student. This department of the *Review* will be glad to receive communications from brethren who have well-defined views on the methods by which the "Itinerants' Club" can best aid the young men who are pursuing their Conference courses. These communications will be regarded as confidential if so stated on the part of the writer; otherwise the editor will feel at liberty to use them in whole or in part.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

FASCINATION OF OLD TESTAMENT STUDY.

EVERYONE is interested in searching out the causes of great movements. This accounts for the numerous lives of great men and sketches of important events which continually pour from the press. It accounts for the never-failing interest manifested by believers and skeptics alike in the life of Jesus. Is it not at least striking that Renan, who spent forty years in carrying out a youthful plan to explain the origin of Christianity, should close his labors with a *History of the People of Israel?* Why was the student of the early years of Christianity fascinated with the history of the Jews? It was because he could not explain Jesus of Nazareth or the most remarkable religious movement of the world without going back to the Jews, from whom Christ sprang. But Judaism is even more than the historic mother of Christianity. There are three religions—Christianity, Mohammedanism, and Buddhism—which overleap national and race boundaries. The first two claim the Old Testament as their mother. In the Old Testament, as well as in the New, divine power hides. It is not strange, therefore, that from Germany and Holland we have almost as many histories of Israel as we have lives of Jesus. Augustine's *City of God*, the first attempt at a philosophy of history, the book which shaped the Roman Catholic hierarchy, grew out of his study of the Old Testament. The theology of the Puritans, which has largely shaped our American civilization, sprang from the same source. Every thinker who loves the philosophy of history, who delights in tracing great movements to their genetic causes, will find a strange fascination in Old Testament study. The chief reason why the history of Israel has not become the most prominent and popular study in our universities is because a prophet is needed to interpret this matchless literature. Have we not more scribes than prophets in our colleges?

PURPOSE.

OUR chief reasons for introducing a department of biblical research and archæology into the *Review* are an intense love of the Bible and a strong belief in its divine power. If we can awaken in our readers a greater interest in this book, if we can lead anyone to a profounder study of its pages, to a more intelligent conception of its growth, and to a deeper realization of its providential work in the training of the race and of its divine power yet to nourish the individual soul, we shall be satisfied.

We recognize at once the human as well as the divine elements in the book. To illustrate both these elements and to awaken interest in the Bible we shall present our readers from time to time with such facts as we can gather in regard to biblical archæology. We shall hail with joy any light which Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, or any land may throw

upon Old Testament chronology and history. We shall welcome all the light which the study of comparative religions may furnish us regarding the origin of religion and the growth of revelation. We shall aim to present without prejudice the latest assured results of historical criticism. While our space will not permit detailed representations of the processes of the critics, we shall try to place their conclusions fairly before our readers. While confining ourselves mainly to the Old Testament, we shall not hesitate, when occasion demands, to point out the victory of a supernatural philosophy in the field of New Testament criticism. Let us study the Old Testament with open minds and see if the book does not prove its divinity by furnishing us with the bread of life.

THE BURNING QUESTION.

THOUGH the higher criticism must not monopolize our space, and though as a rule we shall discuss it only incidentally, yet any attempt to ignore so important a subject in a department like ours would be naturally attributed to cowardice. So in this number, while we are laying our corner stone, we shall consider very briefly this perplexing problem. We may say right here that higher criticism is not one of the exact sciences; nor can it be as long as imagination and preconceived notions have such sway within its domain.

In any controversy it is always well to find a common meeting place, and then to get a clear idea of the divergent ways. Critics on both sides agree that Amos and Hosea wrote between B. C. 775 and 725, and that the eighth century B. C. was a period of great literary activity among the people of Israel. At this point the views of the critics diverge. The more advanced higher critics insist that the eighth century B. C. was the first period of literary activity among the Israelites. Wellhausen, though admitting that writing had been practiced from a much earlier period, yet would restrict it to formal instruments, and that upon stone. Of this we shall speak in another issue. He thinks that a few religious songs were in existence before the ninth century; but these "were handed down from mouth to mouth." The more radical critics claim that the phrase "the law and the prophets" is misleading. The law, they say, is a fabrication of the prophets during the early part of Josiah's reign; and the story of its discovery in the temple at that time is a pure invention to give the law greater authority.

Readers very naturally inquire whether discoveries, archæological or of any nature, have been made which will force fair-minded students to accept such radical views regarding the Old Testament. We reply in the negative. Indeed, such men as Kuenen and Wellhausen boldly assert that it is impossible to construe the phenomena presented in the literature of Israel without first adopting some historical theory of the progress or retrogression of the Jewish people. In order to determine the order of the sources with any degree of certainty, literary and linguistic arguments are rejected or treated as secondary, and the aid of historical criti-

...m is invoked. The most striking proof that the critics cannot deter... the relative age of documents by the study of the documents them... is the fact that the "Priestly Document," which used to be set ... by the critics as the earliest source of the Hexateuch, is now by the ...dian hypothesis made the very latest. The reason for this change is not ...nguistic one, but the fact that the latest theory evolved from the brain ... the critics as to the course of Israelitish history demands that this doc... ...ent take a late place in the materials out of which the Hexateuch was ...mposed. Kuenen tells us frankly, "For us the Israelitish is one of ... principal religions, nothing less, but also nothing more." Tiele, in ... *History of Religions*, presents the naturalistic formula by which each ..., including the Israelitish, has advanced from primitive worship to ...ism, polydemonism, polytheism, and pantheism or theism. Upon ... other side investigators like Schrader and critics like Dillman and ...öhlcke have reached very different conclusions from Wellhausen and ...uenen as to the development of Israelitish history. Recognizing the ...ding hand of Jehovah in the national affairs of the Jewish people, ... former hold that the account of the call of Abraham, the sojourn ... Egypt, the deliverance through Moses, the settlement in Canaan, ... the establishment of the Israelitish kingdom are narratives of real ...ents which took place substantially as related in the biblical books. In ... word, the radical critics start with a naturalistic hypothesis, and they ...il to see that God favored Israel at the outset with a revelation which ... followed by alternate periods of declension and progress. The his...orical materials are arranged not solely or chiefly according to internal ...arks furnished by the materials themselves, or by any side-lights from ...ther literatures, but to a wonderful extent according to the preconceived ...hilosophical theories of the writers.

The great question at issue between the historians and the scientists of ... naturalistic and supernaturalistic schools is whether history or science ... be interpreted on purely naturalistic grounds. We hold that a super...atural philosophy is demanded by both. The farther we go back in the ...ligious history of any nation the more nearly that nation approaches a ...istic conception of the universe. If we cannot discover continued light ... on high in the great religious literatures outside the Bible we cer...ainly can see some signs of original revelation by the Father of all. Be ...s as it may, the Bible has exercised a unique influence upon the civili...ation of the world. Out of the Old Testament literature sprang the ...ew Testament, the most vital book on the globe to-day. Above all, ...om the people of Israel came the Saviour of the world. The first duty ... the scientist or historian is to recognize facts, and then try to construe ...em. It would certainly be more rational to attribute the supernatural ...sults of the Bible to a supernatural cause, especially if such a cause ...ust be recognized in nature, than to attempt to empty all history of ...ovidential guidance and then reduce the literature of the Old Tes...ament to the naturalistic plane of Egyptian or Assyrian literature. To ...count for the creation which we find in nature or for the revelation

which we find in the Bible upon the naturalistic hypothesis is to make the effect greater than the cause.

The naturalistic theory breaks down again when applied to the history of the Bible in detail; for, while granting that the eighth century B. C. was a period of great prophetic activity, how can critics maintain that this was the first period of activity among the people of Israel? How can they maintain that Elijah and Elisha could neither read nor write, or that they were but little more than raving fanatics, imitators of Canaanitish soothsayers? On such an hypothesis how is it that within a century, despite the slow progress of the Orient, we pass from this non-literary and superstitious age to the lofty religious tone and the highly finished literary products of Amos and Hosea? Or, if Wellhausen and Cheyne's theories regarding the Psalter are true, how is it that the richest and most inspiring devotional literature of all the ages was produced in an age of religious decadence, and by men whom the critics declare to be religious formalists engaged in pious fraud? Again, the prophecies, after the most thorough sifting by the critics, contain some passages which can only be interpreted as predictions of a coming Saviour of the world. How could the prophets have given the race the lofty moral teaching of the Book of Isaiah coupled with the false and superstitious claims of soothsayers? More marvelous still is the fact that from this politically insignificant race and from a tribe and family of that race designated by the prophets a person appeared who claimed that these prophecies were fulfilled in himself. Explain some prophecies away, and the fact remains that the essence of prophecies uttered more than two thousand years ago are finding their fulfillment in the influence which Christ is gaining over the world to-day. In view of the phenomena we cannot possibly explain the Old Testament except upon the theory that it contains a supernatural revelation.

Finally, while we believe that the higher criticism has thrown light upon a vast number of details as to the origin of the Old Testament, we have never been able to escape the conviction that the hypothesis of Kuenen, Graf, and others leaves the writers of the Old Testament open to the charge of fraud, innocent (?) though it be. Amos says distinctly that prophets had preceded him. Hosea makes a similar declaration. He speaks repeatedly of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, and that the Lord led them out of Egypt by a prophet. Either these men were preceded by prophets, one of whom belonged to the period of the Egyptian bondage, or else Amos and Hosea were deceivers of the people. The naturalistic hypothesis is not only defective as a philosophy, but it also breaks down when applied to any one of the critical periods of Jewish history. Considering all the phenomena before us, and remembering the outcome of New Testament criticism, we believe that the higher criticism of the Old Testament will deliver the Church from the worship of the letter on one side, while upon the other side it will furnish coming generations with stronger reasons than any other generation has possessed for the conviction that "we have the word of prophecy made more sure."

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

MISSIONARY COUNCILS.

THE year 1893 saw several important missionary conferences, with representatives of several branches of the Christian Church participating in the proceedings. The great Decennial Conference of India was in session in Bombay when the year opened, and its discussions, with the formal papers and addresses, make two goodly volumes of over four hundred pages each, which will be of permanent value to the student of missionary movements. A general missionary conference of all the missionary societies of the continent of Europe was among the notable gatherings of the year. For the first time in its history the world saw a pan-denominational missionary conference under the Southern Cross. This first gathering for counsel of the Churches of the mission field in Australasia, composed of representatives of nineteen missionary societies from various parts of Australia, New Zealand, and other portions of the South Seas, convened at Melbourne. Another general missionary conference was held at Durban, Cape Colony, South Africa. About fifty English, Scotch, and American missionaries, representing various missionary societies laboring in South Africa, made reports of their work and took part in the deliberations. The Congress of Missions held as auxiliary to the Columbian Exposition, Chicago, composed of representatives of missionary work in large cities among depressed classes and immigrants in this country, and participated in by foremost men and women of this country and Europe and other parts of the world, while not all that it might have been made nor reaching the ideal of its projectors, will yet stand out as an important and impressive contribution to the cause of the world's evangelization; and the volumes of its proceedings, promised at an early date, will be a handsome contribution to the literature of missions.

Five such great gatherings for counsel on the methods and results of missionary plans and policies in a single year, held in widely separated centers of human influence, in Asia, Europe, Australia, Africa, and America, all having the one aim of the extension of the knowledge and power of the Christian religion, show that this department of Christian effort and thought is well to the front. Such an accidental combination of intellectual activity in any department of political or social economic character would arrest the attention of statesmen as marking a drift or tendency in human affairs—in fact, a movement which they could not ignore. The fact that these are of a religious character does not remove them from the category of significant human events. If no human statecraft has produced them they are yet within the fine diplomacy of divine providence and in the interest of a universal kingdom of Jesus, the Son of Mary, the Son of God. There is minor significance in the assemblies of a less formal nature of Christian missionaries, such as those of the International Missionary Union, held annually at Clifton Springs, N. Y., and

the union conference of all the missionaries in and about Calcutta in monthly meeting for deliberative purposes, and the still later development of this tendency in the Arima missionary conference of Japan. The village of Arima is situated in a mountain valley back of Kobe, about twelve hundred feet above sea level, and has hot and cold mineral springs. Since 1891 missionaries who have been obliged to resort thither have held conferences on the work of the missions of Japan and China and other lands. The conference of this year saw one hundred and thirty missionaries, with their wives and children, present at Arima.

PATRIOTISM IN MISSION COUNTRIES.

It is among the experiences of the modern missionaries to heathen lands to discover that patriotism has become a serious obstacle to evangelization. It is only by the intensest national spirit that Bulgaria is able to attain a solidarity that can resist the political competitions of powerful nations whose antagonisms focalize on Bulgarian boundary lines. Everything national must be fostered, all else discountenanced. The Church must be indigenous or be naturalized at the outset. Protestantism must be acclimated and assimilated. The political arena is strongly Protestant in its *personnel*. Robert College trained the men who have made and are making modern Bulgaria. They have draughted its constitution and controlled its legislature. But they can do neither except in the interest of the intensest Bulgarian nationalism. The Protestant religion, therefore, may be desired and the foreign ecclesiasticism disliked. One of the difficulties of the Methodist propaganda in Bulgaria has been to encourage this patriotic element essential to the very life of Bulgaria, and at the same time develop a Methodist church.

Patriotism has also entered into the missionary issues of Japan. Whatever else the Japanese are they are Japanese first, last, and all the time. They have sent their embassies abroad to study foreign constitutions, but only with the purpose of constructing their own, which Japan will evolve independently for itself. They experimented with foreign dress for their women, but gave it up as not an improvement on their own. They tried foreign systems of postal service, and evolved their own. They accepted the foreign educationalist, but only desired his services to familiarize Japanese teachers with foreign curricula and methods.

They accepted the foreign religious teacher in the same way. He was so enthusiastically received that it looked as if Japan might become Christian in a day; and the more so as statesmen who had no personal Christian experience thought that Japan would be compelled to accept Christianity and give it a place in the comity of the nation. But Japan had not shifted its base. It only proposed to accept the foreign ecclesiasticism far enough to see what there was in it which it desired to assimilate into Japanese national life. Hence the movement which resulted in a compromise of a number of missionaries to form the "Church of Japan," at the sacrifice of their denominationalism. But this could only be a halting

place. The Japanese believed himself able to dispense with all the creeds hitherto formulated. He would have none of them. He did not care to accept even the Apostles' Creed. He would make his own, from the Bible alone, as others assumed that they had done. He would do with religion and the Church as he had done with constitutions and naval systems and pants and women's frocks. He would examine, adopt, modify, reject, or assimilate as he judged well, in religion as he did in educational schemes. The spirit of nationalism abroad always demanded Japan for the Japanese. It has never departed from that fundamental principle in individual or national action. This will explain what seems often to be a vacillation in the Japanese and has made them to be considered a very fickle race. The misapprehension of the foreigner of the intent of the Japanese in the intermediate stage of his progress is the only ground for it. The Japanese Church to-day thinks itself sufficiently developed to take charge absolutely of its own affairs, if only the foreigner will give over his money without dictating the uses to which it is to be put.

All this may appear as the precociousness of an unbearded youth, and that element does enter into it; but it is well to bear in mind that a spirit of self-reliance is of all things that which we should hail in an oriental. A spirit of patriotism should be respected anywhere. We may differ with the Christians of Japan as to whether they have been long enough in pupilage to secure them against heresy or wasteful energy in things ecclesiastic; but the spirit of self-poise and self-direction is inherent in the problem of self-support and self-propagation. Whatever we think of it, nationalism, or patriotism, is one of the forces we have to reckon with, whether we like it or not, in the propagation of the Gospel in foreign lands, whether it be progressive as in Bulgaria and Japan, or obstructively conservative, as in Turkey, where the government will not so much as allow a constitution of a Christian Endeavor Society because it might train the young people in constitutional government.

ZENANA BAPTISM.

It has been evident for some years past that the Church must, sooner or later, face the question of providing baptism for women who have become Christians in heathen lands, where social customs of an inexorable order immure them in zenanas. It is idle to force an issue with the custom under present conditions, and it is far from sure that any sudden and severe modification would be in any wise prudent. Sir William Muir, who has made as thorough a study of social conditions of India as any living man, and who is a warm friend of Christian progress, expressed probably the judgment of all experienced persons in Hindostan, that any serious modification of the purdah system would be deleterious to good morals. In the simpler society of the Hindoos before the invasion of the Moslem rulers seclusion of women was not essential to the preservation of the respectability of the family; but the ruthless and disastrous conduct of the Mohammedans as a conquering race introduced such environments as

simply compelled the Hindoos to find in enforced privacy of females protection of the purity of the home. The whole moral tone was lowered by the presence of this freebooter in morals. The order of society has become fixed on the plane of nonassociation of the sexes. Christianity dare not seek to lower moral fastidiousness among people who are without sufficient development of moral resistance to justify the removal of artificial restraints. It would, under existing environments, compromise the character of the minister, as well as of the inmates of the homes, were he to enter these precincts to administer baptism to the women. They cannot leave the privacy shielded by the purdah. Perhaps there are twenty thousand women in the zenanas of India to-day who have become Christians and are unbaptized by virtue of the embarrassment of this social condition, which, as we have said, it is not wise at present to materially or rapidly change. These women desire baptism as the complete expression of the Christian life they have adopted and as conducive to it. What will the Church do with the question? It is already a large one and being augmented daily. It is not only what we shall do to-day, but to-morrow. A great movement is sweeping over the land, and tens of thousands of women are annually coming to Christ. Must those of them who have accepted Jesus Christ as their Saviour, through the ministries of women who can enter their abodes, be denied baptism? Shall the Church recognize lay baptism and allow authorized women visitors to baptize these women in their homes? Shall they be taught to believe that baptism is a matter of indifference, or that it is a matter which requires that they must violate their standards of existing society and their own sense of moral propriety and womanly decency, to secure it at the hands of an ordained minister? It is no small problem, and the Churches in India are probably the only competent parties to judge of the proper course to be pursued. The Calcutta Missionary Conference, composed of the missionaries of all Churches in that city and vicinity, meets monthly for the consideration of missionary questions. It is the largest body of missionaries meeting regularly in the world. They have recently given this matter of zenana baptisms most careful consideration in at least two sessions of their body. The matter was also under consideration at the Bombay Decennial Conference. There is not uniformity of view, by any means, among the missionaries themselves; but there is a deepening conviction that the issue must be squarely met ere long, and that meanwhile provision should be made in some form to cover cases of special character, but that the Hindoo home must be kept inviolate.

Thibet is the only country which can now be said to be closed to the Christian evangelist. Miss Taylor, partly in disguise, has within a year crossed China and gained entrance into the eastern edges of Thibet. Miss Taylor seems so convinced that something can be done in a missionary way that she is in England organizing a Thibet mission on the plan of the China Inland Mission.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

H. G. Ibbeken. This scholar has made himself a leader by his exegetical studies. Of these his researches concerning the Sermon on the Mount are the most thorough. He has produced a work on this theme worthy of a place alongside of that by Tholuck. Ibbeken holds that the Sermon on the Mount was intended to be to the Christian system what the giving of the law by Moses was to the Mosaic system. This, he thinks, was indicated, first of all, by the ascent of Jesus to a mountain for the giving of his evangelical law. The thought that he went up into the mountain that he might be the more easily heard, as also that he might furnish for his auditors a more impressive environment, he rejects as insufficient. But he argues that Matthew's entire portraiture of the life of our Lord is governed by the thought of making it a reflection of the history of Israel. He thinks that to Matthew, as well as to Paul, the important personalities and facts of Israelitish history are types of Jesus and his life. And especially is this parallel apparent to and through the Sermon on the Mount. There is a parallel between the miraculous birth of our Lord and Isaac, through whose birth the Israelitish people were made possible; between the emigration of Jacob and his sons to Egypt and the flight of Jesus's parents to Egypt with their child; between the murder of the innocents by Herod and of the Israelitish boys by Pharaoh; between the baptism of Jesus and the baptism of the Israelites in crossing the Red Sea; between the forty days' temptation of Jesus and the forty years' wandering of the Israelites in the wilderness. He closes his argument with a parallel between the congregation to which Moses proclaimed the law and that to which Jesus spoke. The latter does not, indeed, include all Israel, but it did include, he thinks, a sufficient number and from a sufficiently wide and varied circuit to fairly represent the whole Jewish people. But Ibbeken does not draw from all this the conclusion that Matthew invented the history. He believes, rather, that the history of Israel was, in fact, a type of the history of Jesus, and that Matthew simply follows the facts in the case. He argues his theory with great ingenuity. But its practical value is so doubtful as to prevent its taking hold upon the deeper elements of the soul.

Edgar Loening. While not a theologian, his investigations as a professor of law have led him into the department of early ecclesiastical polity; and because he can look with the eyes of a lawyer and without any dogmatic or ecclesiastical prepossessions his conclusions will have all the greater weight. According to him the earliest bishops and presbyters were, at least in some places, identical. The bishop was neither a priest nor a ruler, but a servant of the Church. There is very

little evidence that the early Church adopted either the form of government in vogue in the synagogue or that employed by the heathen religious societies, although temporarily at first the organization resembled that of the synagogue. The government of the Church grew directly out of the spirit and needs of Christianity. The bishop was the expression of the unity of government and of doctrine. But as late as the middle of the second century there was no external bond of union between the Churches of the various cities, although all the elements were then at hand which were necessary to the development of the Roman Catholic Church. The distinction between the ministry and the laity had its origin very early. It was supposed that the bishops, presbyters, and deacons received a special charism by the laying on of hands at their entrance upon office. It was their duty to feed and care for the flock, and to preserve the doctrine in its purity, and to exhort those to repentance who had violated their religious or moral obligations. They were without definite salary, and might follow a temporal calling for support. But support at the hands of the congregation became more common as the congregations increased in size and wealth. As this custom grew the bishops, presbyters, and deacons were more and more separated from the masses of the Christians into a distinct class. The belief that the first bishops were ordained by the apostles increased the respect in which they were held, and led to the expectation that they should become the true preservers of the faith. The introduction of the idea of the Old Testament priesthood into the Christian ministry still further increased the power of the clergy. All this shows that the Protestant conception of church government is correct as against Romanism, and the Low Church idea correct as against the High Church.

Johannes Dräseke. It is a common mistake that the critical spirit which is abroad in Germany is confined chiefly to the Bible. It is a still more common mistake that the motive of criticism is the discovery of error in the book and the overthrow of the faith in the supernatural. In fact, the purpose of all criticism of written documents is to test the value of their contents, and the Bible is but one of many documents which pass under the critic's hand. The greater importance of the Bible alone makes it the more frequent subject of critical treatment. An illustration of the work of the critic in another field is found in Dräseke's researches among early patristic literature. It is not enough for a critic like Dräseke to have in his possession a document whose text has been carefully edited and accredited to a certain author. He must have proof, not only that the text is approximately authentic, that is, essentially the words written by the original author; he must have proof, also, that the document originated with the person to whom it is attributed. In testing this tradition is worth something, but internal evidence must correspond. For example, Dräseke takes up two documents directed against Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea, and handed down to us under the

name of Athanasius, and undertakes to prove: 1. That the two documents could not have been composed by the same person; 2. That they could not, in spite of tradition, have been written by Athanasius; and 3. That they originated in Alexandria, and were probably written by Didymus and his pupil, Ambrose. Such criticism is valuable to all who wish to be accurate. No careful thinker wishes to attribute to one author what really sprang from another, especially if by investigation it is within his power to ascertain the truth. It is all the more necessary to proceed on critical principles in the use of early literature because it was not regarded as wrong in those days to attach the name of a celebrated author to a work in order to give it weight with the reader, and also because, even where no intentional deception was practiced, the real name of the author was often lost, and it was left to conjecture to determine the authorship of the document. Dräseke is one of the foremost of those who have attempted in recent years to furnish the material for a correct history of early Christian literature.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Zwingli's Theology," by Dr. August Baur. Until this work appeared no attempt at a comprehensive and critical presentation of the theology of the great Swiss reformer had been made. In the work of Dr. Baur we have a history of the theological development of Zwingli from his earliest years to the period when he completely broke with Roman Catholicism and his evangelical ideas were fully formed. This is followed by a systematic presentation of the fully developed theology, including his antagonism to the views of the radicals, the Anabaptists, and Luther. The only point we can here take up is his view of the parallel which D'Aubigné draws between the sickness of Zwingli and the bitter penitence of Luther. Baur declares that the comparison is more brilliant than correct. In the anxiety of his heart at Erfurt he was a seeker who was compelled to find salvation in Christ by a painful breach of all the means of grace known to the Church. Zwingli never experienced anything like this, but by a gradual process of events and studies had been led to a knowledge of salvation and saving truth before he was attacked by the plague. Zwingli himself never attributed to his sickness of 1519 any such significance. His poems of that period disclose nothing of the kind, but rather bear witness that during his sickness the certainty of a gracious relationship with God was a source of consolation to him. Rather was this period of suffering one in which he personally tested the experience which he had previously attained in quiet and regular development. Yet it must be confessed that while his sickness was not necessary to bring him low before God that he might find salvation it did have the effect of leading him to a higher appreciation of his future obligation. That he was spared from death made a powerful impression upon him. He looked upon the divine favor by which he was

restored as a seal set upon his work as a preacher of the Gospel, and as a confirmation and legitimation of his previous declarations of free grace. He was encouraged, and, more than that, he was thereby warned that he must persevere in his chosen faith, and that he must bear all assaults quietly and even joyfully which resulted from the prosecution of his divine commission.

"The Teachers of the Mishna," by Dr. M. Braunschweiger. This is a work by a Jew and written for the Jews. It is a kind of *Acta Sanctorum* of Judaism. Every person mentioned in the Mishna as having any special claim to favor is here briefly portrayed. The object of the book is to furnish Jewish youth and Jewish families with records of the past of Judaism which shall inspire the reader with respect for Jewish history and the Jewish religion, as well as with a purpose to emulate the characters and deeds of the heroes of the faith here depicted. Its popular character would naturally exclude it from mention here. But several considerations move us to give it place. First, it affords us an idea of the feelings of a devout Jew of the present day. Second, it reveals the purpose of the better class of Jews to furnish the materials out of which the rising generation may draw support in the midst of allurements from the faith. Third, it is a sample of what Judaism is doing in the religious and theological world. And fourth, it is a valuable book for those who wish to study the Mishna without spending too much time and energy thereupon. The advantage of reading in this book the lives of Gamaliel, Hillel, Akiba, and others is that we have their portraiture from the Jewish standpoint, and thereby can the better understand the Jewish faith and practice. But the stories told are in some cases evidently embellished, not by the author, but in the sources from which he draws. For example, Akiba was compelled to dedicate himself wholly to scholarly pursuits in order to win the woman of his choice. Accordingly he departed to a distant land to study, and after twelve years returned with twelve thousand disciples. Overhearing his wife say that she would be willing to have him absent for twelve years more for purposes of study, he departed and at the end of the second period returned with twenty-four thousand pupils. The twelve years with the twelve thousand, and the twice twelve with the twice twelve thousand pupils, are so evidently artificial as to excite suspicion at once, to say nothing of the fact that he had never learned anything until he was forty years of age and is represented as spending so long a period in study with such immense numerical results.

"Contributions to the History of Semitic Religions," by Frederick Baethgen. The chief interest of this book centers in its view of the relation of the doctrine of God among the heathen Semites to that of Israel. The author rejects Renan's idea that all the Semites were originally monotheists, and also the opposite one of Kuenen that they were all originally polytheists, and that the faith of Israel was the product of the preaching of the

prophets. In opposition to Kuenen, Baethgen asserts that the prophets were able to unfold their activities just because they rested upon a pure theology, and that to suppose that the higher morality of the prophets produced the purer theology leaves unanswered the question as to the source of this higher morality. While, however, Baethgen rejects the theories of both Renan and Kuenen he approaches much nearer to the former; for he assumes that there was a time when all Semites possessed only a simple consciousness of the divine, and which was monotheism only so far as it conceived of God as wholly undivided, but fell short of monotheism in not attributing personality to the Deity. This God all Semites called El. And this word indicates the common point from which the later developments of the heathen Semites and of Israel proceeded in the doctrine of God. With the heathen there was a constant progress from the original conception of God to numberless gods, with but occasional efforts to reach the idea of divine unity. With the Israelites, on the other hand, there were occasional beginnings of a polytheistic division of the original idea of God, and sometimes violent conflicts with the heathen tendency; but fundamentally there was constant progress along the way to an absolute monotheism. This he can only account for on the supposition that Israel was constantly favored with a divine guidance and revelation. That he fully disproves by most scientific methods the position of Kuenen is without doubt. And while he fully recognizes the imperfections of practice among the Israelites he clearly shows that their faith became gradually more pure from the times of Abraham down to the days of the prophets. The book will be as interesting as romance to those who love such studies, and its thoroughness is worthy of all imitation.

Romanism in its Native Haunts. When it is charged against Christianity that its conversion of heathenism was of the most superficial character, brought about by intrigue or force, making the world nominally Christian but leaving it actually heathen, the thoughtful student is ready with a reply. He attributes it to the spirit of those times against which even Christianity could work but slowly. But it does occasion surprise to find that in all those countries where the Roman Catholic Church has its strongholds the heathen spirit which pervaded the prevalent Christianity of the world has never been eliminated and replaced by the Christian spirit. This can only be accounted for by the consideration that in the Roman system the Church is the guarantor of salvation to all who have her good will. It is neither rightness nor righteousness which insures salvation, but the Church. It is, therefore, not essential that the Romanist should be a Christian in principle. His character may be the product of heathenism pure and simple. His conduct may be the natural, and hence heathenish, expression of his character; but if he belongs to the Church and can secure priestly absolution he can be and will be saved. Since it is not necessary for the heathen to become a Christian except formally and nominally no effort need be put forth to Christianize the Church.

We may give here some illustrations of the condition of things in southern Italy, as drawn from a recent work by Th. Trede, who has spent several years there. One of the scenes which he gives is a carnival in the Church at the time of the general carnival among the people. Two pulpits were occupied respectively by a young and an old priest. The throngs pressed around the pulpits to listen to a conversation which it was expected would be held between the two divines. A is the older, B the younger priest, the latter representing the people. A begins: "Where have you come from?" B. "From the campagna." A. "What were you doing there?" B. "We were feasting." A. "What had you to eat?" B mentions a list of edibles which excites the astonishment of A, who smacks his tongue and makes grimaces to excite the laughter of the crowd. A now censures intemperance in eating and drinking and gives a humorous description of the scenes at the carnival meals. B confesses to gluttony but promises reformation. A declares that the people must not only reform, they must also atone for their sin. As the dispute proceeds care is taken to make the people laugh. A says: "Yes, you Neapolitans laugh now, but when you roast in purgatory you will not laugh. B makes grimaces and the crowd laugh again. And so the conversation continues for an hour. The edification which comes from such a scene yearly may be imagined. Another old heathen custom, that of nightly religious festivals, is preserved by the southern Italian Roman Catholics, and is described as follows: The festival is in honor of one of the many madonnas. The procession begins about 10 P. M., and is composed of men, boys, women, and girls, leaping, dancing, and swinging torches and trumpets high in the air. About midnight the masked procession begins, and represents satyrs, fauns, and other hideous creatures. The conduct of the participants becomes more and more wild. This is followed by a festival meal. At 3 A. M. begins a demoniacal tumult. The crowds are intoxicated with drink and excitement. Countenances are wild, eyes aflame, there is loud laughter and noisy shouting. The people mingle tumultuously among each other with the greatest excitement, swinging hats, torches, and knives; they groan, howl, yell, and whistle until the sounds cease to be human. Toward morning the crowds disperse, dancing, jumping, and waltzing; and so ends a Roman Catholic festival in honor of "Mary the mother of God." Such a scene is in no sense different from the old heathen dances in honor of Cybele. In fact, religious dances, as such, are customary to this day in southern Italy. In the vicinity of Salerno, every August, is celebrated the festival of the forty martyrs, in whose honor a dance is held. It is accompanied by the drum, and the dance proceeds upon the open streets. Men, women, and children dance bareheaded, sometimes singly, sometimes in groups. The hair of the women streams in the air, every face is flushed, the perspiration pours from their bodies, and their garments are covered with dust. In the more remote villages and cities the dance is a part of the religious service proper, and is carried on chiefly by the young people of both sexes. In fact, dances of nearly every kind known to ancient heathenism are prac-

liced to-day by the Roman Catholic Christians of southern Italy. Is there reason why the Gospel should not be carried into Roman Catholic countries by the evangelical Church?

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Third General Mission Conference in India Again. Among the interesting questions discussed was that of the native preachers. It was found that among the various evangelical churches of India eight hundred and fifty native pastors were employed—an increase of ninety per cent in nine years. The Americans insisted that the native pastors should be wholly supported by the congregations they serve, and demanded of them a comparatively small amount of education. Others, especially the Scotch, insisted upon a thorough intellectual training. It was, however, agreed that not only converted and trustworthy men, but also educated men, were preferable as native preachers. They ought to have a good education in biblical, systematic, and practical theology in their mother tongue. But differences of locality make it possible to employ a variety in degree of talent. It was also agreed that while the native pastors need not have as large salaries they are in all other respects to be held equal to the foreign missionaries. A good deal of discussion was devoted to the relations of the different missionary societies and representatives of different countries to each other. It was agreed that among the 288,000,000 inhabitants of India there is room for all the workers now employed, and vast numbers besides. The only question was how they could best work together and not interfere with each other. A territorial division among the societies was regarded as impractical. Proselytism was condemned. Another subject of profound interest was the employment of literary means. It was shown that in the government schools alone there are 3,700,000 pupils. The youth are very rapidly learning to read. The desire for literature is strong and increasingly prevalent; but, as yet, it is being met chiefly with immoral or skeptical literature. The duty of the missionaries, therefore, was plain. It was universally conceded that specially gifted missionaries should be employed in the exclusive work of providing reading which would meet the general demand and yet tend upward and not downward. Just recognition of the various Bible and tract societies was accorded. It was a matter for devout gratitude that among eight hundred and fifty lepers in the asylums five hundred had been converted since 1864.

Fourth International Temperance Congress. The temperance congresses of Antwerp, Zurich, and Christiania were followed by a fourth, which was held in the Hague, Holland, August 16–18, 1893. The queen regent of the Netherlands was the special patron of this congress in the Hague; the State made appropriations for part of its expenses; its honorary president was the then minister of the interior, while the mayor of the

city addressed the congress on the significance of the work of the congress for the city officials. The meetings were held in the museum for art and science. Among those present were the representatives of the queen regent of the Netherlands, of Belgium, France, Italy, Norway, and Luxemburg, the ministers of the interior and of finance for Holland, and three hundred delegates, most of whom were from Holland. The congress is not a total abstinence body, but contains members who believe that the moderate use of intoxicants is harmless. Among the advocates of total abstinence was Dr. August Forel, a Swiss expert in insane asylum work, who maintained that all intoxicants are poisons, and especially to the brain; that the use of alcohol shortens the average of life; that alcoholic beverages neither nourish nor produce strength, but are a means of injury, and their use, like that of opium and morphine, should be constantly opposed. However much the theorizers and scholars might differ, the friends of the people would have no doubt as to the injuriousness of alcoholic drinks. Considerable time was devoted to the discussion of the means by which the use or abuse of alcoholic drinks could be decreased. Moral suasion was one of the favorite means. Reports were made as to the results secured by the cooperation of the total abstinence societies, the Church, woman, and the press. Reform of the drinking customs and the education of the young in temperance principles were recommended. It was reported that in French Switzerland two thousand schools give instruction as to the physical effects of the use of alcoholic drinks. In Belgium the efforts of the superintendent of public instruction have been rewarded by the introduction of the study of the effect of alcoholic drinks into the schools and by the formation of temperance societies among the older pupils, whose members pledge themselves to total abstinence during the years of their minority. Little time was given to the legal aspect of the subject. But wherever the law had been invoked it was proved that its effects were in every way beneficial.

The Jubilee of the Free Church of Scotland. The recent semi-centennial celebration of this Church has freshly brought to light the thrilling history of its origin and progress. Its *raison d'être* was the determination of Dr. Chalmers and others like minded with himself to cultivate deep piety and to keep open eye and hand for the needs of the times. Four hundred and seventy-four preachers and four hundred teachers gave up positions in the Established Church for conscience' sake. At present the Free Church numbers 1,169 preachers, 341,306 members. In the fifty years $115,000,000 have been raised and paid for church purposes. Forty-eight millions went to the support of the pastors, eighteen millions have gone into church edifices and parsonages, and about an equal amount for foreign missions. The Church has three theological seminaries, and missions in India, Syria, Arabia, and Africa. They have gradually approached nearer to the Methodistic form of doctrine. They have awakened the State Church to new life and activity, and the old feeling of hostility between the Free and the State Church has given place to a warm feeling of friendship.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE facts that face us in the financial world and the consequent sufferings of many thousands of unemployed men, whose only dependence for support is their labor, may well engage the best thoughts of the political economist, the statesman, and the citizen, and call loudly for the sympathy that the circumstances demand. It is not for us under the gloom that prevails to justify the hostility of one class or condition toward another, as if either were responsible for the depression we suffer, or as if either could by its own power effect the change which the employers and the employed alike deplore and of which they both are alike innocent. If the employed have lost their wages the employers have lost their gains from labor, if not with them their fortunes. With reference to this condition in the industrial world current literature seeks to construe facts and overcome difficulties for which time only can afford the solution. Thus the *Fortnightly Review* for November contains a searching article on the "Psychology of Labor and Capital." The writer says that if socialists and others who "complain of the present unequal distribution of wealth," could have their way "the capitalist could be extinguished." He thinks, however, that the capitalist will remain, and declares that it is better for the laborer to "beware of killing the layer of the golden eggs." He adds that labor may "pass the point where its own strength and capital's patience break down and an encounter may ensue, in which it will have the worst." And still further he says, "Legislation does not, like socialism, aim at extinguishing the capitalist, but at regulating him." Next the *Catholic World* for November has an article on the "Social and Industrial World." The author discusses a report on the "Labor Question in the United States," drawn up by order of the queen and presented to both houses of Parliament. His article considers the relations between capital and labor organizations, and treats of the eight-hour movement, showing that where it has been introduced workers have had more regular occupation, and that there has been an increase of ten per cent in the number employed. The *North American Review* for November also contains an article on the "Productivity of the Individual." The writer follows the line of argument in a former number, where he inquires, "Who are the Greatest Wealth Producers?" He aims to show that "the larger part of the goods or commodities produced in the modern world are produced by the exercise, not of the universal faculty of labor, but of those mental and moral faculties by which labor is directed and stimulated and which are exercised and possessed by comparatively few persons, and that thus, whereas according to the prevailing view the few live on what is produced by the many, the truth is that the many—in other words, the wage-earning laborers—derive a large part of their wages from what is produced by the few." Such are some of the articles on capital and labor in the current Reviews, which are worthy of mention.

Do not reason and observation alike tell us that there is no necessary ground of hostility or justification of jealousy between those who stand in these different relations to each other. Wrong, indeed, may be found on the side of either the employer or the employed. But it is in the individual rather than in the relationship. And the past should impress the fact that anarchy and communism are not the cure but the aggravation of our ills. Since the employed are prone to cite the disparity between their condition and that of the employer as a reason why there should be a division of income as well as the payment of wages, is it not as just to assume they should divide or share the loss when the employer suffers it? And is it not true that the superior workman does not feel it his duty to divide his greater wages with his inferior fellow-workman? It is, moreover, a notable fact that, while the last few years have shown cases of greater wealth than other days exhibited, the laboring man has found reward for labor such as was not dreamed of in times within the memory of many. When the skilled laborer, the mechanic of nearly all trades, received $30 per month, his hours of labor were from sunrise to sunset, and half the year in shops, factories, and elsewhere mechanical labor continued till eight o'clock at night. Twelve months' constant work yielded $360. Now in many instances it affords more than $1,000. There is no such difference in cost of living. If capital, genius, and energy have wrought such change let us trust divine Providence, with legislation and the adoption of such means as time and wisdom will suggest. God reigns, and he has not forgotten the laborer.

THE *Contemporary Review* for November treats of: 1. "The Political Situation in France;" 2. "The Parish Councils Bill;" 3. "Mashonaland and Its People;" 4. "Christianity and Mohammedanism;" 5. "The English Poor Law and Old Age;" 6. "Priest and Altar in the English Church;" 7. "Dramatic Criticism;" 8. "The Geographical Evolution of the North Sea;" 9. "The Conference of Colonial Members;" 10. "The Problem of the Family in the United States;" 11. "Urgency in Siam;" 12. "The Miners' Battle and After." Of the many interesting and well-written articles in this number of the *Contemporary* perhaps there is none deserving of more careful thought than the tenth. The problem of the family in the United States comes home to the heart of anyone who loves his country or honors his home. Dr. Dike, in the article, says, "The part of the family in the development of the social order, its present universality and power, and its direct interest in every social change fully justify" the claim made by an eminent English scholar, who recently wrote that "one might almost say that the family is the fundamental and permanent problem of human society." The "divorce question" commands the author's close attention, and he traces with great precision the notice it received at an early period in our government, and shows the action of many States, and also the difficulties that face every attempt to conform the decisions of law and the legislation of common-

wealths to a legitimate demand. The rigor of Canada in this matter is shown and the salutary result is stated. The large number of divorces in other countries, as France, Prussia, and Hungary, is contrasted with the comparatively few in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. Looking to this restriction of divorces to the minimum, the educational work of the family, with its hindrances, is pointed out; but its necessity is argued with the force of facts.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for October contains: 1. "The Palace of Pan;" 2. "A Cabinet Minister's *Vade Mecum;*" 3. "Setting the Poor on Work;" 4. "Through the Khyber Pass;" 5. "Dr. Pearson on the Modern Drama;" 6. "The Position of Geology;" 7. "The Archaic Statues of the Acropolis Museum;" 8. "The Transformation of Japan;" 9. "A Study for Colonel Newcome;" 10. "Théophraste Renaudot;" 11. "The Parsees;" 12. "New Ways with Old Offenders;" 13. "The Gospel of Peter;" 14. "Aspects of Tennyson." The third article, on "Setting the Poor on Work," is elaborate and timely. The various expedients suggested have in view the "advantage which would accrue to the nation from the constant employment of industrious peasants and craftsmen," and the desirability of securing to industry and skill the benefits rightfully theirs. All considerations will urgently unite in not allowing this question to sleep. The providence of God, the wisdom of men of means, and the energy of the unemployed will all have a part in bringing about a result for which so many think and speak and write and pray. The twelfth article, "New Ways with Old Offenders," exhibits great earnestness, but names many means of dealing with the guilty which have failed in the past. The future must show what the past has demonstrated, that no means can accomplish the end sought so long as "old offenders" do not accept the proffered advantages.

THE *North American Review* for November, besides the article on the "Productivity of the Individual" already noticed, shows in its other papers an aim to keep before its readers subjects suggested by the times. Their treatment is direct and vigorous. Among its interesting discussions is the symposium on the "Struggle in the Senate," containing a paper on "Misrepresentations," by Senator William M. Stewart, and one on "Obstructions," by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. "The Wealth of New York," by its mayor, is the third of a series discussing the elements of the city's prosperity. The writer says, "It is impossible to believe or even to suppose that the limit of prosperity has been reached." "Pool Rooms and Pool Selling," by Anthony Comstock, is a clear exhibit of facts which call for the best efforts of all who would save society from evils seen and deplored by right-minded people. "Social Relations of the Insane," by Dr. Henry Smith Williams, is an article full of information such as we should be glad to obtain. Mind, in all its conditions and manifestations, is a study. A diseased intellect is one of the most difficult

things to treat, and skillful men are sometimes reproached that they cannot accomplish impossibilities in the treatment of such patients. "Let no one," says the writer, "suppose that an insane person is commonly sent to an asylum because of his insanity *per se*. Mere mental perversion would be but little, if at all, noticed by the law so long as it stopped at that." Yet no one can tell where it will stop. But to whatever limits the patient may go he is not necessarily guiltless. For all insanity does not destroy responsibility, by the showing of Dr. Williams.

THE *Canadian Methodist Quarterly Review* for October contains articles well adapted to the purposes of the review, and that must exert the desired influence on the intellect and heart. The first discussion is on "Bowne's Ethics," and is incisive and thorough. The quotations given from the Professor's work show "the aim of the author and of the deep spiritual conceptions underlying not only the treatise on ethics, but his entire treatment of the problems of philosophy. Together they constitute one of the best antidotes to the shallow materialism that masquerades in the name of science and philosophy." "Consciousness," by Dr. H. H. Moore, impresses us. Among the definitions of consciousness that he gives is one by Dr. Noah Porter that commends itself for its simplicity and directness. It is "the power by which the soul knows its own states and acts." Dr. Moore says, "Consciousness, as a *faculty*, is the same in the Hottentot and Eskimo," but adds, "Diverse experiences may make their contents wholly unlike each other."

THE November number of the *Homiletic Review* has the same fullness of thought, variety of subjects, and excellence of topics that we have been accustomed to see in its monthly issues. "Tennyson's Poetry: its Value to the Minister;" "Lessons from the Life of Spurgeon;" "The Soul's Thirst and Satisfaction;" and "The Kind of a Church Jesus Christ Would Have on the Earth To-day," will interest the student, edify the believer, and rouse the preacher to a high sense of his holy obligations.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for October has: 1. "The Causes of Pessimism;" 2. "The Unemployed;" 3. "Atoms and Sunbeams;" 4. "The Royal Road to History;" 5. "The Balance of Trade;" 6. "The Industrial Position of Women;" 7. "The Pomaks of Rhodope;" 8. "University Systems;" 9. "Electric Fishes;" 10. "Notes of a Journey in South Italy;" 11. "The Silver Question;" 12. "Correspondence." The first of these subjects discussed, "Causes of Pessimism," will justify as much thought as he who would reach, expose, and remove them can give. The writer states: "There is said to be a strain of pessimism noticeable in the writings of the last few years. Sometimes it takes the form of despondency as to the future of humanity at large or of a particular people. Sometimes it rather seems to indicate perplexity over some great moral problem. Now

and again it is a regret over some system or faith that has disappeared and which, it would seem, cannot be replaced." Authors are cited as illustrations of this statement. After giving various facts that have operated in reference to governments, systems, and individuals, he concludes in the statement that "the pessimistic tone of mind is not so much due to any single cause as to the despondency caused by a sense of impending and inevitable doom, or, now and again, to the reaction from oversanguine hopes." Mental depression, from whatever cause, enervates, and whether it show itself in relation to State or Church, science or faith, is sometimes found to free its subject from the sense of responsibility which is an essential characteristic of the patriot, the Christian, and the man. The second article, "The Unemployed," and the sixth, "The Industrial Position of Women," discuss questions of such magnitude as to command the attention of all interested in equity. —— The *Preachers' Magazine* for November, if approached as a spiritual armory, will furnish any weapon the minister may need for making war on the enemy of souls. It opens on "Present-day Preaching," with a sermon, by Dr. John Hall, which suggests the grandeur of this ordinance. A discourse, by Rev. Mark Guy Pearse, impresses the reader with the magnitude of Christ's work and his power in casting out devils and saving men.—— The November number of the *Methodist Magazine*, like its predecessors, fills the eye and interests the mind with religious literature and social progress. In "Tent Life in Palestine," the editor, by the sketching of his pen and the illustrations on the pages, makes a graphic exhibit. In the article "With the Monks at St. Bernard," by S. H. M. Byers, we have an instructive account of monastic life. "Medical Missions," by Dr. J. V. Smith, are declared to be "the picture language of the Church militant" that all can understand.

The *American Catholic Quarterly Review* for October has: 1. "The Limits of Papal Infallibility;" 2. "Indian Bibliographies;" 3. "The Age of the Human Race According to Modern Science and Biblical Chronology;" 4. "The Church in Her History;" 5. "Harnack's Dogmatic History;" 6. "The Idea of Evolution;" 7. "The Newest Ritualism in England;" 8. "The Cluniac and his Song;" 9. "Reunion or Submission;" 10. "University Colleges: their Origin and their Methods;" 11. "How Words Change their Meaning;" 12. "Scientific Chronicle." This number is full of excellent things, and along the many lines of its thought exhibits great ability. Its first article, "The Limits of Papal Infallibility" shows the doctrine of Catholicism, as to where the pope is and where he is not infallible. The writer does not "assume the task of proving the dogma of infallibility." The Roman pontiff, "when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when, discharging the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians, in virtue of his supreme authority, he defines a doctrine on faith or morals, to be held by the universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, possesses that infallibility with which

the divine Redeemer wished his Church to be endowed in the definition of doctrine regarding faith or morals; and therefore the definitions of the Roman pontiff are of themselves, and not owing to the consent of the Church, irreformable." Infallibility means, in other words, "doctrinal inerrancy in a certain capacity and under certain adjuncts." The "limits as well as the extent of papal infallibility" are given "as contained in the Vatican definition." The sixth article discusses the "Idea of Evolution." In this the writer logically confounds Herbert Spencer on the very ground Spencer has taken with regard to the first cause of all things. It is keen, close, logical, conclusive.

THE *Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature* for October discusses such subjects as are appropriate to its title. Its many articles show close inquiry, earnest research, and vigorous thought. "Faith and Criticism" is the notice of certain essays written by distinguished Congregationalists, and contains much food that nourishes to eternal life. Truth is shown to maintain its power when criticism is the most severe. The "latest critical researches" only tend to "establish the historicity of the New Testament narratives both in respect to the life of Christ and the age of the apostles."

THE *Fortnightly Review* for November has among its many articles of interest one on "The Psychology of Labor and Capital," by Robert Wallace, M.P. It contains material to command the closest thought of the philanthropist, the moralist, and the Christian.——The *Globe* for September to December contains articles of great weight and worth.——The *Edinburgh Review* for October has the qualities that a "critical journal" should show on the many themes it discusses.——The *New Jerusalem Magazine* for November has among its many articles of devout thought a striking one on "Emerson and Swedenborg on the Imagination." The paper is critical and curious and in the faith and spirit of the journal.——The *Missionary Review of the World* for November is marked by even more than its usual fullness of thought and force of statement. The first article is by Dr. A. T. Pierson, on "Thy Kingdom Come." He presents the "world," the "Church," "Israel," the "nations," and the "ages" as the five factors in the New Testament that "stand closely linked with each other and with the kingdom."—— The *Treasury of Religious Thought* for November contains as its first article a sermon by Rev. J. Wilson, D.D., a discourse of great beauty, in which he impressively shows the evolution of "Golden Character from Refining Fires." It is as if from the heart of one who has "glorified God in the fires." "Christian Edification," by Dr. Cuyler, forbids gloom and inculcates gladness. "Thoughts for the Hour of Prayer," by Dr. R. S. Storrs, tells with vigor how we may know God's call as to duty we are to discharge, and may readily recognize the divine will. The many articles of this periodical possess strong attractions.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretations: A Study of the Teaching of Jesus and its Doctrinal Transformations in the New Testament. By ORELLO CONE, D.D. 8vo, pp. viii, 413. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.75.

This is a work of marked ability and power. It is written in entire sympathy with the results of the latest rationalistic school. It is a statement of the development of the New Testament theology from that standpoint. But so thoroughly do the principles of naturalism sway the mind of the author that no attempt is made at a scientific interpretation and justification of the contents of the New Testament. That book is cut up and parceled out in the most arbitrary fashion. "In treating the Gospel of Jesus and its earliest interpretations the discussion in this work proceeds upon the judgment that the synoptic gospels are the sole historical records of his teaching; that the fourth gospel contains a transformation of it effected under the influence of Hellenistic thought; that the doctrine of Paul must be derived from Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, and Philippians; that Hebrews, Colossians, Ephesians, and 1 Peter are to be classified as Deutero-Pauline writings, composed toward the end of the first century; that 2 Peter, Jude, the pastoral epistles, and the so-called epistles of John are to be regarded as anti-gnostic writings of the early years of the second century." It is something to be thankful for that we have the pure Gospel of Jesus in the first three gospels. But even this is denied us. It is there, but much else is there. Jesus of Nazareth, a religious genius, taught the fatherhood of God and the pure ethics of the Sermon on the Mount. Everything which in the mind of the author is inconsistent with that is a later addition to the gospels. The early chapters of Luke and the apocalyptic discourses in Matthew are thrown out. No attempt is made at an appreciation or interpretation of the deeper portions of the first gospel. These parts are simply discarded with impatience as the dreams of Jewish Christian enthusiasts. The first gospel is written in the interest of the Judaizing party; and yet this is the gospel in which the loving ethics of Christ find most complete expression, as well as the doctrine of God's universal fatherhood, and the intimations of the world-wide intention of the new religion. Our author does not explain this. Of course he holds that Christ never uttered Matt. xxviii, 19, 20. The original gospel had nothing to say of faith as a condition of salvation. This is such a glaring misstatement that even the author unconsciously contradicts it in the statement that Jesus taught that "man is to cast himself upon God in trust and love," and that "faith in God occupies the foremost place" in his teachings. In speaking of Luke xiv, 26, another spurious passage, as the author thinks, we are told that Jesus "never required of his immediate disciples the breaking of sacred ties of kindred," and that "to his

whole teaching hatred in any form is opposed." To a writer less able than Dr. Cone such a remark would be set down as childish drivel. On the other hand, the excellent remarks on other hard sayings of Jesus, as the words to the rich young man, show that there is no necessity of getting rid of these portions of the Gospel by the easy method of referring them to later times. The low conception of Jesus cannot endure the detailed prophecies of Christ's death, which are also later additions. There is nothing of a sacrificial nature in Christ's death; therefore Matt. xx, 28, xxvi, 28—in the teeth of text-criticism—are to be eliminated. The sterner teachings of Jesus are not to be accepted. His explicit statements of punishment in the future life have no special significance for us; but we may infer boundless possibilities of good for the future from those parables which have no direct reference to the future life at all! Anything can be made out by such arbitrary methods as those which Dr. Cone has adopted. Think of a Shakespearean critic going through the plays, and in total disregard of textual criticism cutting out whatever may seem to him unworthy of the poet dramatist. In the last chapter Dr. Cone has some hard words to say about Christian theology. But let us assure him that there is a dogmatism just as unscientific as that which he denounces in Christian believers. It is the thoroughly rationalistic prepossessions of the author, who is the president of Buchtel College, a Universalist institution at Akron, O., which make him unable to do justice to the New Testament theology. The work contains many just criticisms, but is vitiated by its purely naturalistic standpoint. Among those well-considered observations, however, we cannot count the section on the Book of Revelation—that "lurid" and "mythological" Apocalypse which is unworthy the study of any Christian, nor the reasons given for the rejection of one of the most characteristically Pauline of all the writings of the poet-apostle—the Ephesians. The expressions, "dead in trespasses," "made alive in Christ," "forgiveness of sins," "to be brought near," "belong to the later Paulinism of Hebrews and Colossians, and not to the genuine epistles of the apostle." The thoughts set forth by the above expressions are thoroughly Pauline, but Paul must, forsooth, use the same phrascology in every epistle.

What is Inspiration? A Fresh Study of the Question, with New and Discriminative Replies. By JOHN DEWITT, D D., LL.D., Litt.D., for many years Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J., and Author of *The Psalms: A New Translation with Notes*, etc. 12mo, pp. vii, 187. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. Price, $1.

This is a book of mediation by a venerable and learned biblical scholar. It stands midway between rationalism and ultra-conservatism. It is a word of peace. Occasioned by the Briggs trial, it is written, the author says, in response to the "obligation of those who have rejected the theory of verbal inspiration, as not in accordance with what they find by the most careful scrutiny of the contents of the Bible, to furnish with the least possible delay a definition that shall replace it as consistent with undeniable fact, and thus quiet the prevailing agitation." A spirit of

peace and confidence—"the full assurance of faith"—breathes through Dr. DeWitt's work. For this reason its frankness is the less to be wondered at. Take, for example, this: "In our Lord's frequent references to the Old Testament verbal accuracy is practically treated as not of the slightest consequence. He refers constantly to translations in common use among the Jews, never hinting that their value is impaired by erroneous rendering; although very often, and in important places, they go very far astray from what could be the meaning of the original. The Septuagint version is much nearer to the Scriptures indorsed by our Saviour and his apostles than the received Hebrew text; for they generally quote from the former, and only occasionally from the Hebrew, or from some Aramaic version which in the gospels is translated into Greek." After a clear, full, and careful discussion the author reaches his definition, the answer to the question of his book. He prints it in italics, and he evidently desires every word to be weighed: "Inspiration is a special energy of the Spirit of God upon the mind and heart of selected and prepared human agents, which does not destroy nor impair their native and normal activities nor miraculously enlarge the boundaries of their knowledge, except where essential to the inspiring purpose, but stimulates and assists them to a clear discernment and faithful utterance of truth and fact, and, when necessary, brings within their range truth or fact which could not otherwise have been known. By such direction and aid, through spoken or written words in combination with any divinely ordered circumstances with which they may be historically interwoven, the result contemplated in the purpose of God is realized in a progressive revelation of his wisdom, righteousness, and grace for the instruction and moral elevation of men. The revelation so produced is permanent and infallible for all matters of faith and practice, except so far as any given revelation may be manifestly partial, provisional, and limited in its time and conditions, or may be afterward modified or superseded by a higher and fuller revelation, adapted to an advanced period in the redemptive process to which all revelation relates as its final end and glorious consummation." Dr. DeWitt has done his work with admirable skill. This calm, strong, and comprehensive discussion by a capable and conservative scholar of a conservative Church is intended to have a quieting effect in the present crisis. It would seem to show that such trials as those of Drs. Briggs and Smith are not likely to transpire in the old Reformed (Dutch) Church. Dr. DeWitt's book furnishes to those who wish it a brief treatment of a vexed question by a profound, devout, and lifelong student of the oracles of God. We cannot forbear quoting his own testimony as to the effect of his ever-growing familiarity with Scripture. There is nothing better in his book than this. He says: "I have spent the larger portion of my active life in giving instruction in the Old and New Testaments, separately and in their connection. Every year and month and day they have become more precious, and all labor in developing their glorious import and their significance in connection with every aspiration and hope of man has become more absorbing."

What stronger proof of the divinity of the Bible than such testimony from such a source? Of what other book in the world could an exhaustive student and accomplished scholar by any conceivable possibility so speak?

Vox Dei, The Doctrine of the Spirit as it is Set Forth in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. By R. A. REDFORD, M.A., LL.B., Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics, New College, London. 12mo, pp. 344. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $1.

This is a praiseworthy endeavor to bring into greater prominence and clearness the doctrine of the personality and power of the Holy Spirit. In the author's opinion, which we cannot wholly share, the Church of Christ is in a bad way at the present time, spiritual power lacking, doubt on our very banners, little heroism, little courage. And "one reason of this decline of spiritual energy in the Church" (which decline we, for our part, fail to perceive) he thinks must be "the faulty and inadequate understanding of the doctrine of the Spirit." This "cloudiness of conception and weakness of conviction among Christians on the whole subject" he sets himself to remedy. And in the main the task is well done. The style is clear, the subject well laid out, the entire impression wholesome. The exposition of the numerous passages brought under consideration is in full accordance with the traditional views, and the reader will at no point be startled by any novelties or have his mind unduly exercised. The author, as he says in the preface, "has avoided scholastic discussions; his aim has been practical." We do not think it would have hurt the book, considering that it will be read mainly by the ministerial and literary class, if a little more scholarship had been put into it. On all the points at issue between the Bible students of past ages and investigators of the present day the author sides with the former. Even a passage like Acts xix, 2, which modern scholars, we think, are substantially agreed should be rendered, as in the Revised Version, "Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed?" he quotes in the old translation, "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" which gives a very different, and, it seems to us, entirely erroneous turn to the incident. But the chief criticism we are disposed to make is on his forcing the doctrine of the Trinity into all the passages of the Old Testament where the Spirit of God is mentioned. He says: "We take it for granted that there is one doctrine of the Spirit pervading the whole revelation;" "The central fact of Christianity goes back to the first page of Genesis;" "There is no difference in the doctrine of the Spirit which is taught all through this long series of books;" "If the Book of Genesis were the only sacred book we possessed we should certainly have no difficulty in putting together from its pages a very decided doctrine of the Spirit;" "The God of Genesis is certainly a triune God." Because the sacred writer puts into the mouth of Pharaoh, speaking of Joseph, the words, "Can we find such a one as this is, a man in whom the Spirit of God is?" Dr. Redford holds that "the doctrine of the Spirit," meaning the New Testament Christian doctrine, "was clearly

recognized at that time." All this may possibly be so. But we are inclined to put a large interrogation point opposite many of these strong assertions. Is it worth while to strain the language to this extent and crowd into it what the speakers and writers could not, by any fair principles of interpretation, be understood to have meant? The author shows plainly enough that Judaism was, to a large extent, a spiritual religion, and that Jehovah was represented as a Spirit; but when he proceeds from such facts as these to argue that Judaism was trinitarian thoughtful minds will hesitate to follow. Biblical theology is more and more coming to the front in these days. Very patiently, and with increasing success, the attempt is being made to find out just what the men of those ancient times really thought. What we think now, as the result of our philosophizing and systematizing, or, if any prefer to put it so, as the result of all the divine teachings up to the present, is quite another thing, not to be confounded with the former. The author, in our opinion, is to some extent subject to this confusion.

Jesus and Modern Life. By M. J. SAVAGE. With an Introduction by Professor CRAWFORD H. TOY. 12mo, pp. 229. Boston: George H. Ellis. Price, cloth, $1.

We have here a somewhat famous course of sermons preached during the past year at the Church of the Unity, Boston, and extensively reported in the daily papers. They are thirteen in number, and treat of such topics as "What Jesus Taught about God;" "Jesus's Doctrine of Nonresistance;" "Jesus and the Christ Ideals;" "Christianity and the Doctrine of Jesus." From the standpoint of evangelical Christianity it is a very curious and far from satisfactory or pleasing book. Not that Mr. Savage, once a Congregational minister and now a Unitarian of the most radical sort, takes any pleasure in shocking the orthodox after the coarse, vulgar style of Paine and Ingersoll. On the contrary, he professes the utmost admiration for Jesus. "There is no one in this city that loves the Nazarene more than I do," he says. Nevertheless, the patronizing tone of one who sits in judgment, with a touch of conscious superiority, dealing out praise here and blame there—"Jesus was not an infallible teacher;" "Taught almost nothing that was new or original;" "Nothing specially intellectual in his teaching:" "I do not think he could have been perfect if he was tempted;" "No man ought to obey his doctrine of not worrying about the future taken literally;" "A wonderful man;" "Among the very greatest of all time"—is certainly offensive, although, of course, not intentionally so. He treats the gospel records, as might be supposed, with the utmost recklessness, and creates a Jesus to his own liking that ordinary Bible Christians would quite fail to recognize. He summarily dismisses the miraculous and supernatural, and everything else that does not suit his ideas or fit in with his theories. "The gospel of John has no authenticity or authority; it is a philosophical treatise written nearly a hundred and fifty years after Jesus." The other gospels, according to our author, were written "from forty to fifty years after the death of Jesus," and were the products of

an "idealizing tendency working on the facts of the simple life of the son of the carpenter." Truly "a Daniel come to judgment!" It is hardly worth while to take up space in these pages to controvert or even chronicle the views of a writer of this stamp. Two points, however, are noteworthy and interesting. Both are connected with what is ever the insoluble problem in all such books, namely, how to account for this peerless personage and his marvelous work in the world under a theory that rules out the miraculous and classifies him with other religious leaders. Mr. Savage, in his sermon entitled "The Man of Nazareth," essays what, from his point of view, he rightly calls "the immensely difficult task of trying to suggest wherein resided the secret of his power." He mentions four things—"the God-consciousness of the man;" "an enthusiastic love for humanity;" "an indefinable personal fascination," and "a charm of speech." This is all. He is forced to confess that it is an "utterly inadequate" explanation of that which he admits has "changed the face of the civilization of the world." He is obliged to fall back on the idea that "just about the time when Christianity appeared the world-conditions were such that a new religion must have been born anyhow, even if there had been no Jesus of Nazareth at all, and that the new religious movement, if Jesus had not been born, would have attached itself to some other historic person, and would have pursued substantially the same course which it has followed down the ages from that day to this." This may be regarded, we suppose, as the latest of the multitudinous attempts to *explain* that which is inexplicable, and to give us a Christianity with no divine Christ. They who like this sort of thing are certainly welcome to it. But how they can propound it in the name of reason, and consider that it presents fewer obstacles to belief than the orthodox account, is a mystery. With one more example of the difficulties and inconsistencies that beset this theory we leave the book. On page 76 Jesus is said to be "only the child of his time, child of his people and age, with no teaching except that which he could gather out of the surroundings of the life of which he was a part." But on page 114 we are told what this age was which must have the credit of forming Jesus, "an age of narrowness, an age of bitterness, an age of ceremonial, such as the world had hardly ever seen." This is true. Yet, according to Mr. Savage and his class, this miserable age, this narrow people, this country village, this carpenter's family produced Jesus, one whom all these nineteen centuries with their boasted breadth and enlightenment have failed to match, one before whom the religious part of the most civilized nations of the earth still delight to bow, and whose name the lapse of time only serves to lift into higher honor. Believe it who can. We prefer to hold that Jesus was in large part the product of quite another region than Galilee, that he came from heaven to show us infallibly the way thither and to bring life and immortality to light. And this faith, if we mistake not, gives results both in personal peace and in national prosperity which all the rationalistic vaporings and surmisings of those who reject the creed of Christendom fail to supply.

The Song of Songs. An Inspired Melodrama. Analyzed, Translated, and Explained by MILTON S. TERRY, D.D., Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute. 12mo, pp. 64. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, paper, 25 cents.

Dr. Terry finds in this book of the Bible an exquisite dramatic poem, "the obvious purpose of which is to celebrate the passion of human love." His view is that the heroine of the drama is a fair young maiden of northern Palestine, whom King Solomon has sought in vain to win, and who, resisting royal blandishments, remains true to her shepherd lover. He does not regard the book as a portraiture or parable of the love existing between God and his people or of Christ's relation to the Church, nor does he believe that it celebrates the marriage of Solomon with Pharaoh's daughter. He thinks it not improbable, and no way unfit, that the author of the Song of Songs is a woman, some gifted female poet, who sings in this sacred drama the pure, unwavering love of a woman's heart. Dr. Terry analyzes the drama, divides it into acts and scenes, and assigns the various parts to the proper *dramatis personæ*. In certain places he disregards the Masoretic pointing, and corrects the text to conform to the theory which the weight of evidence compels him to adopt. In his concluding observations the author, who ranks among eminent biblical scholars, says: "A diligent study of this beautiful song admonishes us that we should not come to the perusal of the Holy Scriptures with *a priori* notions of what they ought or ought not to contain. Nor are we at liberty to assume, on dogmatic grounds, any theory of divine inspiration which interferes with the free investigation of the biblical writings. Criticism has its rights, and when controlled by sound judgment and sincere desire to know the truth will lead us to a deeper appreciation as well a clearer understanding of the Scriptures." It is the glory and the joy of Christian scholarship to render inestimable service to mankind by such clear and beautiful interpretations of misunderstood portions of the Bible. Those who do this work are high servants of God and large benefactors of the human race.

Exegetical Studies. The Pentateuch and Isaiah. By HENRY WHITE WARREN, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo, pp. 46. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, flexible, 40 cents.

The author's characteristic abundance of keen and powerful life pours its fullness into these studies. They are electrically lighted with auroral flashes of comprehension and darts of spiritual intuition. The dear and sacred truth contained in the divine book is revered with rational adoration and prostrate obeisance, touched fondly with all the holy affection of the soul, and rejoiced in with irrepressible exultation. How any human mind can study the Bible with such illuminating helps as these and not be caught up into the same enthusiasm for revealed truth and for all sacred things, passes our comprehension; indeed, we doubt if any such can be found; the people who have not come under the mighty and mastering spell of the truth are the people who have not properly studied the book which contains it. We fearlessly call for a single instance that can invalidate the universal truth of that affirmation. The Professor of

the English Bible in Denver University is a gifted interpreter and expositor. His exegetical studies lead out of perplexities into perceptions. Although we could make this page sparkle with extracts we dare not enter on quotation lest the reasons which led us to extract a part might compel us to quote the whole. We simply note the declaration that, in regard to the controverted points concerning the Pentateuch and Isaiah, "conservative students of God's word have as yet no call to surrender."

The Holy Waiting. The Christian's Handbook in the Church of God and for Home Meditation and Prayer. By Bishop JOHN HEYL VINCENT, D.D. 16mo, pp. 90. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, 50 cents; leather, 75 cents.

This is a manual of devout meditation and worship for the individual. It is highly adapted to promote the ends it seeks in guiding the mind to such clear and vivid conceptions of truth as shall fill the worshiper with reverence, cause the heart to be duly affected toward sacred things, and uplift the soul in comforting and blissful devotion. For travelers by land or sea, for invalids, sufferers, and other prisoners of Providence who are forbidden the privileges of the sanctuary, this little book is well calculated to make the place where they are as the house of God and the gate of heaven. For the young Christian it is full of instruction, wisdom, and help in its preparations, rules, prayers, covenants, confessions, consecrations, creeds, explanations, quickening thoughts, liturgies, and Te Deums. It may teach laymen and ministers how to pray to edification in private and in public. We know of no better book of its kind. It is worthy of being committed to memory from beginning to end. He who had its words upon his tongue would have the peace of God in his heart.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Principles of Economics. The Satisfaction of Human Wants, so Far as they Can be Satisfied by Labor and Material Resources. By GROVER PEASE OSBORNE, A.M. Crown 8vo, cloth, postage paid, $2. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.

Mr. Osborne has produced a new work on economic science, but not a new economic science. The point of view and the treatment are sufficiently original, and the style deserves the highest praise: Not since Adam Smith has any economic writer attained to such perfect clearness. Let us at once quote an example taken from page 78. "Diminishing returns does not mean a smaller return from land, but a smaller return from labor; not a smaller return from labor in factories, but a smaller return from labor on land." This does not purport to be a definition, but it is probably the best one ever made for the principle of diminishing returns. This lucidity is found throughout the work: we have found no passage clouded by obscurity. The terms of this science are carefully explained, and any boy may read most of the work understandingly. The exceptional portions are not in the least obscure: the boy would need to know some things about money, for example, which are not here stated; that is to say, he would need a mature experience to

understand what is stated. The new point of view is gained by entering the economic field on the side of human wants. It affords an opportunity for a semiethical treatment of the subject, and the author adopts with a justification of his method a didactic and ethical tone. What ought to be done, not what comes to pass, in economic life is the real theme within the theme. The "principles" are severely orthodox, even to the inclusion of the Malthusian theory of population; but the author would have us check the economic tendencies by righteous interference of society and government. There is, however, a serious difficulty in the term wants. It may mean a desire or a need, and ethically the two things widely diverge. Economists generally treat of wants as nearly the same thing as desires; but that lets in immoral desires, or demand for things which are not good for us. Nearly every economist flounders on this Ass's bridge of the science; and we cannot think that Mr. Osborne has crossed the bridge with his usual felicity of definition. The difficulty is there to stay; it is in the subject-matter; and all that the economist can do is to turn over to the preacher the reproof and correction of immoral desires; but this leaves in doubt the wisdom of hanging a treatise on economics upon the word wants. But the novel point of view is so useful to an ethical economist, and it brings into the field of vision such a number of neglected facts, that we easily forget the initial difficulty of it. For example, in the process of satisfying our wants by labor it comes about that an enormous amount of effort is expended in our homes by wives, by mothers, by ourselves; all which labor escapes the vision of the economist looking too exclusively at the facts of exchange. And this view has a further consolation for us in the ease with which it sets aside the stupid expression "nonproducers"—of old applied to teachers, preachers, and writers; they are supplying human wants, and that clothes them with economic respectability. For most of his readers the charm of Mr. Osborne's book will come out of his discussion of practical questions actually before the American people. The land question is very fully treated and the author's position is substantially that of John Stuart Mill: the land belongs to society, but its "improvements" belong to the private owner of them. It is, however, ethically impossible for American society to recover what it has sold and given title to; but government lands ought hereafter to be rented. Many of the difficulties of this question are treated with freshness and candor. However, it should be noted that he seems not to know how deep the tax collector now cuts into income from land in cities, and he exaggerates the possible income from city lots. The author's discussion of money leans toward radicalism, though resting on orthodox ground. He advocates bimetallism, and thinks a gold standard perilous; and yet he gives no "reasons" which are not answered in his own text. On page 327 he writes: "A paper money increases the total supply of money. It is the same as an increase in the supply of gold and silver, which, of course, reduces their value. The value of gold depends on the supply and demand for all purposes; if paper is substituted for one of its uses, the effect is the same as an increase in the

supply of gold." It would seem, then, that dropping out silver as standard money, but using the same amount of it as substitute money, would have no tendency to increase the value of gold. Nor is it either orthodox or ethical to assert that the safer and happier order is a slight and constant fall in the value of money—and rise of prices—because it stimulates enterprise. The world would better learn to live without stimulants of an artificial sort. And current changes in the value of money—up or down—within tolerable limits, cannot seriously affect enterprise of legitimate kinds. The real and immense difficulty is presented by deferred payments. No man can know what purchasing power a dollar will have five years hence, and we hazard the suggestion that the difficulty is insurmountable. Possibly prices tend to lower levels through competition and the incessant rearrangement of the relative value of commodities. Somewhere here a factor not yet studied is at work upon price in exchange. The question of unrestricted immigration affords the author a fine field for his ethical views, and his strong argument against it is as calm and clear as it is strong. America for the Americans and all good Europeans of our stock is a sensible and patriotic platform, and it is undergirded by sound economic timbers. Our way of handling the Chinese among us is an abominable way; possible we ought to have shut the door against excessive and unregulated immigration from any quarter before these orientals came in. The author of this book advocates cooperation, but suggests that the laborers of least skill would, under a successful system, still receive only wages. We have found this work thoroughly sensible and exceptionally readable. The orthodox economic theory has seldom put on so cheerful a dress. As Mr. Osborne describes it no one would suspect it of being "a dismal science," partly because the orthodoxy is toned up by some radical color.

Joys Beyond the Threshold. A Sequel to the To-morrow of Death. By LOUIS FIGUIER. Translated by ABBY LANGDON ALGER. 16mo, pp. 321. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This is a very singular book indeed, a book which could not have been produced, we think, by any other than a countryman of Jules Verne. We cannot honestly call it a valuable volume, and are somewhat at a loss to know why it should have been deemed worth while to translate and print it in this country. Whatever worth it may have consists in its disclosure of the sort of stuff which they who reject the Christian revelation are driven to resort to that they may find some comfort in contemplating the hereafter. The author says: "None of the religions now existing is fitted to banish from the heart of man the forbidding fears inspired by the idea of death; none can inspire a man with courage to face with steadfast eye and quiet soul the moment of his end." So he steps jauntily in to fill the gap, and supply the need. He does it with the air of a man who can at any time, before breakfast, if necessary, invent a better religion than those now professed on the earth, which, he declares, "do not satisfy the heart or mind." "These dogmas," he adds, "con-

ceived at a period of universal ignorance, are absolutely opposed to the laws of nature, and to sustain their worn-out scaffolding we have nothing but a would-be revelation and faith—that is to say, words very ingeniously invented to cut short all discussion, to deify absurdity, to sanctify an impossibility." He condescends to intimate that Christianity is better than the other religions, which are described at great length; but still its legends are utterly unworthy of credence. "Every one knows that the Nazarene was not the founder of the religion which bears his name; that he wrote nothing, originated nothing. The Christian religion was created, not by Jesus, but by St. Paul, who, having been one of Christ's bitterest foes, became his most fervent apostle, and founded Christianity as a religion." We are further informed that "French, English, and American Protestants may be divided into two sects, Orthodox or Methodists, who are but latent adherents of Catholicism, and liberal Protestants. The liberal Christian is, in the religious order, the direct disciple of Jesus Christ." Perhaps it is this last bit of flattery which has induced the liberal Christians to take up this book. They are quite welcome to it and its consolations. For ourselves we prefer those supplied by the Church, though our author, with customary bombast, says of these latter, "They are infinitely inferior to those assured the dying man of our system." The reader will have a natural curiosity to know what this much-vaunted system is. We will sketch it briefly in the language of its creator. The soul of man is to undergo after death a succession of transmigrations and celestial resurrections. He is to be reincarnated in a chain of new beings whose successive links are unrolled in the bosom of ethereal space, the space which divides the planets from the stars, and which is to be the habitat of these superhuman beings. "There the cycle of their transformations is accomplished; that is, their successive deaths, followed by as many new births, with the continual improvements which refine their qualities more and more, and lead them to an increasing state of intellectual power and moral purity, until they have at last attained the height of perfection, which permits them to enter the central star of our world, where they form a part of the solar divinity." All the planets are also peopled by human beings similar to man. And these various planetary humanities are subject to the same order of organic changes, traversing the phases of successive metamorphoses and progressions till their final entry into the sun. Nor is this all, by any means. The planets belonging to all the distant suns, which we call stars, must have inhabitants who undergo the same organic evolutions which pertain to our earthly humanity. They enter into the substance of their particular star or sun, to compose portions of the solar divinity. "There would thus be as many divinities as fixed stars in the sky. This strangely enlarges our idea of God. It gives us astronomic polytheism, the plurality of gods." Since all the fixed stars revolve around one central point situated deep in space, this is the point where the supreme God, Jehovah, may be found, hidden in the majesty of worlds. As to the comets, M. Figuier has this flight of fancy: "Is it forbidden us to believe that certain comets, those which

reenter our solar system, are agglomerations of the souls of superhuman beings who have just accomplished a journey through the deeps of heaven, and are completing their voyage by hastening into the fiery furnace of the sun. According to this hypothesis comets would be the excursion trains of the populations of ethereal space. This gives as complete a view as our limited space permits of the author's audacious speculations and wild conjectures. But, be it noted, he most strenuously insists that these are not mere dreams of the imagination or idle reveries and romantic theories, like the fables of Christianity. O, no. These are "scientific facts." This is philosophy and certainty. We should never have supposed it had he not told us. And we have to take his bare word for it as it is, for the most careful searching of the book has failed to disclose anything which to us, at least, even begins to resemble the scientific proof and chain of facts of which he so loudly boasts. To his mind "the help offered by science and philosophy," that is, by his system, "to take the tremendous step of death is far superior to that presented by any of the existing religions." He is welcome to it. And so are the liberal Christians with whom he seems disposed to class himself. If the prospect of being eventually burnt up or absorbed in the fiery furnace of the sun cheers them more than the views of heaven afforded by St. John, or the many mansions of the Father's house mentioned by Jesus, and if they put more confidence in the so-called scientific conclusions of this French romancer than in the revelations of Him who came from heaven to show men the way thither, we suppose they must use their own liberty. But they will please excuse us from keeping them company. We are more than satisfied with the old book, which tells us more, we believe, about the to-morrow of death and the joys beyond than any Frenchman can spin out of his brain or any German evolve from his inner consciousness.

Elsie, and Other Poems. By ROBERT BEVERLY HALE. 8vo, pp. 104. Boston: R. B. HALE & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

Fireside poems, forty-two in number. Simple, pleasing, irreproachable, and wholesome sentiments, set in well-turned phrases; beginning with "Elsie," a little girl at play with butterflies and bees under the trees, and ending with "A Plain Workingman's Idea of Heaven," which rejects the notion of rest in an idle heaven, and prays, whether his future be in heaven or earth or hell, "O Father, give me some hard work to do." The strongest piece in the book is "My Fellow-Traveler," which delivers with real power the oft-repeated and ever-needed lesson that as men hope for mercy at the hands of God they should be merciful to one another.

Poems. By EMILY DICKINSON. Edited by two of her Friends, MABEL LOOMIS TODD and T. W. HIGGINSON. Two series in one volume. 16mo, pp. 386. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, white and green cloth, full gilt, $2.

A dainty and beautiful edition of a volume of poems which might seem fitted only for a select few, but which goes on winning a wide reading. It is difficult to find the adjective with which this poetry may be accurately

described and properly characterized. Weird is scarcely the word, though suggested by some of it, nor quaint, though that is not wide of the mark in places, nor queer, though a clumsy critic might pick up that word; but at least we may say that it seems absolutely original, certainly spontaneous, and undeniably unique. The Brontë sisters might have written something almost like it, but they did not. It casts its contradiction at the ancient declaration that there is nothing new under the sun, helping to put to shame that long-discredited adage which the nineteenth century, along the turnpike of its progress and the bypaths of its diversions, pelts with novelties as if to stone it to death. If the poetry of William Blake was something new, then so is Emily Dickinson's; and there is genius if not likeness in both. In these verses of the recluse poetess of Amherst there is quite enough to explain why the first series has reached its eleventh edition and the second series its sixth. They are as rare in quality, as free from meretriciousness, as pellucid and sincere, as Emerson's. The reader regrets that, by her lifelong refusal to print her poems, all this fame can only fling its laurels on the grave beneath which for seven years and more have been hidden from light and sound the eyes and ears which should have been made glad therewith. These three hundred odd bits and scraps of verse, some only four lines long, are the product of a mind abnormal but not morbid. More might be written of them, and may be elsewhere, but not here nor now. Not unsuitable to quote in this department is the following:

A BOOK.

He ate and drank the precious words,
His spirit grew robust;
He knew no more that he was poor,
Nor that his frame was dust.
He danced along the dingy days,
And this bequest of wings
Was but a book. What liberty
A loosened spirit brings!

The Merrimack River, Hellenics and Other Poems. By BENJAMIN W. BALL. 8vo, pp. (2). New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

Two hundred and fifty poems by a bookish man sensitive to the beauties of natural scenery. In 1843 Emerson wrote to Thoreau: "Young Ball has been to see me. He is a prodigious reader and a youth of great promise." Ball's first book of poetry was published in 1851, and the present volume contains part of that with the poetic product of the subsequent forty years. The author is reputed the best Greek student ever graduated from Dartmouth. He has lived in the ideal, and himself says that his biography would be almost entirely a history of his mental development. His writings show the culture of a scholar, the intellectual force of a thinker, and the "high seriousness" of a refined and earnest soul. He calls conscience the higher reason. The critics will not call this poetry great, but it is more valuable than much which they extol. It is not pessimistic, irreligious, immoral, or low-minded, and in these evil

times this must rate as exceptional praise. Anywhere but in New England, where, on the same half-acre we might almost say, he is crowded by Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, and Holmes, Ball would be the pride of his region and a poet of far-seen distinction in the esteem of the cultivated.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Homer and the Epic. By ANDREW LANG, M.A., Hon. LL.D., St. Andrews; Honorary Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. 12mo, pp. 424. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $2.50.

In addition to the many labored treatises on the reality of a personal Homer and the nonconglomerate nature of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, there comes, at last, a book in which the true lover of literature will delight. Other scholars have doubted or believed in the blind poet of the Grecian isles because of archæological or historical evidence; while Wilamowitz has concluded that "the *Iliad*, as it stands, is nothing but a cyclic poem," largely because of philological difficulties in the acceptance of the old received belief. But Mr. Andrew Lang, in his *Homer and the Epic*, approaches the whole subject in such a large and catholic spirit as to indicate to the reader in the very opening chapter that no conclusion in the book will be reached through microscopical analysis in any one department of literary criticism alone; and that while due importance will be attached to arguments from archæology, philology, and history, yet the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* poems must find their defense, in large measure, from the fact that they are poems—and unrivaled poems—of a dawning civilization. Poetry rightly demands a vindication from the larger evidence of poetry and art. The position of the author seems, in part, to be that of Signor Comparetti: "This restless business of analysis, which has lasted so long, impatient of its own fruitlessness, yet unconvinced of it, builds up, and pulls down, and builds again; while its shifting foundations, its insufficient and falsely applied criteria, condemn it to remain fruitless, tedious, and repulsive. The observer marks, with amazement, the degree of intellectual short-sightedness produced by excessive and exclusive analysis. The investigator becomes a kind of microscope man, who can see atoms, but not bodies; motes, and those magnified, but not beams." Yet the careful review of the work of all of the iconoclasts, from Wolf to Wilamowitz, shows how fairly the present Homeric critic approaches his subject. He carefully analyzes, book by book, the entire plot of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, stopping continually to recognize the criticisms and objections which have been made by those who have traversed the ground before him. While no adequate estimate of the value of his work can possibly be made without an open text before us, yet, even to the rapid reader, it is evident that he intends to be fair in his criticisms of those with whom he differs so radically. His conclusion, briefly stated, is that, while the whole matter does not admit of exact demonstration, and must in part be resolved into a question of literary taste, yet the balance of probability is in favor of the old-time view. Homer lived and

wrote; and while we are listening to his song we hear not the diversified and inharmonious notes of many composers, but the single song of one. A prevailing charm of the review is that a poet himself talks of the things that a poet loves. While he balances archæological and philological claims one against another, unconsciously or with keen art he wins us to his views by now vivid, now delicate word paintings, as he rapidly shifts the scenes through the dramatic vistas of camp life and sea wandering. Homer lives to him who loves him. Yet whether the grammarian and the archæologist may ever deduce his actual existence by cold logical process from the data within our possession is more than even Mr. Lang can prophesy.

The Rulers of the Mediterranean. Illustrated. By RICHARD HARDING DAVIS. 16mo, pp. 258. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Mr. Richard Harding Davis is an expert sight-seer. Indeed, his faculty for seeing and telling what he sees is such that he is now employed to travel in quest of other people's pleasure rather than his own. As a member of the Harpers' staff he recently visited the Mediterranean for the purpose of recording his impressions in the book which is before us. It was a hasty trip to Constantinople, with brief stops at Gibraltar, Tangier, Athens, and Cairo. We see the life of these places through the eye of a trained observer. It is a remarkable eye, quite as notable for what it does not see as for anything else, and for its power of selecting from the throng of details the few real elements of the picture. Some one said that Mr. Davis's earlier book of travel, *The West From a Car-Window*, was photographic, a series of "Kodak shots." That is far from the truth. He is really a painter of the impressionist school, an artist in words, and not many living painters could give us on canvas such vivid representations of life as characterize these fascinating pages.

Abraham Lincoln. In two volumes. By JOHN T. MORSE, Jr. 12mo. Vol. I, pp. 387; Vol. II, pp. 373. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.50 per set.

This volume appears at the first thought a hazardous undertaking on the part of Mr. Morse. So much has been said, and by so many writers, concerning the martyred Lincoln that it would almost seem as if the uttermost fact had been discovered and the final word written regarding him. Like some rich harmony, however, with whose repetition the ear never grows weary, comes the thrilling story of this rise from the backwoodsman's obscurity to the rulership of the republic. The familiar facts of Lincoln's unique life are again spread before the reader in these volumes—his childhood poverty, the shadow upon his boyhood in the death of his mother, his start in life, his law experience, his short career in Congress, and the crowning honor of the presidency. The same rugged personality is again before us with which history has already made us acquainted. Lincoln, in his inflexible adherence to principle, his mastery of men, his subtle humor, his quaint pathos, and, withal, his tendency to melancholy, once more confronts the reader as a character study.

And both the life record of the great President and his personal traits take on a new attraction, as if for the first time we read the story. "Lincoln," says Mr. Morse, "was like Shakespeare, in that he seemed to run through the whole gamut of human nature." Having so touched all the experiences of men, he is in some sense the teacher of all; and though it is "only thirty-three years" since he "became of much note in the world," yet he is henceforth the property of the centuries. "Let us take him," says the author, "simply as Abraham Lincoln, singular and solitary, as we all see that he was; let us be thankful if we can make a niche big enough for him among the world's heroes, without worrying ourselves about the proportion which it may bear to other niches; and there let him remain forever, lonely, as in his strange lifetime, impressive, mysterious, unmeasured, and unsolved." Mr. Morse has contributed a most deserving addition to the series now being issued on "American Statesmen."

Thomas Birch Freeman, Missionary Pioneer to Ashanti, Dahomey, and Egba. By JOHN MILUM, F.R.G.S. 12mo, pp. 160. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The son of a slave, brought from the West Indies to England, married a European serving-woman in the village of Twyford, near the ancient cathedral town of Winchester. Of this union was born in 1809 one child, Thomas, who took the name of Mr. Birch, his father's master, and added Freeman as a last name because he obtained freedom under the Emancipation Act. This boy was converted and religiously trained by the labors of Wesleyan Methodist lay preachers and class leaders. As he grew in knowledge and his soul was filled with the spirit of Christ the African blood in his veins began to yearn toward the Dark Continent; and the story of its wrongs, its sufferings, its horrid superstitions and bloody rites, its brutal barbarism, filled him with such pity that he had no peace till the Wesleyan Missionary Society, after examination, appointed him to the newly formed mission on the Gold Coast, western Africa. The Wesleyan work on that coast began in 1836, by the sending out of Joseph R. Dunwell, the first missionary to the Fantis. In six months he died. Not long after the work there was taken up by the subject of this little volume. One of his earliest tasks in Africa was to dig a grave for the body of his wife, a cultivated English woman who had joined herself to him for the salvation of dusky heathen tribes. Possibly his African blood enabled him to endure the climate which proved so deadly to full-blooded Caucasians. At all events he lived and labored there for over fifty years, dying in 1890 full of years and in great satisfaction over the result of his labors. He witnessed the marvelous development of a work which looks to Lake Chad as its ultimate point, its natural course being, if faithfully prosecuted, "across the swamps to Benin, and around to the bend of the Niger, over the hills to Nkoranza, and thence onward to Timbuktu; through Salagha and the inner lands of the half-pagan, half-Islamite Soudanese, to Sakatu, and thence to Kuka on the Great Lake." Nothing illustrates better the spirit of this man of God than a passage

from the book he wrote near the end of his life, entitled *The Missionary Enterprise No Fiction.* Thus he depicts and encourages the missionary to Africa: "Newly arrived in a burning, torrid clime, the vital question comes, Will he endure hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, 'as seeing him who is invisible?' Thousands of miles from home and friends, surrounded by a savage people perishing for lack of knowledge, he has no human aid at hand, no earthly friend or counselor; and yet he can say, 'I am not alone, because the Father is with me.' Now comes the test of faith, courage, and patience. Like the husbandman he must wait long for the precious fruit until the Lord send the refreshing rain. He must toil on through many a dark, cloudy, and discouraging day, plowing and sowing in hope. Bearer of the precious seed, he will doubtless weep; but faith beholds in the distance the time of rejoicing in the midst of a glorious harvest. Onward then, O beloved missionary! Onward, lonely messenger of mercy, warrior of Messiah, greatly valorous! When thy hands hang down and thy spirit droops, *remember Calvary;* panting under the burning heat of noon, *remember Calvary;* and should life ebb out, a solitary wanderer for the benefit of mankind in a pagan land, *remember Calvary.* Be this thy banner, thy watchword, thy rallying cry, yea, be this thy very life, to *remember Calvary,* Calvary, with its dying love; Calvary, with its world-crucifying power; Calvary, with its glorious hopes; Calvary, with its wondrous prospects!" The veteran who wrote those words, and who for half a century was "a burning and a shining light" in the pagan darkness of the Gold Coast, died of influenza in August, 1890, the funeral being held in the church where he had preached for many years, and the committal service at the grave being read by a Church of England clergyman.

The Dawn of Italian Independence. Italy from the Congress of Vienna, 1814, to the Fall of Venice, 1849. In two volumes. By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER. 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 453; Vol. II, pp. 446. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $4.

Mr. Thayer opens his historical venture with a not unimpressive simile. Comparing the Italian people to an invalid, he declares that their gradual renewal during the first half of the present century "must be described, like the convalescence of a patient from a long sickness, by symptoms, much more than by startling occurrences." This assumption that Italy was in a state of sickness as the century opened is one of the truisms of history. A fair land in its overarching skies, a land rich in memorials of art and literature, a land which looks backward to Hildebrand, Dante, and Galileo, as among the great performers upon the stage of its national life —its former condition is in truth not sketched with too somber colors by Mr. Thayer. "From the time of Charlemagne to the time of Napoleon," he says, "she was never mistress of herself, but always the victim of foreign rapacity. All this was her inheritance, when, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, she seriously resolved to be free." To write this latest page in her national development is an undertaking worthy the pen of the most ambitious historian; to tell the story in so complete a

way as does Mr. Thayer is to give a new value to the romance of modern Italy. The writer is a master of the task he undertakes. Availing himself not only of events, but of "the biography of a representative man," a "custom, or a book, which may often serve better than official documents to reveal the forces working below the surface in Italy," he has woven a narrative which is more than fascinating. As for the men whom he portrays, such characters as Prince Metternich, the diplomatist and intriguer, Victor Emmanuel, with his qualities of excellence, Mazzini, "the great conspirator," and Garibaldi, the patriot, stand forth in all their separate qualities and give vividness to the scene. The part played by the papacy through the whole is also adequately noticed. As a piece of graphic description the account of the death of Gregory XVI and the choice of Pius IX, with which the second volume opens, is unexcelled. In fact, wherever the reader turns he finds himself borne along both by the dramatic quality of the events narrated and by the masterly use of English which the author displays. Altogether his work is one to be much desired.

The Student's Roman Empire. A History of the Roman Empire, from its Foundation to the Death of Marcus Aurelius (27 B. C. to 180 A. D.). By J. B. BURY, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 638. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This volume is included in the well-known "Student's Series," and "bridges the gap between the *Student's Rome* and the *Student's Gibbon*." The period with which it deals is that of the rise and prosperity of the Roman Empire, as Gibbon deals with its decline and fall. The author characterizes this period as "perhaps the most important" of the empire, or, indeed, of Rome. Certainly then flourished most of the emperors whose names are household words, even to those whose knowledge of them extends no further. Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Piso, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines—these are the emperors whose virtues and vices, whose greatness and weaknesses render this period of Roman history one of the most picturesque and instructive in human annals. The author cannot be accused of a brilliant style. The last sentence in the book, "We hear of boys being caught up from the top of a pageant to the awning of the Flavian amphitheater," seems a needlessly abrupt ending. Yet his narrative is painstaking and sufficiently clear, and evinces much learning and diligent research. More, however, than a mere narrative is attempted. Constitutional development and history receive careful attention. Three chapters out of the thirty-one are devoted to literature; while the last chapter discusses "Roman Life and Manners," and presents many details not otherwise readily obtainable. We cordially commend the work as furnishing what is nowhere else contained within the same compass, and as being a really valuable compendium of the period of which it treats. Two colored maps are inserted, each of two pages, respectively of the western and eastern portions of the empire. In the last chapter are one or two illustrations which are especially interesting—one

representing the interior of a room in one of the Pompeian baths, another the method by which wild animals were introduced into the arena. Each chapter is followed by "Notes and Illustrations" of various matters suggested by the text; while an index of twelve three-column pages adds immeasurably to the value of the book as a work of reference. While intended primarily, as its title indicates, for the use of students in the higher schools and universities, it is a volume which will repay careful reading by the general public and be a convenient addition to the scholar's library.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Pulpit and Platform. Sermons and Addresses by Rev. O. H. TIFFANY, D.D., LL.D. Compiled by Rev. J. WESLEY JOHNSTON, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 251. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Dr. Tiffany's ministerial career was in various respects exceptional. He was one of the most gifted men for public discourse to be found in any denomination. His exquisite sensibilities, and his strong taste for ritual and for the proprieties and æsthetics of worship, might naturally have carried him into the Protestant Episcopal body but for his ardent love and firm attachment to Methodism. He was so made that elegance was a necessity to him; all his ideals of style and utterance and form were elegant; and the wonder was that such a passion for polish and finish should be accompanied by overpowering force and fervor. His rhetoric was stately and sonorous, his oratoric action the perfection of ease and manly grace, while his utterance was crisp, clear, intelligent, and rhythmical in enunciation, emphasis, and inflection. He knew all the stops of rhetoric, and when he chose to pull them he was like the skilled player of an organ. On some special public occasions he was an oratorical splendor. His lavish, luxurious nature might have made his speech tropical and excessively ornate if not guarded by good taste and checked by culture through a familiar acquaintance with, and careful study of, the best models. That the rhetoric on these printed pages seems hardly so sumptuous as we expected only proves that the grandeur and the spell must have been more in the delivery and the personal presence than we were aware of when listening to his sermons and addresses. Dr. Tiffany's style reminds us most of E. P. Whipple. The wisdom of a judicious discrimination is manifest in the admirable representative selection which the skillful compiler, Dr. Johnston, has made from the accumulated manuscripts of a lifetime. From so much material it was probably no easy thing to choose, but Tiffany's best is undoubtedly in this volume.

The Table Talk of Dr. Martin Luther. Illustrated by Joseph M. Gleeson. 16mo, pp. 141. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, ornamental, 75 cents.

Laus Deo. By GEORGE KLINGLE. 16mo, pp. 88. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, ornamental, $1.

These two booklets are specimens of the exquisitely bound volumes which the publishers prepare for the holiday season. No firm surpasses them in the beauty of their gift books.

The World's Parliament of Religions. An illustrated and popular story of the world's first Parliament of Religions held in Chicago, in connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893. Edited by Rev. JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D.D., Chairman of the General Committee on Religious Congresses of the World's Congress Auxiliary. Vol. I, 8vo, pp. 809. Chicago: The Parliament Publishing Company. Price, cloth, set of two volumes, $5; leather, $7.50; full morocco, $10.

An advanced copy of the first volume of this great work is before us. The most complete and stupendous exposition ever seen was open in Chicago from May to November. The most unique and comprehensive assemblage ever gathered on earth was the World's Parliament of Religions. This volume, with the one which is to follow it, containing the record of that gathering and the only complete and authorized reports of all addresses and papers presented, is such a book as no man ever saw before. That its contents are of intense interest to all sorts and conditions of men goes without saying. More than one hundred and sixty of the leading minds of the world contribute their best thought to its pages. It has two hundred and thirty full-page illustrations, reproductions of photographs of religious subjects gathered in all lands, including in addition pictures of most of the participants in the Parliament. It belongs to a new epoch in the history of religion among men. It will increase, clarify, expand, and enrich our knowledge; and all correct knowledge redounds to the glory of the truth and brings on its boundless and everlasting triumph. Let the light blaze and let the truth stand forth! Because this book is the authentic and trustworthy record of a world event of incalculable moment to all mankind it cannot be ephemeral; it must take its place in permanent literature.

The Cloister and the Hearth; or, Maid, Wife, and Widow. By CHARLES READE. Illustrated from Drawings, by WILLIAM MARTIN JOHNSON. 2 vols., 8vo. Illuminated silk, uncut edges, and gilt top. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, $8.

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NOTE.—This is the special season of books. The *Review* has endeavored to do justice to the season up to the limits of its space. It will be observed that twenty-four are noticed in the present issue.—ED.

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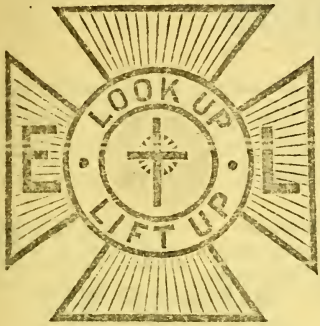

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1894.

ART. I.—"THE PLACE WHERE THE LORD LAY."

THE statements of the four evangelists regarding the tomb of our Lord have always been the subject of much interest and inquiry. Recent exploration has added considerably to our archæological knowledge and greatly helped scholars and exegetes to set the Bible narratives in their true light. Some rectification of statements in standard Methodist authors is made possible, and certain internal evidences of the truthfulness of the New Testament accounts, scarcely noticed before, now become strikingly apparent. It is not proposed in this article to discuss the site of the tomb, but, as far as possible, to reconstruct the tomb itself before the mind's eye, in the interest of a clearer understanding of the sacred history. The importance of the subject certainly warrants a careful study of all accessible sources of information.

The fraudulent character of the present reputed "holy sepulcher" is of course assumed. While it probably stands somewhere near the place of the true one, no competent modern authority of which the writer has knowledge pays any respect to its claims in other particulars. All who have seen it agree that every visible part of the present tomb is manifestly of modern construction. The claim that the stone work covers the rock is nowhere supported by any appearance of the rock itself, and all investigation has been carefully guarded against. The entire structure is in a building above ground, standing on the floor of a church, and it by no means perfectly agrees with the requirements of either the Scriptures or of Jewish archæology.

In addition to the tomb of Christ the church is said to contain the burial places of Melchizedek, of Adam's skull, of Joseph, and of Nicodemus, all of which, together with a number of other sacred places and objects too numerous for any church to cover, are pointed out with a pretense of accuracy that throws discredit upon the whole. It is admitted by all that previous to the time of the Empress Helena the locality was in the hands of the pagans, who tried to obliterate all its distinctive features. If so, they could certainly have destroyed the tomb. Moreover, the original Church of the Holy Sepulcher was burnt by the Persians A. D. 614. It is said to have been again fired after the era of Haroun-al-Raschid. It was razed to the foundations during the period of the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt. For the true sepulcher to have been preserved during all these destructive events would have required more and greater miracles than are reported to have attended its discovery by the Empress Helena.

I. *The Tomb.*—Let us proceed, first of all, to gather from the scriptural accounts of the entombment such portions as will serve as a basis for our attempt. "Now in the place," that is, in the immediate vicinity, "where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulcher, wherein was never man yet laid." It was the tomb of a "rich man of Arimathæa, named Joseph," "which he had hewn out in the rock." This Joseph was an "honorable counselor," "a good man and a just," who "had not consented to the counsel and deed of them" who had condemned Christ. The name "counselor" applied to Joseph indicates that he was a member of the Sanhedrin; and, in addition, the statement of his nonconcurrence in the condemnation of Jesus implies the possession by him of functions pertaining to that office. In harmony with well-known requirements, all members of the Sanhedrin were to be wealthy, in order that they might properly support the dignity of the office. Further, they must be married, that they might sympathize with domestic affairs. They were also to have children, that they might know how to show mercy. We may, therefore, properly think of Jesus as having been laid in such a tomb as a Sanhedrist would probably provide for himself and family. What was it like? From Colonel Wilson's description of burial places in the vicinity of Jerusalem we extract the following facts

pertinent to the inquiry. One of the simple forms of tombs, he says, is "that in which a rectangular space is cut into the vertical face of the rock after the manner of an oven, extending six feet or more horizontally inward, and sufficiently wide and high to admit of a corpse being pushed in. . . . Such a grave is called in the Talmud a *kok* (pl., *kokim*)." Further on, speaking of the various classes into which these tombs may be divided, he says:

> The first class is that in which a natural cavern in one of the softer strata of limestone is adapted to sepulchral purposes. *Kokim* are cut in the sides of the cave, with their beds on a level with the ground, and the openings are then closed with rough stone slabs, resting against the face of the rock or fitting more closely into the excavation. In this class of tomb no arrangement was made for closing the entrance to the cavern. It seems not improbable that these tombs were used for the burial of the poor, and they were perhaps constructed at the public expense. In the second class of tomb a square or oblong chamber is carefully cut in the solid rock; the entrance is by a low, square opening, closed either by a closely fitting stone slab or by a stone door turning on a socket hinge and secured by bolts on the outside. These tombs, remarkable for the care which has been bestowed on the excavation, were probably the family vaults of wealthy people.*

Additional light is cast upon the construction of Jewish tombs of the better class by Dr. Edersheim, whose statements, coming as they do from a rabbinically learned Jew, are of the very highest authority. He says, referring to the sepulcher of Christ:

> Not only the rich, but even those moderately well-to-do, had tombs of their own, which probably were acquired and prepared long before they were needed and treated and inherited as private and personal property. . . . The "tombs" were either "rock-hewn" or natural "caves," or else large walled vaults with niches along the sides. Such a "cave" or "vault" of four cubits' (six feet) width, six cubits' (nine feet) length, and four cubits' (six feet) height, contained niches for eight bodies—three in each of the longitudinal sides and two at the end opposite the entrance. Each "niche" was four cubits (six feet) long and had a height of seven, and a width of six, handbreadths. [A handbreadth is about four inches.] As these burying "niches" were hollowed out in the walls they were called *kukhin* [not *kokim*]. The larger caves or vaults were six cubits (nine feet) wide and eight cubits (twelve feet) long, and held thirteen bodies—four along each side wall, three opposite to, and one on either side of, the entrance. These figures apply, of course, only to what the

* *Picturesque Palestine*, division 1, p. 95.

law required when a vault had been contracted for. When a person constructed one for himself the dimensions of the walls and the number of *kukhin* might, of course, vary.*

Major Conder's description adds a few particulars to the above:

> The ordinary form of a Hebrew tomb was a low chamber with a small entrance, having on each side small tunnels, called in the Mishna *kokim*, each large enough for a corpse, with the feet nearest the entrance and the head at the farther end, supported by a small raised step or stone pillow. Of these *kokim* there were from twelve to sixteen in each chamber. They resemble early Phœnician tombs in their arrangement, "with the difference that the chamber is always reached by a door in the face of the rock, and never occurs at the bottom of a shaft."†

It is reasonable to suppose that the family tomb of a member of the Sanhedrin would present no essential departure from the normal type at this period when reverence for the law was at its highest. It would rather be conformed to the extreme of legality. We may, therefore, imagine, first of all, a rock-hewn tomb of the general proportions named in Dr. Edersheim's description. Of its exact size or of the number of *kukhin* we have, of course, no means of judging; and yet, conjecturing from the probable size and requirements of an orthodox Jewish family, we may suppose it would scarcely be made to contain less than eight bodies.

II. *The Niches, or Kukhin.*—The foregoing statements that these extended perpendicularly inward, at right angles with the face of the wall, are in accord with all the diagrams of the interior of purely Jewish tombs that are popularly known.‡ But from the fact that there are certain tombs in the vicinity of Jerusalem in which the niches are simply shelves parallel with the wall, wherein the body was inserted sidewise, some writers have imagined that Christ was buried in this manner.§ The scriptural mention of the "two angels in white sitting, the one at the head, the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain," has been adduced in favor of this view. But the most recent authorities agree that the shallow niche is not found in purely Jewish rock-cut tombs and that the deep loculus

* *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. ii, pp. 318, 319.

† *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1887.

‡ See McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, art. "Sepulcher;" De Hass, *Buried Cities Recovered*, p. 171.

§ Freeman's *Handbook*, art. "Rock Sepulcher."

is universal in such. On this point McClintock and Strong (article "Sepulcher") say:

> The shallow loculus . . . was apparently only used when sarcophagi were employed, and therefore, so far as we know, only during the Græco-Roman period, when foreign customs came to be adopted. The shallow loculus would have been singularly inappropriate and inconvenient where an unembalmed body was laid out to decay, as there would evidently be no means of shutting it off with the rest of the catacomb. The deep loculus, on the other hand, was as strictly conformable with Jewish customs.

Major Conder says that the anthropoid sarcophagus does not seem to have been in use among the Hebrews, and, further, that there is nothing to show that the Hebrews, ever embalmed their dead in such a manner as to permanently prevent decay. It is true that a "mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pound weight," was wound in the linen clothes, "as the manner of the Jews is to bury." And it is also true that some writers, Geikie, for example, have fallen into the overstatement that the Jews attached "supreme importance," "like the Egyptians," "to the checking of natural decay by embalming."* But the fact appears to be that the Jews no more expected to prevent final decay by the use of spices and ointments than do we by the employment of our temporary preserving fluids. While the unguents would retard decomposition for a time, and while this was part of their intention, the main purpose of any marked profusion was to express respect or affection, as we do by using quantities of flowers or a costly coffin. The writer is assured by a learned rabbi of his acquaintance, who is conversant with all the customs of the Jews, that they have never desired to prevent decomposition, save for the brief period necessary for bestowing the offices of esteem or love, and that in some countries they refrain from using a coffin, in order that the ashes of the dead may mingle more quickly with the earth. In view of all the testimony it seems reasonable to conclude that Joseph the Sanhedrist, careful to observe the customs of his people, would fit up his family tomb with deep *kukhin*. What appears decisive upon this point is that there was not room enough in a wall of the legal Jewish tomb for three *kukhin*, of seven handbreadths' height apiece, to be made one

* Geikie, *Life and Words of Christ*, vol. ii, p. 577.

above another. They would require a space of eighty-four inches from bottom to top, to say nothing of the divisions between the various cells; whereas a wall of the regulation height of four cubits (six feet) would only allow seventy-two inches. And these are the lowest niches known. In the figured specimens of McClintock and Strong the height is thirty-six inches. Therefore the notion that Christ was buried in a shelf receptacle appears untenable, and John xx, 12, must be referred to another part of the sepulcher.

III. *The Ledge, or Bench.*—In excavating the rock to form the class of tombs under discussion a ledge was left at the base of the walls. Colonel Wilson mentions this "rock bench beneath the *kokim* for the anointment of the body." It was upon this bench that the two angels sat, "the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain." And this is that on which, when the two Marys and Salome had entered into the sepulcher, they "saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment." An interesting question arises here. Did the body of Jesus permanently repose upon this ledge, where it had received its anointment and wrapping, or did Joseph and Nicodemus remove it hence to a niche? Whedon correctly holds the latter view. Quoting the angel's words, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay," he says, "pointing doubtless to the particular cell in the wall of the tomb," and continues:

> This implies, in accordance with Mark, that the angel was in the tomb. The place was doubtless a cell or niche, usually cut horizontally into the perpendicular wall, so as to insert the corpse with the head entering first and feet toward the court. Sometimes a shelf or bench was cut along the wall so as to allow the corpse to lie parallel to the wall and entirely visible. As Mary Magdalene saw two angels, one at the head and the other at the feet of Jesus (John xx, 12), this must have been the method in which Jesus lay.*

Certain arguments may be suggested in favor of the body's having lain all the time upon the ledge, but they appear to be overbalanced by others that favor its removal to the niche. Thus, it may be thought, from the probable haste of the burial and from the return of the women on the second morning with more spices, that the preparation of the body for its last resting-

* Before he was put in the "place," as stated in the first sentence of the comment.

place was incomplete, and that therefore it would be left over the Sabbath where it was first placed. But, on the other hand, there is nothing to show that Joseph and Nicodemus did not regard their offices as final; while the coming of the women may properly be attributed to their zealous affection, which needed gratification more than the body needed anointing. Again, while the texts admit of the possible understanding that the body remained upon the bench and that the angel directed the attention of the women to that spot, it would seem that, in such a case, the invitation to "come, see the place," was superfluous; for since the women were already within the tomb the bench was immediately under their eyes, and the empty graveclothes lying upon it would have at once attracted their notice. The language is certainly more fairly a call to examine some "place" not then fairly visible to the women, but seen by the angel. Again, although it is possible that a napkin lying upon the bench might not have been seen by John from the outside of the tomb, while he was "stooping down, and looking in," yet this is hardly probable, for the whole interior of the chamber must have been visible to him. Peter, also, when he looked in from the outside, saw only "the linen clothes laid by themselves." It is more likely that the napkin had been left by our Lord in the niche, beyond the range of vision from outside the door. Our conclusion would then be that the body lay in a *kuk*—which one it is of course impossible to say. It was certainly not in one of the niches beside the door, if there were such, for the clothes could not have been seen there from the outside. If Joseph and Nicodemus performed the last rites alone, as the account seems to indicate, they would naturally have both stood on the outside of the body as it lay on the bench between them and the right-hand wall; and if they then placed it in the most convenient receptacle they would have lifted and inserted it, the head first, in the right-hand corner niche at the end opposite the door. This niche would also be the one farthest from the women upon their entrance; in view of which they might most properly be bidden, "Come, see the place." To this also would the angel, "sitting upon the right side," most easily point with his right hand while uttering the invitation. Of course, the only value of these suppositions is to show that the biblical

narrative easily yields itself to what was a probable construction of the tomb.

IV. *The Door, Great Stone, and Court.*—"And he [Joseph] rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulcher." It was so large that when the two Marys and Salome came, on the first day of the week, they said, "Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulcher? . . . for it was very great." But their apprehension was unfounded, for an "angel of the Lord" had "rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it." As far as we are aware there is no substantial disagreement among the principal archæological authorities regarding the probable size of the door. It was likely about three feet square, or possibly somewhat less in width. The door, in a similar situation, which is described by Dr. Barclay * was "two and a half feet broad and less than three feet high." The door figured in Whedon's *Commentary* (Matt. xxvii, 60) is about three feet square. Such is also the size of the opening into the present "holy sepulcher," which, while evidently a late structure, is yet of some value as testimony, from the evident attempt of its fabricators to conform, as far as they knew how, to the pattern of the tombs around Jerusalem. † Colonel Wilson says of the tombs of the rich, part of his description of which has already been quoted, "The entrance is by a low, square opening." And finally it will be recalled that Major Conder has already stated that "the ordinary form of the Hebrew tomb was a low chamber with a small entrance." So that there seems to be no foundation for the remark in McClintock and Strong (art. "Sepulcher") that the entrance to the tomb of Christ may have been "a door, say six feet by three feet"—a notion evidently adopted as ground for an argument that if the "great stone" had been intended to close the door it would have been too large to move, and that therefore it must have been placed instead at the opening of the loculus. On the contrary, the Bible account itself agrees with the smaller dimensions mentioned in the chief authorities. Peter could only see through the door into the tomb by "stooping down." So also John. So also Mary. It is hardly presumable all these were persons so tall that they must stoop to look in at a door "six feet" high.

* *City of the Great King*, p. 191. † De Hass, *Buried Cities Recovered*, p. 174.

"And as they went out they rolled, as was the custom, a 'great stone'—the *golel*—to close the entrance to the tomb, probably leaning against it for support, as was the practice, a smaller stone—the so-called *dopheq*." * Both Dr. Barclay† and Porter‡ speak of such a *golel*, or "roller," in their accounts of the tombs of the kings, and figure it in shape like a millstone, rolling to the left side of the door and catching there in a slot in the rock. Colonel Wilson gives his adherence to this as the probable method of closing the tomb of Christ; and Strauss avers that this mode of shutting graves by a "roller" is met with at the present time.§ An aperture three feet square would require to cover it a roller of not less than four and a half feet in diameter—rather more, so that it might rest firmly upon the jambs. Dr. Edersheim says, "At the entrance to the vault [and within the rock] was a 'court' six cubits (nine feet) square, to hold the bier and its bearers."‖ Supposing this to be true, then, provided the three-foot aperture covered by its four-and-a-half foot roller was in the lower half of the court wall, at the center, as symmetry would require, it would leave three feet of the wall clear at the left side of the door. This would necessitate a slot one and a half feet deep in the rock to enable the "roller" to clear the opening. When rolled back by the angel and caught three feet of the "roller" would be between the door and slot, resting against the wall at its back, forming a convenient seat for the angel. The groove in which the roller ran would slightly reduce the height of the seat. The bottom of the door, if it was like the drawings before referred to, would be somewhat above the floor of the court; so that the disciples and Mary, when looking into the tomb, would not have to stoop so low as though the three-foot aperture were flush with the floor. Sometimes the *golel* was held in its place by the *dopheq*, as Dr. Edersheim observes; in other sepulchers it caught in a slot to the right of the door, as Dr. Barclay's figure shows; and still again, it was sometimes fastened by a crossbeam.¶

Archæology and the exact words of the sacred text would now seem to correct a few mistakes of authors otherwise admi-

* Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. II, p. 618.
† *City of the Great King*, p. 192.
‡ *Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 139.
§ *Sinai and Golgotha*, p. 205.
‖ *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, p. 319.
¶ Strauss's *Sinai and Golgotha*, p. 205.

rable. Dr. Whedon says, "The stone probably was flat, and rolled by successive overthrows." But the angel would hardly have been sitting on a thin slab, which, when taken away from the tomb, would naturally lie upon its flat side. If Dr. Whedon imagined it was a square block he was possibly too much influenced by the spurious "stone" shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Archæologists do not mention such stones as having been used to close Jewish tombs. The argument in McClintock and Strong in favor of the supposition that the "roller" was used to cover the end of the niche is based upon the exaggerated dimensions assigned to the door—"six feet by three feet." A roller four and a half feet in diameter and of six or seven inches in thickness, while "very great," and to the apprehension of the women perhaps impossible for them to "roll away," might not be beyond the power of even a single man if it were well rounded and balanced. The famous Logan Stone on the coast of Cornwall, although weighing many scores of tons, could be easily rocked by a single hand before its overthrow by a company of roistering sailors. Inquiry among millmen by the writer develops the fact that a stone of the size we have estimated would weigh between six and seven hundred pounds; and his own experiments show that it could be easily moved upon a hard surface by a single person. As to McClintock and Strong's idea that because the stone from the tomb of Lazarus was taken away with such apparent ease it must have been a thin slab, we might admit as much without affecting the argument. It was a "cave-tomb," and Colonel Wilson tells us* that the *kukhin* in such were sometimes closed with slabs, probably because the largeness of the mouths of caves, or their irregular shape, did not admit of their being easily covered. But in the "rock-hewn" tombs, when the size of the entrance to the chamber could be controlled, the "roller," or else the hinged door, was used. Moreover, the statements in both Mark xvi, 3–5, and Luke xxiv, 2, 3, plainly indicate that it was the rolling away of the stone that gave the women admission "into the sepulcher." But unless "into the sepulcher" means "into the niche," and unless the women "entered into" a niche having a probable height of seven handbreadths (twenty-eight inches) and a width of six (twenty-four

* *Picturesque Palestine*, p. 95.

inches), then the supposition that the roller was at the opening of the niche must be erroneous.

Finally, we know that the aperture could not have been closed by a rock slab of "basalt or hard limestone" hinged to its side, "with stone hinges working in well-cut sockets," such as Colonel Wilson and Major Conder both mention as being used in some other cases, because some form of the verb *κυλίνδω* is used in every account of the transaction. This is the word from which the Greek *κύκλος* and our "cylinder" and "circular" are derived. It is correctly translated "rolled." If the opening to the tomb had been shut by the hinged door the inspired authors would have employed some form of the verb *κλείω*, from which it is likely we get our word "close." There is no variation or equivalency in the meaning of these two words in either the classic or New Testament usage. Although in our own vernacular we sometimes speak of a hinged door being "rolled back on its hinges," no such confusion of thought is possible in the Greek. So we conclude that the door was closed by a "roller."

V. *The Reasonableness of the Narrative.*—Thus have we gone from the inner chamber of the sepulcher outward. Combining the data furnished by Wilson, Edersheim, and Conder, together with that afforded by the four evangelists, we may believe that we have constructed our Lord's resting-place with approximate correctness. In our thoughts, approaching the tomb from the garden, we first enter the "court" through its open side. At the opposite side is the "great stone," which was "rolled back." We next pass through the low "door" into the inner "tomb," an oblong, rectangular chamber. Around the wall at regular intervals are the openings of the *kukhin*, or "places." Beneath them, at least on the right side, is the "bench." Accepting this construction, all the statements of the sacred narrative fall easily into place.

Let us, for example, recapitulate a single occurrence somewhat more fully. The third day has come. Mary Magdalene reports that the body is not in the tomb. "Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple [John], and came to the sepulcher. So they ran both together: and the other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulcher. And he stooping down, and looking in, saw [*βλέπει*] the linen clothes,"

which had been wrapped around the body, "lying" (*κείμενα τὰ ὀθόνια*). His look was a swift and sweeping one, not a careful scrutiny. Peter also, having been outrun, came a little later to the tomb, and "stooping down, he beheld" with the same swift glance (*βλέπει*) the linen body-clothes laid by themselves. Full of his usual impetuosity, "Simon Peter . . . went into the sepulcher and seeth" as the result of a careful inspection (*θεωρεῖ*) "the linen clothes lie," and not only these, but also "the napkin [*σουδάριον*] that was about his head." * The reason Peter saw the napkin which had enwrapped the head was that, he having entered the chamber and being nearer the end of the niche, it was now brought within the angle of his vision as it was not from the outside. As Alford says *in loco*:

> Notice also that John when he stooped and looked in saw only the *ὀθόνια*, which seem to have been lying where the feet were, nearest the entrance; whereas Peter, on going in, saw the *σουδάριον*, which was perhaps deposited farther in, near the place of the head.

Note, we say, the self-evidencing nature of the account—the hasty glances of the two disciples from the outside, disclosing only the large objects that lay near the mouth of the niche, the body-clothes; then the entrance of Peter into the chamber and his deliberate examination, revealing in addition, from where he now stood, the head-cloth, unseen before, because it was far up the niche. It bears the evidence of truthfulness in its very structure.

More striking still, to our thought, is the internal evidence of the entire accuracy of the history afforded by the statement that the head-cloth was still "rolled," just as it had been rolled around the head of its august occupant. It is a circumstance that seems thus far to have escaped the notice of commentators and biographers of Christ. Farrar has "the linen cerements . . . neatly folded, each in its proper place." † Geikie has "the cloth that had covered the face of the dead . . . folded up in a place by itself." ‡ Even Edersheim notes only that the body-clothes and napkin lay apart, and then observes, "There was no sign of haste, but all was orderly, leaving the impression of One who had leisurely divested himself of what no longer befitted

* On the significance of *βλέπει* and *θεωρεῖ* see Meyer's and Alford's commentaries *in loco*; also Edersheim, vol. ii, p. 634.

† *Life of Christ*, p. 433.

‡ *Life and Words of Christ*, vol. ii, p. 585.

him." * The King James Version has the napkin "wrapped together." The Revised Version alone has it "rolled up," which is undoubtedly sustained by the Greek. The word is ἐντετυλιγμένον, a derivation of τυλλίσσω, "to twist or roll up," another derivative of which, ἐνετύλιξεν, is employed in Matt. xxvii, 59, to describe the circular swathing of the body. If the napkin had been folded some form of πτύσσω, "to fold," would have occurred. In none of the standard lexicons can we find variation or commingling in the use of these two words. Each has its own idea, sharp and distinct. That the napkin lay in the head of the niche "rolled up" shows, not that Jesus had leisurely divested himself of it, as Edersheim says, giving the impression that he had employed his hands in unwinding and folding it up, but that he had simply vanished through it, as he afterward did through the rock of the cave or as he came through the shut doors to the meeting of the disciples. For we believe that the "great stone" was rolled away, not to afford Jesus egress from the sepulcher, but to show he was already gone. There on the head-rest lay the napkin, retaining the very shape of the sacred head that would wear it no more. This it was, preeminently, together with the "lying" of the body-clothes in the same place where Christ had vanished out of them, that caused John, who as yet "knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead," to believe. And it is the exceeding reasonableness of these small incidental statements, which reveal so pregnant a meaning when the structure of the tomb is properly conceived, that is calculated mightily to impress the careful reader with a new sense of the entire accuracy of the sacred accounts. Verily, Newton spoke well when he declared that "the Bible attests itself as true by more internal marks of evidence than any other ancient historical book whatsoever."

* Vol. II, p. 634.

J. C. Jackson.

Art. II.—THE LATEST RENAISSANCE.

In 1877 a resurrected, in some sense a new, nation appeared and asked for admittance into the European household. Its history was ancient and noble, but had been buried for five hundred years. No people of the continent could claim a higher antiquity, yet its democratic tendencies were in advance of even those of the next youngest among the nations, the American republic. What is the genesis, what the process of evolution, that has produced "new," "young," "great" Bulgaria?

In the westward wanderings of the upper Asiatic hordes, the Bolgarui, of the Turco-Finn or the Samoyede race, crossed the Urals or the Ural River perhaps four centuries before Christ. They were probably driven from their ancient home by the Sabires, who themselves migrated later to the Caucasus, warred there with the Persians and Romans, and disappeared after A. D. 578. The Bulgarian hordes settled around the Azof and the northwestern shores of the Black Sea, where they were governed by a *shagran*, or chief, of the Dulo family. The migrant period of the race covered some six centuries. A colony, led by a chief, Vound, settled, B. C. 120, along the Araxes, in Armenia. Ennodius (473–521) mentions the westward march of the Bulgarians toward the Danube. After five or six centuries, finding themselves pressed by the Kazars, also a Turco-Finn race, they divided their hordes under the leadership of the sons of their chief Kurt (Kuvrat, Kubrat, Couvrat), an ally of Heraclius, the Roman emperor, A. D. 620. Batbai, the eldest, retained his patrimony between the Azof and the Kouban River. Kotragos, the second son, crossed the Don and founded the empire of the Volga (Bolga), which was destined to inherit the industrial and commercial prosperity of the Kazar empire. The third and fourth sons led hordes into Hungary, the Frank country, and Lombardy; while Asparich (Asparuch, Isperich), the youngest, went westward and halted for a time in the corner (Slav-Greek, *ongloss*) now known as Bessarabia, but ere long, perhaps with his maternal uncle Bezmer, crossed the Danube (679), settled in the Dobrudsha, and later let his people loose throughout all Mœsia.

For six hundred years Great Bolgary, the land of the White Bolgarui of the Volga, maintained itself as a strong, united, developed nation. Its merchants traded with northern and eastern Russia by means of the river, and with the Orient by means of the Caspian. Its artisans were skilled in many industries, eminently in weaving and leather work.* When the Variag-Slav hero-prince Vladimir (985), with his uncle Dobrinia, Governor of Novgorod Veliki (the Great), entered the Bolgar country with intent to appropriate it, he observed the fine boots of the men. "These are not likely to pay us tribute," he said, looking down at his own inferior *chaussure;* "we must push onward and find men who wear *lepti* [the bark foot coverings worn, and worn to this day, by the Russian peasant] or poorer gear than *lepti*." The *drujina*, the leal men of the prince, prudently signed a treaty with the elders of the people, to last "till stones shall float and hops shall sink in the river." Bolgary, the capital, near the junction of the Volga and the Kama, an inhabited town down to the present century, was well built and fortified long before Kief, Vladimir's capital; and the city of Briakhimof, one of several whose names have been preserved, was a place of importance after the colonization of Muscovite Russia in the twelfth century. Down nearly to that century these people, being inclined to domestic industries and to an orderly mode of living, were more advanced than were the contemporary Slavs of Ilmen or those of Kief; that is, than the early Russians, with whom they maintained relations of trade.

Simultaneously was compacted the state west of the Danube. The immigrants had found the country there largely preempted by the ubiquitous, soil-tilling Slav, whose westward wanderings date from the third to the eighth Christian centuries—the Slav, who, by the seventh century, had set his stakes or his rooftree along lines running from the shores of the Volkhof in western Russia to the lower parts of Laconia, and from the broad currents of the Volga to those of the Elbe. All Europe east of the twelfth degree of longitude and south of the six-

* The best Russia leather of the present period is prepared in the government of Kazan, the ancient home of the Bolgarui of the Volga. Dressed leather is known by their name in the empire. In the further Orient fine boots are called *borgals*—that is, *Bolgar*, with the consonants transposed. The Tchuvashi, a people settled near Kazan, are supposed to be a survival of the ancient Bolgarui.

tieth parallel of latitude was the home of this growingly preponderant race.*

In the lapse of time it came about that the Danubian Bolgars merged their speech and customs with those of the first settlers and became Slav, as later and elsewhere the Franks of Teutonic origin became Frenchmen, and the Normans of Gallic strain became Englishmen. The resultant language is not fully accordant with the grammatical system of the other Slav races. A composite speech, it indicates the national history by its accessions from Turk, Greek, Persian, and Italian. The original Bulgarian has virtually disappeared; but many names of places recall the far East. Thus, Hissar, meaning a castle—the heights formerly covered with the Carevec, the inclosure of citadel and palaces, at Tirnova—is the counterpart of two Hissars near Constantinople, of a range and province of Bokhara, and of places in Persia and India.

Within one or two centuries after the passage of the Danube arose Great Preslava (spelled with variations, as many other names in this paper), near the site of the Roman Marcianopolis, well within the boundaries of Lower Mœsia. John the Exarch describes this city in the era of Car Simeon (893–927), the culmination of ancient Bulgarian development:

> Its buildings of hewn stone and colored woods, its gold, silver, and copper, its paintings and marbles, excite the astonishment of strangers. The audience room of the prince has walls inlaid with pearls. [These may have been mosaics.] He wears a necklace of coins, bracelets, a purple girdle, a golden sword. On both sides of the throne are ranged the boljars [nobles], decorated with chains, girdles, and bracelets.

The structure of the state, completed two centuries before that of the Variag-Russ (862), was similar with it, but had the advantages over it of a native dynasty.† Both peoples were addicted to raids into the declining Lower Empire, to whose subjects the name Bolgar was as much of a horror as was that of Goth or Hun to the nations of the West.

But nothing is more changeable than the international feuds

* The Balkan Slav claims Alexander the Great as of his race, but without authority. Justin I, Justinian I, and Basil the Macedonian were of Slav families of Upper Macedonia.

† The Russian historian Karamsin admits that the Mœsian Bolgary was more advanced at this period than was his own country. M. L. Léger (*Le Save, Le Danube*, etc.) emphasizes the statement of Paisius, the writer who opened the Bulgarian renaissance in 1762, that among the Slav people his own were the first to receive Christianity, the first (perhaps) to make conquests, and the first to have a patriarch and saints.

and friendships of personages in high places of power. It came about, therefore, that Sviatoslaf (964–972), fourth of the Variag-Russ princes, having an alliance with the Eastern emperor Nicephorus, agreed for plausible reasons to harry the lands of Peter, the Bulgarian car. The bountiful plains of Mœsia, fertilized by a genial climate, its stately capital, and the prosperous aspects of its lesser towns appealed to the covetous Norse Russ, who wrote to his mother, Olga: "Here is a region rich and fruitful, excellent to be made the center of our domains. Hither are brought wines and woven stuffs from Greece, silver and horses from Hungary. Here, too, are wax, honey, furs, and slaves from our Russia." This was the first outreaching westward of Russian sovereignty for lands beyond the Danube. The prince proposed to remove his court forthwith to Preslava; but Olga pleaded her age and infirmities. "When I am gone thou canst go whither thou wilt." He returned home, but ere long recrossed the river and was routed in battle, with all but total loss, at Dorostorum (Silistria), by the emperor Zimisces, who could not permit a strong Slav state to be compacted on the borders of his empire, and who was even then designing the overthrow of the Bulgarian dynasty.

Against Russ, Greco-Roman, Avar, and Magyar, none the less, the Bolgar of the Danube kept his primeval freedom intact through some eight centuries. Against his rudely disciplined hordes, and that of other Slavs, the emperors and armies of the South went out again and again only to be humbled by their earth-born vigor and their indomitable persistence. The emperor Anastasius in the eighth century put about his capital a girdle of wall and tower, curved from the Pontus to the Propontis—"a sign of weakness, a monument of faint-heartedness." The mighty Belisarius was but one of many who bought a transient peace with gold. A *knez*, or prince of Bulgaria, Terbelis, restored to his throne Justinian II, who had been driven from it by popular commotions. But for the service the semibarbarian demanded a handful of silver for the left, and a handful of gold for the right, hand of each man in his army. Having procured thus much, he further pressed for a scroll full of honors, the title of Cæsar, and insisted that his shield should be heaped high with gold and his whip's length wound with silks, at that time worth their weight in gold.

Tradition adds that he succeeded in getting an imperial princess tacked to his bargain before he could be induced to betake himself homeward. Some conception of the enfeeblement produced by the ravages of this Antean race of the Hæmus may be framed from the statement that, during the thirty-two years of Justinian's reign, the empire lost not less than six millions of its subjects by the edge of their swords or in the trains of captives whom they drove northward to people their towns and recruit their industrial classes.

Krum (Kromnos, 807), an ally of Charlemagne and the founder of Tirnova, the third and most beautiful of the national capitals, prosecuted wars against three of the Eastern emperors and offered prayers and sacrifices on the walls of Constantinople. Notable deeds are recorded of Ormotag and Bogoris (Boris), the first Christian czar; of Simeon, who, as despot of Greece (*imperator Bulgarorum et Blacorum*), held sway over the entire peninsula, down to and inclusive of the province of Laconia—an empire of six hundred thousand square miles, washed by the Black, Ægean, and Ionian Seas; of Asen, who broke the Roman yoke and reestablished the ancient independence; of Svetslaf, who rescued Constantinople from famine by sending it stores of grain; and of Michael, whose field marshal, Ivan the Russ, entered that city, and might have held it but for a politic suggestion of the younger Andronicus. These were some of the men of valor,

> Square-faced,
> No lion more; two vivid eyes, enchased
> In hollows filled with many a shade and streak,
> Settling from the bold nose and bearded cheek.

Fortune, however, showed a degree of justice in the succession of Bulgar-Roman wars of that first era. If the imperial legions were twice destroyed to the last man, as when Krum closed the passes of the hills and quaffed his draught of victory from his *pokal*, the skull of Nicephorus, the successor of this latter surprised the *knez*, Doucom, and retaliated by a like annihilation. The great captain Zimisces compelled the abdication of Boris II and kept him prisoner in Constantinople, making thus the first breach from without, in a line of princes maintained through three hundred years. In the tenth century the emperor Basil II, in arms against Samuel of the Sisman

dynasty, took fifteen thousand captives, whom he blinded after the cruel custom of Constantinople, leaving one eye to one man in each hundred, that they might be able to lead their hapless comrades back to their car, who broke into lamentations at the spectacle and died soon afterward, consumed with rage and grief. On his route homeward Bulgaroktonos, slayer of the Bulgarians—so Basil was called—followed by a train of noble captives, led by the caritza, Samuel's daughter, pallid and chained, must pass perforce the pile of bones raised near the Sperchios River, a somber witness of conflicts waged in previous periods against the hordes he had overcome; and, in the pass of Thermopylæ, the ribbed wall that had been vainly built as a barrier against their advances.

They who take the sword must look sooner or later to perish by it. Jireçek,* the historian of the country, avers that it sank under *Byzantismus*—a disease that under various names has proved fatal to many nations. Not content with evolving a native civilization, proud of bringing a bride from the Roman Cæsars to grace the halls of Preslava and Tirnova, the strength of the people gave way under the strain of wars by whose means it sought to maintain its existence. The last struggle was carried through forty years. When all hope was gone the captains of the broken, routed army sought refuge in the Albanian mountains, where Ivac, one of the most dauntless, was taken by strategy and blinded. The last freeman, Elemagus, surrendered by the Stagus in the region of Peneios.

During the following one hundred and seventy years (1019–1189) the country, subjugated, but neither subdued nor amalgamated, was permitted a nominal autonomy under the coercive rule of governor generals, who in the brief tenure of their functions severely taxed the resources of the people, and whose subordinates, strategoi, or provincial governors of like animus with themselves, drained the fruitful land of its substance. Discontent and disorder prevailed, for

> The half of virtue is foregone
> When men bend, slaves to a master.

Near the year 1185 occurred an epoch-making incident, a signal for revolution and restoration. At that time, in the reign of the emperor Isaac Angelus, two brothers of ancient,

* *Geschichte der Bulgaren.* Prague, 1875.

some say of Carian descent, John and Peter Asen, honored citizens of Tirnova, were sent by their fellows to the imperial court on business of public interest. At the marriage of the emperor with Margaret, daughter of Bela III, of Hungary, a tax for the occasion was levied, which pressed so hard on the dwellers in the Balkans as to incite them to an uprising. The brothers, intent on their country's interest, asked to be received into the imperial army and to be set over a district in their own country, where the officers were of military appointment. Their request was disregarded; and as they were leaving the audience room John the *sebastocrator* struck one of them in the face. This insult they reported in an assembly convened in the Church of Saint Demetrius at Tirnova, a church built by one or both of the brothers. Stirred by a common impulse, cries arose from the people in all parts of the building, calling for an end of the rule of the strategoi and a return to the ancient autonomy. "How can our power be restored? Who will show us a car?" The bishop of the diocese responded, "Who should serve us, if not Peter Asen?" Tradition adds that the saint of the church appeared and seconded this nomination. Asen, then, was crowned and given the command of the national army; and though he experienced at first some severe testings with his adversary, the *sebastocrator*, he ultimately achieved with a strong arm the redemption of his people. Under his sway its borders were enlarged, till those of the ancient Bulgarian-Wallach empire were recovered, and he was recognized by right of achievement as a sovereign and brother by the Grecian emperor. Kalo John (John again, there often being more than one John in the same family), who may have been a third brother (1197–1207), bore rule over all the country from Belgrade to the lower Maritza and from the northern plains of the Danube to the River Vardar; in a word, over the entire peninsula, down to the boundaries of Greece.

So wide a realm, peopled with Greek, Slav, and Latin races, required for its religious life the presence and predominance of one of the great Churches, that of the East or that of the West; for the national Church, organized with an independent patriarchate by Car Simeon in the ninth century, was insufficient for and unwelcome to some of the ingathered nationalities. As the Eastern Church was the communion of the

hereditary foe the car concluded an alliance *de convenance* with Innocent III, which lasted but a few years, being set aside by John Asen II (1215), in whom the high qualities of the family were continued. Neither Kalo John nor John Asen II were papists at heart.* The alliance proved of no real benefit, and a general relief was felt when the relations with Rome were closed. Both cars permitted freedom of worship, showing thus a unique liberality for the times; nor were they less judicious in their encouragement of the industries of their people. The wars from the beginning were ever occasioned by motives of defense, direct or secondary, and were forced on the nation by location and circumstances; but the people at large have ever retained their primal passion for the field and the orchard and for those other domestic industries whose cultivation dates back to their tribal epoch.

The Greeks, threatened with overthrow by the Frank captains of the Fourth Crusade (1203), appealed to their northern neighbors for aid.† The allies defeated Baldwin the "emperor," who was carried a prisoner to Tirnova, where, as nearly as is known, he perished in the tower still named by his name—a ruin which has held its own against time and the Turks and, crowning a height above the Jantra, bears an enduring witness to the ancient strength of the citadel of the cars. Hard by the hill Hissar‡ rises the Church of the Forty Martyrs, built by John Asen II to commemorate his victories over the Greeks. A pillar of the interior bears this proud inscription:

I, John Asen, son of the Great Asen, under God car and autocrat of the Bulgarians, . . . went against the Greek army; and their Kyr [Cæsar or Czar], Theodore Komnena, I took prisoner, with all his notables. I conquered the Greek country from Adrianople to Durazzo, the people of Albania and Servia, the environs of Czarirgad [Constantinople], which

* The Russians and other Christians of the Orient have ever rejected the absolutism of papal rule. The authority of their patriarchs, restricted within defined limits, the long-standing schism between the two communions, dating from the ninth century, and the divergence in the character of the two Churches have been unfavorable to the permanence of occasional semipolitical alliances, and not less so to all attempts at extension on the part of papal agents.

† Peter and John Asen had personal negotiations with Barbarossa when he traversed the country from Belgrade to Constantinople.

‡ "The ruined walls of Hissar are from six to eight feet thick, and in places nearly fifty feet high. They were firmly cemented and show remains of towers of defense. If you search among the limestone débris you will discover evidences of the former existence of palaces; small cubes of glass and quartz, enameled with colors, and in gold. These are mosaics. Stone moldings cut by hand and garnished with silver, bits of fresco," etc. Samuelson, *Bulgaria, Past and Present*, p. 177. Trubner, London, 1888.

city alone continued to be held by Franks, who also submitted to my rule, . . . as they had no other car save me. Thus it was ordained by God, without whom neither word nor deed can be achieved. To him be honor in the ages.

With this reign the cycle of old Bulgaria virtually closes. The vigor of his stock died out with John. A series of short dynasties, some cars taking the Asen name, some springing from the people, follows in rapid succession. In the reign of Sisman the country had thirty fortified cities or lesser places of defense—a large number, considering the area in which they were included. But the disintegrating effect of wars continued throughout the cycle of national existence showed itself in an enfeeblement of the national unity. Bela IV of Hungary (1235) compelled a tribute from several of the briefly reigning cars. Stephen Urosch of Servia, and his successor, Dushan, received the homage of the *boljars*, or nobles, and each in his turn assumed the title of the wide-ruling monarchs of the past—autocrat over the Bulgarians, Greeks, and Albanians. Gradually the Ottomans, who had crossed from Bithynia into Thrace (1359), overran the country. Adrianople became the residence of the sultan. The Danubian races, slow even now to learn the lesson of federation, united too late for resistance, and were defeated with rout and ruin on the field of Amsel, or Kossovopole (Field of Blackbirds), 1389.—less happy than their Russian kinsmen, who within the same decade triumphed at Kulikovo (the Field of Woodcocks), by the Don, over an alien race that had long held them under a barbaric system of subjugation.

Of the dynasties of the ancient state we have: 1. The Duloid, recorded in the oldest Bulgarian document extant. The dynasty opens with the founder Avitochol, leader of hordes, sixth before Asparich, numbers eleven princes, and is interrupted at intervals by seven usurpers from other families. 2. An elected series of five princes. 3. With Ormotag (820) the hereditary principle is resumed and continued through a line of seven princes, or cars, not including one prince, Roman, who, being deported from the country, had no reign. 4. The Sismans of Tirnova, five cars. 5. The Asen dynasty of nine, the last of whom was son-in-law of an Asen. 6. The Terter, or Kouman, line of four, supplied by an immigrant people who, by social mingling and intermarriage, were rising to the level

of the established race. 7. The Sismans of Bydn (Widyn), numbering six. In the last period two Wlachs (Wallachians) bore brief rule over a division of the country. In all there were forty-seven chief rulers, princes, or cars. The larger cities, of which we may count twenty-one, as described by Jireçek, show that Bulgarian civilization, military and ecclesiastic in its marked features, was also in architecture, in civil order, in manners and customs no unworthy copy of its southern prototype. It defined the national boundaries, divided the business of the state into various departments, had its code of laws, a court life, a graded nobility, a national assembly, a monastic system, some scholars, and a small body of literature—this latter consisting chiefly of chronicles, lives of the saints, and ecclesiastical treatises little altered from those of Byzantium. The people at large had a store of unwritten ballads and folk songs—stories of Alexander and Ahasuerus, of Saint George, and of their own sovereigns and heroes.

In the tabulated dynasties we find the names of nine Greek carinas, brides from the families of the Komneni, the Andronici, the Lascari, the Palæologi. One carina was sister to Saint Elizabeth of Hungary. A Bulgarian caritza, or carian daughter, was consort of Henry of Germany, son of the wide-ruling Swabian, Frederic II. Thamar, sister of one of the later cars, was given in marriage, as a sacrifice for the national welfare, to Sultan Murad. A folk song preserves the memory of her fidelity to the Christian religion in the seraglio of the Mohammedan. Other caritzas were affianced to kings, famous in their day, of Servia and of Bosnia. The festivities of a people are an index of their collective prosperity. A chronicler, Robert de Clary, gives an account of the sumptuous celebration of the nuptials of Mary with the German Henry. Sixty mules of draught were laden with her dower of gold, silk, jewels, and other precious things, each mule caparisoned in velvet with a train a foot long. At the crown prince Michael's wedding with Mary, daughter of the emperor Andronicus III, a nine days' festival was held in the Komnenus Field, a pleasure ground outside of Adrianople, on a scale of gorgeous, if not of the chastest, magnificence.

During the Turkish occupation of the country (1339–1877) the national spirit of Bulgaria was to all appearances extin-

guished.* The province languished under the misrule of the Fanar (Phanar), that colony of Constantinople Greeks in Turkish employ which carried out the will of the sultan with equal servility and with more astuteness than the born Turk could command. Positions in Church and State they sold to the highest bidder. All the written national literature, including the archives, was destroyed well-nigh to the last page. Jireçek states that wagon loads of the latter were burned by prefects and bishops. The Fanar metropolitan of Tirnova, for example, ordered the burning of a priceless collection, records of the national history from the seventh to the sixteenth centuries, a collection which was one of the treasures of his cathedral. Every building which attested the past independence and glory was made a ruin. The conquered province, deprived of its identity, was named Roumelia, the people Roumeliotes.† Thousands accepted Mohammedanism for the amelioration it promised to their condition, while others sent their daughters to the harems of their oppressors in the hope of gaining relief from the taxes and the socage‡—expedients which were powerless to break the settled policy and confirmed habit of Fanar rule.

But the processes of mutation go on independently of conquests and imposed forms of government. Every vestige of the once wide and stately Bulgar-Wallach empire might be destroyed, yet the people lived on. The rule of the Turk, though bitter, was not absolutely exterminative. The sixteenth century, the vigorous period of his cycle, witnessed a fairly prosperous condition of all the provinces. One sultan set up wayside fountains, and a later one laid good roads through all his dominions. During long periods the central government, occupied with many things, left its varied peoples to themselves, insuring only

* Cyrus Hamlin, D.D. (*Missionary Review of the World*, February, 1893, p. 22), notes some evidences of the disappearance of the nationality. In 1839 a Greek gentleman told him that the Bulgarians were the lowest, most hopeless class of people, a people hardly worth taking account of in the census. As a race they had ceased to be of value. Those to any degree efficient among them had become Hellenized, and were reckoned as Greeks. "When we recover Constantinople there will be no Bulgarians, but all will be Greeks." At that period the language, schools, liturgy, and clergy of Bulgaria were Greek by compulsion. Its very name had been officially obliterated, and, as far as outside pressure could effect such a change, it was thoroughly denationalized.

† The original name, however, was used by the people themselves, and was never effaced from certain of the western-made maps, such as those of Spruner, Stieler, and others.

‡ The taxes were the poll tax, the tithe of all products, the cattle tax, and a ducat a year for every male above fourteen years of age; together they amounted to at least two fifths of the yearly earnings of the peasants. Socage was the service required by the spahis, a species of villanage. Church taxes, equally onerous, were additional.

the payment of taxes and the military contingent. In her abasement, her reclusion, Bulgaria was touched with the reviving tides that stirred the world in 1776, the tides that broke in the swirl and uproar of 1789. The schoolmaster and the missionary were abroad. A favoring, a providential disposition of circumstances opened the way for general elementary instruction in the country. Concrete forms of the Christianity of the West were established in Greece, while on the shore of the Bosporus arose Robert College, governed by an American syndicate, and recruited with young men from every province of the empire. The Bulgarian students were possessed, as by a common inspiration, to study the constitution and history of the American republic. Even Athos, the "holy mountain," the most celebrated theological center of the Greek Church, hoary with its thousand years, felt the stirrings of the Western air. Paisius, a Bulgarian monk of that mountain (1762), wrote a history of the Bulgarian people, cars, and saints, a work compiled from documents beyond the reach of Fanars and fanatical destroyers, and read with eagerness by all his countrymen who could read—the initial work in the renaissance of Jougo-Slavonic literature. Following upon it came Dr. Riggs's translation of the New Testament, sold by thousands in the awakening country, illiterate persons buying it in the hope that their children would be able to read it to them. Jireçek pays a tribute to the Bulgarian merchants settled in Bucharest and Odessa, whose large contributions for the founding of schools gave a far-reaching impetus toward the resurrection of the nation. In 1835, when a knowledge of the public school system of the West had penetrated eastward, M. Aprilov, a wealthy trader originally of Gabrova, a town in the northern spurs of the Balkans, there established a boy's gymnasium, the first school of the kind in the country. Its director, an instructed, earnest monk, Neophytus, from Ryl, the monastic shrine of the ancient Church, gathered about him above a hundred youth, many of whom after completing the course of study went abroad through the land as educational missionaries, awakening everywhere a desire for the new learning. Among the state and denominational schools of the present, this of Gabrova ranks with the highest. Samuelson, who visited it in 1887, writes that the pupils in the various branches of the higher

grades excelled those in nine out of ten schools of a similar rank in England.*

An energetic impulse to the progress of the national awakening was given from without, when the entire enginery of martial enterprise and the methods followed by the allies of the Crimean war demonstrated the practical superiority of the educated men of the West over the conservatism and mental immobility of those of the East. One result was to arouse the ancient, independent spirit of Bulgaria. Were not both Russia and England her friends? Whatever might be the outcome of the struggle, might she not await her liberation with certainty? The peasantry cherished visions grandiose as those of an apocalypse. But these seemed destined never to be realized when, after the peace of Paris, the Hatti Humayan, the work of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, was rendered ineffectual by an article, introduced through French and Russian influence, refusing to the signatory powers any part in the execution of the reforms outlined in it. One of the provisions of the firman was for the abolition of Bulgarian socage—the index of the national serfdom—a provision that naturally and irresistibly appealed to the minds of the serfs themselves. When month after month elapsed and their condition remained unchanged a delegation was sent to Murad V to thank him for his goodness and inform him of the neglect of the spahis to obey his gracious command. In place of being well received the petitioners were cast into prison. A second and larger delegation met with a similar reception. The people then declared they would go in a multitude to the capital—that the prisons should be too narrow to hold them. At this the sultan appointed a commission, which is the Turkish method of putting a quietus on troublesome requests. But the Bulgarians had been told that he had loosed their bonds. "When a Bulgarian has made up his mind to a thing you may imprison or bastinado

* By the terms of the Constitution a system of public instruction is maintained. Elementary education is free and nominally obligatory. In 1890 Great Bulgaria contained 3,844 elementary schools, in which nearly 130,000 boys and above 42,000 girls were receiving instruction. The state subvention for education was two million lev, equal to $400,000. Some sixty per cent of the population were still illiterate; but the percentage is being rapidly reduced. Several graded and high schools (gymnasia), including four for girls, are maintained in the larger towns. There are also a few Russian, French, and Roman Catholic propaganda schools, in addition to those of the American Protestant missions, to be mentioned later. The superior moral tone of these last commend them to the better class of the people. Sofia has a state university and a free public library.

him, but you will gain nothing. He doesn't feel it." The government, however, set itself resolutely against all further concessions to the demand for an enlargement of liberties. The agitation continued until in 1876–77 it culminated in open revolt, due in part to Russians who through it all had worked for a policy of disturbance. The central authority determined on a suppression by terrorism. The ferocity of the bashi-bazouks, guerrillas—strangers in the province—who plied the whole machinery of cruelty, was reported to the outer world, till every heart was stirred with indignation at the tortures inflicted on the fifteen thousand human beings who went down in this Turkish fury.

These Christians of the Danube in their deepest anguish continued so firm in their insistence for the provisions of the firman that Alexander II was moved to declare a protective war in their behalf.* It was hoped also that the prestige lost by Nicholas might be recovered; possibly, too, that the coveted capital of the South, the gem that Russia has longed through a thousand years to place in her girdle of cities or in the storied crown that is the illuminated notation of her conquests, might be won as the supreme trophy of the conflict, and that with it Panslavism and an Eastern ecclesiastical alliance might be consummated. All the world before the stage, all the world behind the scenes, was to behold with admiration the noble sacrifice of two hundred thousand men for the rescue of their brethren of an allied race from intolerable oppressions. When the divisions moved to the seat of war, bearing banners blazoned with the double-headed eagle, so sonorous was the blare of the imperial trumpets that the music of the Roumanian contingent was scarcely audible to the public ear. The public eye failed to note that Prince Charles of Roumania led the army as commander-in-chief; nor was attention paid to the function of the Bulgarians themselves, who were active as purveyors, guides, and belligerents. The vans of the eagle cast a shadow as broad as the domain that it hovered over; and but for the very excess, the wantonness, of its rapacity the grain-bearing plains sloping up to the Balkan hills might have constituted to-day a Russian satrapy, and sturdy sons of the Balkans might have been toiling

* The limits of this paper preclude allusion to the long and close relations, both secular and religious, of the Russian czar, patriarch, and synod, with the Bulgarian people.

with chain-abraded limbs along the convict ways of Siberia. During their occupation the "true Russian souls" of these foreign protectors was filled with contempt for the natives of the country. The newcomers were the locusts of the land, devouring its substance. On all the horses they laid violent hands. The shadow of the nagrika, the knout, had fallen on the land. Samuelson fell in with a communicative Russian officer who averred that wherever he should halt on his way to Sofia everything would have to clear out of his way. Minchin writes: "A Russian official treats a Bulgarian so roughly that one would suppose the former was descended from a superior species of monkey to that of the simian ancestors of the Bulgarians." A native prefect told Major von Huhn that a certain Russian consul habitually made him an insulting speech whenever the two met. "Russia tenders us liberty with one hand," said the liberal leader of the new state; "with the other she abases us with humiliation and corruption." When the frugal peasantry was charged with the burden of payment for the nine months' occupation of the foreign army, and was further taxed for the salaries of its officers, double those of their own, and when the foreigners insisted on prompt payment, while the native soldiers took what they could get and when it could be had, the contrast induced something like a national panic. The rule of the sultan was mild, it was said, in comparison with what the czar's would be. "We have never been Turkized or Hellenized; we will not be Russianized. Bulgaria *farà da sé*. We want neither Russia's honey nor her sting." So ran the word from mouth to mouth.

Russia, though she had expressed herself assiduously about the welfare of the disenthralled province, winced and protested when, by its erection into an independent principality, her expectation was defeated of its incorporation with her own famine-stricken provinces. Her commissary general, Korsakoff, angered, because of his rejection as a candidate for the throne, drew up a constitution for the new state so liberal "that no one could govern by it," explaining, with a coarse jest that such documents were made chiefly to be violated. The notables, however, who, in obedience to the treaty of Berlin convened at Tirnova, among whom were a number of students and graduates of Robert College, and the illustrious Slaveikoff, a

colaborer with Dr. Riggs in the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular,* framed a constitution for the new nation, liberal, indeed, yet with provisions for all emergencies and granting freedom for the press, as well as for religious belief—points strongly opposed by Russianized deputies. It recognizes no class distinctions nor titles, either of nobility or of servility. Press libels are subject to the courts. Primary education is gratuitous and compulsory. Deputies for the ordinary assembly (Sobranje) are chosen, one from every ten thousand of the inhabitants, of both sexes, for a term of three years, by citizens not under twenty-one years of age. The extraordinary assembly may be convoked for questions of territorial change or other business of exceptional importance. The new nation is of all nations under the sun the most liberally constituted. Inasmuch as few of its people are very poor and few are sumptuously rich the distinctions of property are not wide, and the range of the distinctions or grades of intelligence and virtue is as yet far from being as extensive, both for good and ill, as it is in the more advanced of the larger nations of the earth. It has no court, no *jeunesse dorée*, no plutocracy, no stock exchange, no upper house. In the Sobranje about half the members are peasants, some of them *tzinzars*—small settled farmers of gypsy descent—who have relinquished the habit of wandering, and have taken on the Bulgarian temperateness and steadiness. These peasants fifteen years ago were toiling under a taskmaster in rice fields, knee deep in water, for a pittance and a piece of black bread. They were not permitted to bear arms, and had no rights save the right of the toilworn and the broken in spirit to grief and the grave. Now they are learning practical lessons in the administration of national business, and their sons are trained in an army which has place in the military system of Europe. The peasant parliament, we must believe, is a guaranty of independence and stability for the future; and the word of Prince Ferdinand, "We are here, here we remain," expresses the tenacity of the national sentiment.

* The influence of missionaries in the peninsula and adjoining regions is one of the active forces of the time. It was an American missionary who procured a provision in the treaty of San Stefano which freed hundreds of political prisoners scattered through Asia Minor and northern Africa. By similar influence was procured the provision in the treaty of Berlin granting religious liberty to the principalities and provinces of the peninsula. Many data might be collected of the adjunctive usefulness, so to speak, of the American missionaries in European and other countries.

The religious, like the civil, history of this firmly rooted people is eventful and characteristic. Our missionaries there have toiled like men in the dark, set to a task uncertain and obscure, and have had small direct results to show for their arduous labors. But it is something that they have gained footholds and as Americans are recognized as in harmony with the new order of things. The ruder of the people may maltreat the Methodist converts with fist and club, but the soberer and better informed perceive that the culture of the Protestant schools and the practical righteousness taught from the Protestant pulpits are elements indispensable and full of promise to the present period of tutelage. The American Board, greatly aided by the wide work and influence of Robert College and by the grateful confidence accorded to Doctors Riggs and Long, teachers and translators of the Scriptures, has passed beyond the period of opposition in southern Bulgaria and Macedonia, and is cultivating its garden spots in this portion of the world-wide field with the tranquillity of assured success. Some general conception of missionary work in Bulgaria may be formed from the following tabulation for 1892:

	Amer'n Board.	M. E. Church.
Stations	4	15
Out stations	35	...
Missionaries	12	6
Pastors and preachers	19	14
Teachers and helpers	50	24
Lady assistants	15	11
Church members	942	192
Received on confession of faith, 1892	117	....
Conversions, 1892	....	40
Pages printed matter issued (mostly in 1892)	1 380,360	(No report.)
Theological Seminary (and Literary Institute)	1	1
Students	17	39
Collegiate Institute	1	....
Students	45	....
High schools for girls	2	1
Students	105	28
Total young persons under instruction (including Sunday school scholars)	652	393
Appropriations for 1892	$34,832 63	$20,888 00
Contributions from Bulgarians	7,881 50	.....

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of our own denomination has one boarding school, located at Lofteha, with

seventy-three pupils. Elsewhere it conducts five day schools, aggregating one hundred and thirteen pupils, two missions, three assistant teachers, and six other teachers, including Bible readers. Its expenditures for 1892 were $5,880.

A good portion of sixty-nine thousand dollars annually transmuted into printing houses, model farms, schools, churches—the remainder of it paying for a most effective *personnel*, imparting itself socially, pedagogically, from the press and the pulpit—constitutes, above denial, a force not to be omitted from those which go to the making and upbuilding of "a little state" occupying an area of something under thirty-eight thousand square miles, populated with not above four million souls.

In this *résumé* we have had to do with a people possessed of traits that make for permanence, who to all appearance had been effaced from the map of Europe and had fallen out from the company of nations, but who were revived and restored by influences both old and new, both from within and from without—by the scholar of Athos and by Christian missionaries; a people above whose lion—their national emblem—so long caged and couchant, might fitly be inscribed the legend, *Depressus, extollor;* a people who, holding fast to all that is precious and abiding in their past, do yet go forward to gather the bloom and fruit of the present; a people slow to think, slow to speak, but whose feet are steadily moving in the widening paths of progress. May their acres give increase of burnished grain and of rose yielding the attar of rare aroma! May their orchards hang heavy with the mulberry and the plum! May their polished woods and hewn stones rise in forms of structural beauty, attestations of social and national affluence! May their children fill the schools of their hamlets and the high schools of their cities! May young and old be gathered abundantly into the family of the Church spiritual, indivisible, whose illuminated vistas lengthen into a future opulent with blessings of earth and heaven!

Mary S. Robinson

Art. III.—THE CHICAGO PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

The Columbian Exposition has become a memory and an influence. The great crowds have vanished, the Court of Honor is in ruins, the Midway is silent, and the Parliament of Religions is dumb. Let no one wince at the association; for the Midway had its serious and pathetic aspects, while the gathering of priests and preachers oscillated sometimes to the edge of the fantastic and absurd. In one thing, however, both agreed—in a superb belief of their own spectacular value. The two bulky volumes that contain the speeches and papers of the Parliament are almost amusing in the prominence given to self-laudation and to mutual admiration; and the confident proclamations of a new epoch, with which these pages are studded rather ostentatiously, evoke from the historian a patient but pathetic smile. His memory—alas!—is stored with unfulfilled predictions. He remembers, to name a single instance only, how Victor Hugo and Richard Cobden fell into each other's arms at the International Peace Congress of Paris and wept sincere albeit premature tears of joy over the impending era of universal brotherhood. Cobden died too soon to witness the bombardment of the city on the Seine; but Hugo lived to hurl anathemas at exploding bombs and barbarous Germany, both of which mocked his rhetoric and his wrath. Nothing seems sublimer, to the subject of it, than a wave of emotion sweeping through a great assembly. Under its influence men and women forget realities and abandon themselves to sweet delusions. They embrace one another in transports of joy and break into lyrical extravagance, like the French at the Festival of the Federation, undisturbed by the shadows of coming calamity which are already plainly outlined in the sky. Surely it is a pleasant thing "for brethren to dwell together in unity;" and men unused to the melting mood recognize, with devout thanksgiving, the great triumph achieved in bringing together Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, Mohammedan and Quaker, Buddhist and Brahman and Parsee, orthodox and heterodox, in the worship of the "Eternal Power not themselves." But then they see in the Parliament a symptom not a potent cause of religious conditions; indications of what is,

rather than of what is sure to be; a revelation of the obstacles to religious unity, rather than the signs of its approach, of the difficulties that attend the progress of Christianity, rather than the harbingers of its speedy triumph.

And, first of all, the character of the representation in certain cases was depressing to a historian with scientific bias. Islam expounded by an apostate American is not at all instructive. I fancy that the real reason for the outbreak against Mohammed Webb's defense or extenuation of polygamy was the instinctive recoil of an American audience from its source. An Arab, an East Indian, or a Turk, defending the faith and the practices of his fathers, would have been listened to with patience; but the Koranized American provoked a tempest of scorn. The outcry was indeed a protest against polygamy; but it was much more a protest against a flagrant lapse from the Anglo-Saxon ideal and reality of home. Let the reader compare the papers of Mohammed Webb with the remarkable paper of Pung Kwang Yu upon Confucianism, if he would learn how differently a system is expounded by one whose blood is saturated and whose brain and heart have been shaped by its teachings and its spirit. Or let him take for comparison and contrast the striking paper upon "The World's Debt to Buddha," by Dharmapala of Ceylon; for here we have an exposition by a powerful oriental mind, which has been modified and strengthened and purified by contact with occidental thought; here, too, we have the grandeur of a desperate faith—a faith more passive, but no less tenacious and mentally intense, than that of Saul of Tarsus before he was stricken by the knowledge of Jesus Christ. The faith of Haroun-al-Raschid and of Saladin, of Bagdad and Cordova and Cairo, was once, indeed is yet, a mighty power in the world; but the story and the meaning of Mohammedanism fared badly at the hands of the turbaned American. We had not a genuine, but a veneered, Mohammedan. The specific psychological element, so attractive and so instructive in the natives of the Orient, was painfully absent. We heard about Islam, but not from Islam.

But sadder still was the representation of Germany. What evil genius played Adolph Brodbeck into Dr. Barrows's arms, along, too, with dear Count Bernstoff? Is not Germany enough misunderstood among us? Careful explanation is given in the

introduction of the absence of the scholars of the Church of England; but in a "World's Parliament of Religions" one naturally looked for the great religious scholars of the modern world, for Weiss and Pfleiderer and Harnack, for Zahn and Beyschlag and Loofs. Count Bernstoff referred quite vaguely to the school of Ritschl and its growing power. If none of them could be induced to attend the Parliament, was it wise or candid or fraternal to permit a man like Brodbeck to give an utterly false impression of existing German thought? In no respect is the American mind more misinformed than touching the theologians and biblical scholars of Germany. Not a scholar of eminence in England or America but lives upon their accumulated wealth of thought and knowledge! Maligned and misunderstood, they still pursue their arduous investigations, delving deep and searching far and wide for the truth of history and the traces of God. But as one turns the pages of these ponderous tomes the silence of the German giants becomes oppressive. There is much in this multitude of words that none will take pains to remember—much, too, that has been better said elsewhere; but the reader will search in vain to discover a description of the influences which, by their action and reaction, are, perhaps beyond all others, shaping at this time the intellectual future of the Protestant world. Yet it may be urged, though Germany was not represented by any of her great biblical or theological scholars, yet that German thought and learning were adequately represented by those who had felt their influence. Precisely there we demur. We are tired of hearing every critical vagary and every theological conjecture lumped and thumped together as German rationalism. The schools of thought in German theology are many, various, and important; the religious life of Luther's people is neither dead nor inert; the definite conquests of historical investigation are neither few nor uncertain; and a new enthusiasm is filling the theological students of the great universities with the glory of a great hope. Possibly this will vanish away, like the Hegelian excitement, or terminate, like that, in the swamps of skepticism. It may, indeed, be the sudden, but final, glimmer of a dying faith; and yet who dare say that it may not be the flash of a great religious energy, heralding the spiritual regeneration of the German people? Why

did this new enthusiasm have no voice at Chicago? Why was no earnest and profound religious thinker there from the land of Schleiermacher, to speak of the nature of Christianity; why no German scholar, rich in scriptural lore and learned in all the wisdom of antiquity, to sketch for us the tendencies, the reactions, the defeats, and the triumphs of modern biblical science; why no great historian of Christian doctrine, to tell us how the faith of Jesus merged with and triumphed over the Mediterranean world?

In striking contrast with the representations of Islam and of German Protestantism were the deliverances from the homes of Asiatic culture—India, Japan, and China. I have chosen this phrase, "the homes of Asiatic culture," quite deliberately; for there was at Chicago a surprise at the intellectual power and subtly insinuating eloquence of the speakers from the Orient. The people expected pagans. And pagans, they thought, were ignorant and impotent of mind, with no reasons for their worship and no brains in their theology. To them the Parliament was a stunning revelation; and the words of Mozoomdar fell upon the startled listeners like flakes of biting flame. How strange it was to hear the rebuke of the Orient, to listen to the Hindoo as he gently but plainly charged the Western world with carnal-minded irreligion:

> I am often afraid, I confess, when I contemplate the condition of European and American society, where your activities are so manifold, your work is so extensive, that you are drowned in it and you have little time to consider the great questions of regeneration, of personal sanctification, of trial and judgment, and of acceptance before God. That is the question of all questions.

And in another place Mozoomdar says:

> In the West you observe, watch, and act. In the East we contemplate, commune, and suffer ourselves to be carried away by the spirit of the universe. In the West you wrest from nature her secrets, you conquer her, she makes you wealthy and prosperous, you look upon her as your slave, and sometimes fail to realize her sacredness. In the East nature is our eternal sanctuary, the soul is our everlasting temple, and the sacredness of God's creation is only next to the sacredness of God himself. In the West you love equality, you respect man, you seek justice. In the East love is the fulfillment of the law; we have hero worship, we behold God in humanity. In the West you establish the moral law, you insist upon propriety of conduct, you are governed by public opinion. In the

East we aspire, perhaps vainly aspire, after absolute self-conquest and the holiness which makes God its model. In the West you work incessantly, and your work is your worship. In the East we meditate and worship for long hours, and worship is our work. . . . Looking back into the past, it cannot be denied that the world's religious debt to Asia is very great. In the East we are the subject race, we are talked of with contumely. The Asiatic is looked upon as the incarnation of every meanness and untruth. Perhaps we partly deserve it. Perhaps in being allowed to associate with you free and noble children of the West we shall learn what we have failed to learn hitherto. Yet in the midst of the sadness, the loneliness, the prostration of the present it is some consolation to think that we still retain some of our spirituality, and to reflect upon the prophecy of Ezekiel, "Behold, the glory of the God of Israel came from the way of the east."

Words like these might well startle an occidental audience into something like a panic; and not a few will read them with a flutter of the heart and a flush of shame—shame for their own carnal-mindedness and shame for their ignorance of Asiatic thought. But the Christian student of religions and of history reads them with a tranquil joy. To him this is the voice, not of the old, but of the new, Orient. He sees the Mediterranean miracles of the second and third centuries repeated before his eyes. This discovery of the spiritnality and beauty of the ancient faiths, like the discoveries of Gnosticism and neo-Platonism, is the result of contact with one hitherto unknown. It is the intellectual reaction by which we can measure the stupendous influence that Jesus Christ is already exercising in the Hindoo mind. And what is true of Mozoomdar is true of all the representatives of the Orient, who displayed a marked familiarity with the character and truth of Jesus. Christianity has been from the beginning a challenge. It comes to every faith with the sharp demand, "What has been builded upon the eternal truths manifested to your consciences in the structure and the movements of the universal frame?" Driven to an answer by the imperative energy of the Holy Ghost, the earnest seeker after light makes at length the discovery of the hay and stubble, of the superstitions and immoralities, that incumber the old foundations and sets about, even though unconsciously, the work of preparation for the new evangel. It was through such strange gateways as Manichæism and neo-Platonism that Augustine found his way to

Jesus Christ. And out of these new readings of the Vedas and the Zend-Avesta, of Buddha and Confucius, may come the spiritual teachers of a mighty epoch when indeed the glory of the Lord will come from "the way of the east."

One delusion needs to be dispelled—the notion that these papers represent the diffused religious ideas of the East. On the contrary, they tell us as little of the actual and popular religious thought and feeling of Asia as Thomas Aquinas or Meister Eckhart tells us of the actual religious life of mediæval Europe. If, as Joseph Cook declared, the Parliament concealed courteously the seamy side of the non-Christian faiths, then enthusiasts like President Bonney should remember that the ugly half has not been told. Phrases like "the emancipation of the world from bigotry" smack of an exaggeration that is just a trifle vulgar. The men who look steadily at facts are not bigots; and indifference to error is a betrayal of the truth. Science is unsparing of falsehood and mistake. She erects her greatest triumphs on the ruins of ancient and exploded doctrine. Tolerance is of man for his brother man, not of man for false religions. And, while we do not follow Professor Wilkinson altogether in his statement of the hostile attitude of Christianity toward all other religions, we sympathize fully with what he meant, namely, that Christianity is unalterably and divinely hostile to all that is false in other religions. What fellowship has light with darkness or Christ with Belial? On the other hand, our oriental guests, by their eloquence and their audacity, extorted from Fay Mills the confession that "in a large measure, as an organized Church, we have not been practicing the teachings of Jesus as he said them and meant them, as the earliest disciples understood and practiced them." He, at least, felt and acknowledged the rebuke of India and Japan, and by his confession postponed his expectation of the conversion of the world till Christendom shall become more Christian. Yet, on the whole, we think the best and most instructive feature of the Parliament was this discussion of the Asiatic worships by native believers, by devoted missionaries, and by students of comparative religions.

Let us turn now to the remarkable displays of Jerusalem and Rome. That the Jew would gladly avail himself of the opportunity for social and intellectual recognition was expected

by all who have studied Israel; and those who knew the power of the Hebrew pulpit were not surprised at the magnificent exhibition of Moses and the law. From both camps, liberal and orthodox, arose the voice of exultation. For had not Jehovah triumphed in the Western world? Yet three things were quite evident in their skillful presentations of the modern synagogue: (1) that the old hatred of the Nazarene has well-nigh disappeared, and that Jesus is proudly claimed as a child of Israel; (2) that the orthodox Jew, like the ancient Pharisee, still carries on the transformation of the law, to the letter of which he still proclaims unalterable fidelity; (3) that the Jewish liberal is a daring radical, to whom the law of Moses has become a shadow of the past and the Hebrew Scriptures a precious, but an uninspired, literature. In the eloquent paper of Rabbi Hirsch, on the "Elements of a Universal Religion," the tones are those of Jacob, but the thought is that of Baruch Spinoza. "The day of national religions is past." Creeds will be recognized hereafter as "barbed-wire fences." "Character and conduct, not creed, will be the keynote of the Gospel in the Church of Humanity Universal." Prayer will be the "prelude" to "prayerful action." The new religion will make its own Bible, and the Church will be "'the Church of God' because it will be the Church of man." All this is as beautiful as a rainbow, but hardly a temple for either God or man to dwell in. Conduct may be three fourths of life and character the other fourth; but plain people will be ridiculous enough to ask, "What are to be the keynotes of character and conduct?" This view of religion, as "ethics touched with emotion," is hardly tenable. It is well to ponder the significant irony of Von Hartmann in his bitter confession, inevitable for a pantheist, "To preach ethics is easy enough, but to discover a solid foundation for ethics is almost, if not quite, impossible." While we are being emancipated from bigotry would it not be well to escape these glittering phrases, these *millenia* of mirage? When I have lost the living God how shall I console myself with the thought that man is to be made hereafter in the image of a gracious dream? Thus the unity of Israel proved to be, as in the days of Herod the Great, a unity of blood and of ritual rather than a unity of mind and faith.

But the cohorts of the Church of Rome marched through

the Parliament like a Macedonian phalanx. A common purpose animated the utterances of all her speakers, and their bearing was the perfection of tact. Never bating one jot of their claim to religious supremacy, they pushed forward quietly as the intellectual synthesis of all philosophies, the spiritual synthesis of all beliefs, and the ethical synthesis of all moralities. At first glance it appeared as though Loyola and Leo had achieved a perfect triumph, as though the doctrines and ethics of Rome had become a basis upon which all Christendom might soon become one fold with one Shepherd. But here, as in the case of the orientals, the doctrines set forth by the chosen few and the doctrines diffused among the masses of clergy and of laity are in sharp and painful contrast. The doctrines expounded at Chicago are a nineteenth century statement of the nobler mediæval theology, the value of which no one denies. It was the theology of our fathers; for, in spite of Cardinal Gibbons, the traditions of the Church are the common inheritance of Western Christendom, and not the exclusive property of Rome. Ours is the glory of the ancient Catholic virtue; ours, too, the shame of the ancient Catholic wrong. The original quarrel of the Reformers was not so much with the theology of the Church as with the corruptions and misapplications of it; and the differences between Rome and reform to-day are not differences about belief so much as differences about authority. To see this clearly, now that the extreme theology of Luther and of Calvin has broken down, is for Protestants an imperative necessity. "Not the least fault we find with the religious separation of the last three hundred years," said the Rev. Walter Elliot, "is that it has unduly accentuated the sovereignty of God." Well, not the least, indeed the chief, of our objections to the doctrines of Trent and of the Vatican is the undue accentuation of the sovereignty of the pope. Contrasted with this the errors of the Reformers seems quite trivial.

In one other aspect were these addresses noteworthy. They revealed the workings of the *Index Expurgatorius.* Darwin has never been placed in the *Index;* but every great historian of the nineteenth century who touches anywhere the papacy has been starred and double starred—that is, forbidden in the original and in translation. The result is evident—an absence of the historic spirit, an incredible unconsciousness of recorded

fact. The pope has not and cannot grant an absolute divorce; many popes have suffered torture rather than sanction the breaking of the marriage bonds. Thus writes Professor Martin J. Wade. This is true, but only in a strictly technical sense. The papal method is to declare the marriage void. The marriage bonds being thus broken, the reasons for their disruption can easily escape the attention of men forbidden by the head of the Church even to read the results of modern historical inquiry. But, seeing that such is the case, the words they utter, even in a Parliament which has "emancipated humanity from bigotry," need to be carefully tested by the record of the past. Indeed, we have reached a point where the title of the assembly demands a slight amendment. It was not a parliament but a display of religions, and no exhibit of the whole fair, material or moral, was arranged with greater ingenuity or presented with more captivating skill than the exhibit of the papal Christian Church. Gracious and learned and eloquent, these prelates and divines made the utmost of an opportunity the like of which they have never had in American history.

The display of Protestant Christianity, on the other hand, lacked unity and coherence. It was abundant in variety and abundant, too, in power. One thing, however, was painfully and conspicuously absent, namely, a clear, definite, and powerful statement of the fundamental positions of Protestantism. The Jews were candid, courageous, and perfectly courteous. Rome was subtle and complaisant, conciliatory and commanding. The Greeks were conscious of antiquity and serenely satisfied with their possession of a genuine, catholic faith. But the big book of the Parliament, in spite of its splendid array of Protestant names, contains no exposition of the right of Protestantism to continued existence. Was there no one in England or in Germany or in America to state the Protestant case, to present, not the reasons for the actions of our fathers, but the grounds of our own conduct and the goal of our existence; or is Protestantism after all without a common basis and a sure ground of existence? Rabbi Mendes, speaking for orthodox Judaism, did not shun, but rather gloried in, the terms "separation" and "protest." But of Protestantism there was neither explanation nor defense except by implication. Dr. Schaff, in his noble paper upon the "Reunion of Christendom,"

touched all too briefly and tenderly the difficulties which prevent the consummation for which he prayed and wrought, but the one thing that no Protestant was called upon or volunteered to do was to state with candor and with strength the reasons for our being—not the reasons why our fathers were driven from the Latin Church, but the reasons why we, their children, call ourselves the congregations of the living Christ. Yet the display of Protestantism was rich and varied, covering many forms of its development in theology and ethics, in missionary activity and in knowledge of religions. Intellectually the Protestants were easily first, and could they have been organized into unity and worked steadily to a common purpose the impression made by them would have been far-reaching and profound. But as it was the lights frequently quenched each other, and the multiplicity of topics only served to accentuate this lack of coherence and of mutual understanding. The display of the Protestants was rather a display of ideas relating to religion and connected with it than the display of a religion. All the vitality and diversity that have followed upon the Reformation here came to an open exhibition. There are moments in which one heartily rejoices in this manifold variety of thought and power, when one can say with Schiller:

> Look round and view God's lordly universe.
> On freedom it is founded, and how rich
> Is it with freedom! He, the great Creator,
> Has given the very worm its several dewdrop;
> Even in the moldering spaces of decay
> He leaves free will the pleasures of a choice.
> This world of yours how narrow and how poor!
> The rustling of a leaf alarms the lord
> Of Christendom; you quake at every virtue.
> He, not to mar the glorious form of freedom,
> Suffers that the hideous hosts of evil
> Should run riot in his fair creation.

Freedom is indeed a costly privilege, and Protestants are paying for it a tremendous price. And there are moments when the outlook is neither comforting nor inspiring. For there is a haughtiness of individuality and a personal arrogance which hinder concord and arrest the tendencies that make for nobler organization. The reproach flung by the pagan into the face of Protestant Christendom, that her contending fac-

tions were struggling against each other for the religious domination of Japan, would not have been humiliating if this division into factions were the necessity of a free development of saving truth. But we know that it is not. We know that our divisions are not the result of intellectual liberty, but of intellectual pride; that humility is the straight and narrow gate to concord; that we differ not because we are compelled to it by our studies of the sacred word, but because we compel the sacred word to give sanction and sanctity to inherited disagreements. I indulge in no wild dream of reaching union by a minimizing of essential, or a denial of even accidental, truth. On the contrary, I believe that we shall have no unity worthy of the name until the love of truth has so consumed the love of self and the pride of personal opinion that Christian men will seek each other as naturally and as spontaneously as the planets cling together in their circlings round the sun. And, if I somewhat sharply blame what seems to me concealment or, to say the least, defective illumination of important facts, it is because no union is possible except a union in and through the truth. Men must learn to accept facts as God accepts them, and to deal with them in the same all-conquering spirit. He governs and perfects the world by seeing things as they are and calmly compelling them to do his sovereign will. Our mastery of the physical world, by which the wonders of our modern age are wrought, has been acquired, not by the preservation of fictions, not by a resolute struggle to rescue ancient error, but by a humble recognition of facts and forces, of potencies and possibilities that are hidden to ignorance and arrogance, but open to the humble and patient and candid and persistent mind. And if we are to master the difficulties of the spiritual world we must attack them with the same self-denial, the same humility, the same affection for reality, the same devotion to the truth.

To speak it plainly, the heart has poisoned the head. It is not the right of private judgment that divides Protestantism, but persistence of party feeling; not the intellectual activity that attacks and conquers problems, but the intellectual arrogance that only approaches them and publishes and defends unverified solutions; not the mind that seeks and waits and patiently inquires, but the stubborn ignorance that reaches certainties

without inquiries and mistakes a vivid fancy, saturated with strong feeling, for a revelation of eternal fact. "*Credo ut intelligam*"—"I believe that I may understand"—was the watchword of Anselm as he opened up a new theology. "*Amo ut intelligam*"—"I love that I may understand"—must be the watchword for a new era of Christian unity. For a perfect love will cast out misunderstanding as well as fear; and when Christ and the Christlike appear we shall be like them, for we shall see them as they are. Hence, I can attach no extravagant value to a comparison of views of Protestant thinkers upon a great variety of subjects made, not in the quiet of earnest conference, but in the glare of excited publicity. It may be that these will hasten the union of evangelical Christendom, and I hope they will; but I venture to think that "the still small voice" of those who, without ostentation and without applause, keep up their search for truth and their correspondence with each other, furthering as best they can fraternal helpfulness and a better understanding of each other's thought, will prove a thousand times more potent for so glorious an end. If, however, the Parliament increases, as I think it must, the number of this unobtrusive but earnest company it will have made a contribution of incalculable value to the future of America and of the world; for these must accomplish the consolidation of orthodox Protestantism, and upon this consolidation depends the salvation and the further progress of the twentieth century.

We have written these words in a tone of candid, but of kindly, criticism. If the Parliament had been arraigned severely we should have defended it with cheerful energy. But just now the danger is all the other way—toward absurd laudation and extravagant expectation. The truth is that great possibilities were indicated by the Parliament; but they were only possibilities. It may and ought to lead to an intelligent study of religion and the religions of mankind; to an examination of missionary methods and a better comprehension of the work that lies before the Christian Church; to a separation of the essential from the accidents of Christian belief, with a view to greater power at home and abroad; to a fearless inquiry into the grounds of Protestantism and the reason of its continued existence; to a recognition of the truth held by those with whom we differ; to fraternal cooperation of all men in the

work of love and helpfulness, for the perfection of the law, for the progress of society, and for the discovery of the knowledge which is power. These possibilities were indicated, but not achieved. Bishop Keane is quite right in his opinion that the chief achievement of the Parliament was itself; although, indeed, the Parliament did not achieve itself, but was the outcome of the spirit of the nineteenth century. It was a beautiful display of charity and courtesy and culture, an expression of those subconscious forces which, more than human will or human creed, shape the conduct and the moods of men. Ours is an epoch of conference and cooperation, of world-commerce and international intercourse and interblending civilizations. The beginnings of culture, moving from the heart of Asia to the Mediterranean Sea, have broken across all barriers and conquered the round world. In this mighty environment of diffused thought the truth of Jesus is working with amazing power, and his person also; for he is the Truth, working as he could not work in the empire of the Cæsars or in the rude surroundings of feudal barbarism, as he could not work before the days of Gutenberg and Galileo, of Pascal and Descartes. God, who made of one blood all the nations of the earth, is working now the greater wonder of making them all of one thought and of one home. He is breaking down the barriers that separate his children from each other. The material hinderances have gone, the intellectual hinderances are going. Men are learning to seek, though they have hardly yet learned to love, the truth. Under a divine compulsion they hunger for cooperation, for unison of feeling, and for harmony of thought. This divine compulsion broods over all our modern progress; and it would be strange, indeed, if priests and Churches did not feel the urgent pressure. For this reason, therefore, we rejoice in the Parliament and its rich and bewildering speech. It was a witness to the real glory of our age—the progress of human brotherhood—and, in spite of manifold defects, a dim and wavering prophecy of a distant, but a surely coming, time, when every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess that "Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

Charles J. Little

Art. IV.—THE CHURCH AND THE CITY.

From the time of Alexander to the days of Grant the goal of great military campaigns has been the city. Alexander won the Eastern world only at last to perish in its most historic capital. Grant lifted his nation's flag in triumph over the last and mightiest citadel of rebellion and passed into history as the foremost patriot soldier of his century. The city has been both attacked and defended with all the skill and fury and endurance of which human nature seems capable. When the city of Leyden was reduced to starvation within the beleaguering grip of the Spanish army the inhabitants hurled from the ramparts into the enemy's ears such defiance as this:

> Ye call us rat eaters and dog eaters, and it is true. So long, then, as ye hear dog bark or cat mew within the walls ye may know that the city holds out. And when all has perished but ourselves be sure that we will each devour our left arms, retaining our right to defend our women, our liberty, and our religion against the foreign tyrant.

When, on the fourteenth of September, 1812, the French army, scaling the "Mount of Salvation," looked for the first time upon Moscow, the sight of this city, glittering with a thousand colors in the sun, sent a thrill of wild enthusiasm throughout all ranks. Napoleon himself, in personal transport, hastened forward to view the sight. The other great capitals of the continent having been humbled, this mighty and golden city, this brilliant clasp of Europe and Asia, seemed to him the last and greatest prize of his boundless ambition, the only thing remaining to make his glory complete. But even Napoleon, with all his genius, had failed to penetrate the desperate measures which were about to thwart his hopes. The inhabitants of Moscow, unable to match their military skill against that of the invader, grimly determined, sooner than permit their city to be taken, to destroy both it and themselves. To its vast treasures they applied the incendiary torch, and themselves marched forth from the gates to perish by the hundred thousand from starvation and cold. Moscow in ashes, for Napoleon there was left no alternative but to face his army toward the most dismal and tragic retreat known in military history.

But what the city has always been in the distinctive world of strategy it is—and in a sense far more vital, immeasurably more sublime, than any with which military science has ever invested it—everywhere to-day in the social, civil, intellectual, and moral worlds. The most superficial observer cannot fail to see many reasons for the vast strategic importance which the city asserts for itself in civilization. It is man's royal emporium in the earth; it is the magazine of the most marvelous material appliances, the garrison of all forces which most powerfully affect the destinies of the race. In obedience to the operation of most potent social laws men have always lived in cities in as large numbers as could there find support; but our modern art has created the conditions which permit the multiplication and enlargement of cities in our day in a measure utterly impossible to any previous age. The last census shows us that very nearly thirty per cent of our entire population is urban. The steady gain of the city is well indicated by the fact that in the last forty years the number of dwellers in the city, as compared with the entire population of the country, has increased relatively more than one hundred and forty per cent. The last decade has shown a marked acceleration of the tendency of our people to urban life, so much so that if the ratio were to be maintained for three decades to come we should have in the year 1920 ten millions more people in the cities than could be numbered in the entire nation outside the cities.

And so far as can be seen, the causal factors which enter into the growth of the modern city are permanent. There is no present indication that for an indefinite time to come the forces which conspire to swell the city will be less active than they now are. The growth of rural populations may be arrested, but the city moves on with titanic stride. The city is already upon the throne. It is the dictator of the world's destinies. Its rule will be more mighty to-morrow than it is to-day. Modern city growth is the most portentous and challenging fact of the age. The problems that arise from it, socially, politically, morally, are the most stupendous and difficult that address themselves to either the genius of statesmanship or of Christian thought. For the Church the facts before us bring the gravest revelations. They tell us, and with merciless logic, that the church life which is to have the mightiest future

in the life which, with the greatest energy, resource, and skill, shall gird itself for the conquest of the cities. It matters not what may be the past history of any Church, even though that history be a perfect repository of heroic deeds and inspiring facts. No Church can have a regnant future in this land if, whatever it may do elsewhere, it shall fail at the city gates. The city will ever remain dominant, and the Church that would wear the crown of the future must win the city to the sovereignty of Christ.

Another truth which these facts carry is that the Church which will command the future must not be content simply with the methods of the past. The causes which have multiplied and magnified the cities have done much, and in many ways, to modify and to change the habits of multitudes of the people. The Church is called upon to-day to adjust itself to essentially new social and moral conditions. These changed conditions call for revised and improved methods of treatment. This does not mean that any vital truth or really effective means is to be set aside. It does mean that the all-vital truth shall be coupled with the best possible appliances. It may be that the guns of the new navy are charged with the same kind of explosive that was used in the days of Paul Jones; but the missile that to-day goes crashing through twenty inches of solid steel armor is fired from a gun compared with which those of Paul Jones were mere toys. The Church of Christ is confronted in these days with almost invincible dominions of spiritual wickedness in high places. It needs to be perfectly organized and armored for the highest type of spiritual warfare and of conquest which the ages have yet demanded. Few things in current history are more phenomenal than the wondrous way in which the business world in the last few decades has readjusted itself to new conditions. The methods of twenty-five years since, especially in cities, would mean for any firm of to-day an early assignment in bankruptcy. Keenest ability, concentration of capital, most efficient organization of forces, vigilant and aggressive push—these are now the conditions of business success as never before. But the changed conditions of life demand the spirit of adaptation on the part of the Church not less than in the business community. Unfortunately there is an inveterate conservatism in the Church that makes it traditionally slow in adjusting itself to new conditions. This is the

opposite of what ought to be. The Church of Christ, by virtue of its divine mission, ought to be the most progressive, the most resourceful, the most adaptive society among men. Satan has a most inventive genius. He not only subsidizes all the ancient forces of human depravity, but he boldly lays under tribute every available modern discovery to strengthen and to make more deadly the reign of his kingdom in the earth. Let it not be doubted: the Church which shall finally destroy this kingdom must be not only the Church of the Holy Ghost, but a Church that shall be most fertile in the creation and employment of every method and of all methods which the success of its great mission may require. A closer than a theoretical view must be taken of the situation. Fortunately, for the first time in history, we are now able with some approach to mathematical accuracy to locate the forces of the Church. The work of the Census Bureau in gathering the religious statistics of the country is monumental, and the result is worthy of all commendation. But a general survey of the situation will leave little or no room to doubt that thus far no form of church life has appeared which does not show itself relatively weak in presence of the moral needs of the cities.

It will be convenient for purposes here sought to classify the populations dealt with into two divisions—the non-Catholic and the Catholic. The method of the census is to enroll as communicants of the Roman Church only baptized persons above nine years of age. It is estimated that the children under this age constitute really about fifteen per cent of the Catholic population proper of the country. We secure approximately, therefore, the total Catholic population by adding to the number of communicants this allowance of fifteen per cent. This may, or may not, furnish too liberal a basis of computation; but it is the basis which will be accepted for the purposes of this article. For convenience three classes of cities are dealt with. In the first are included only those which have 500,000 or more people; in the second those which have 100,000 or more, up to 500,000; the third containing those from 25,000 to 100,000.* In the first class there are but four cities, namely,

* For the basis of the computations here made we are indebted to the admirable work entitled *The Religious Forces of the United States*. This work was prepared by Dr. H. K. Carroll, who had charge of the Division of Churches for the Eleventh Census. The results which we here present, so far as we are aware, now appear for the first time.

New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn. Of the total population of these four cities a little more than twenty-six per cent are Catholics. In these cities the Catholic communicants are entered as numbering 1,012,968; while the members of all other communions combined, including evangelical, liberal, and Jewish societies, number but 576,930. Thus in the four largest cities the Catholic communicants outnumber the membership of all other communions in the ratio of nearly two to one. Of cities of the second class there are twenty-four. In this list also the Catholics number a little in excess of twenty-six per cent of the population. But these cities of the second class show relatively to the population a much larger membership in non-Catholic communions than appears in cities of the first class, so that here the Catholic communicants number only in the proportion of about eleven to eight of all others. In the third class of cities there are ninety-six. In these ninety-six cities the Catholic population numbers about twenty-two and one half per cent of all. But here we find, for the first time, that the Catholic communicants are outnumbered by the total membership of other communions, the numbers standing as follows: Catholics, 807,580; all others, 869,476. Aside from the one hundred and twenty-four cities in the classes named, the country has a population of 48,633,312. This estimate includes three hundred and nineteen cities, each containing 8,000 or more inhabitants. Of this population the Catholics number somewhat less than eight per cent. But if in this area we group the bodies known under the general names of Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Congregational—these being presented in the order of their respective numbers—we find that here the communicants in these Protestant bodies alone outnumber those of the Catholic Church nearly three to one. The fact concerning the Catholics may be explained largely in the mere locations of their populations. Very nearly one half of all the Catholic population of the country dwells in the one hundred and twenty-four cities classified. The Catholic Church, from the very method of its enumeration, must be assumed to hold its own relatively to its own proper population the country over. But, as the non-Catholic populations are seen to be distributed, the fact of location cannot, and does not, explain the

relative weakness of the non-Catholic communions, taken collectively, as they approach the great cities.

A suggestive way, perhaps, of approaching the problem will be, eliminating all Catholic populations from consideration, to study the field occupied by non-Catholic forces only. On this basis we discover that in the four cities of the first class there are 176 communicants of all societies, including, as before, evangelical, liberal, and Jewish organizations, for every 1,000 of non-Catholic population. Analysis will show, in these four cities, as follows for every 1,000 of non-Catholic population :* 29 Presbyterians (all bodies); 28 Methodists (all bodies); 28 Episcopalians; 23 Lutherans (all bodies); 20 Baptists (all bodies); 15 Jews (all bodies); 7 Congregationalists; 6 members of the Reformed Church (three bodies); 3 members of the Disciples of Christ, Evangelical Association, and Friends (combined); 11 Unitarians, Universalists, and miscellaneous (combined). In the twenty-four cities of the second class the same process discovers for us 220 communicants of all societies for every 1,000 of the non-Catholic population. Analysis by denomination will show as follows: 43 Methodists (all bodies); 32 Baptists (all bodies); 29 Lutherans (all bodies); 27 Presbyterians (all bodies); 21 Episcopalians; 10 Congregationalists; 10 Jews; 5 members of the Reformed Church (all bodies); 39 miscellaneous. In the ninety-six cities of the third class we find 260 communicants of all societies for every 1,000 of the non-Catholic population. The following is the analysis by denominations: 69 Methodists (all bodies); 47 Baptists (all bodies); 27 Presbyterians (all bodies); 23 Lutherans (all bodies); 20 Episcopalians; 19 Congregationalists; 49 miscellaneous. Pushing the investigation still further, we find that the country at large, aside from the one hundred and twenty-four cities, shows as follows for every 1,000 of the non-Catholic population: 91 Methodists (all bodies); 75 Baptists (all bodies); 21 Presbyterians (all bodies); 19 Lutherans (all bodies); 8 Congregationalists; 5 Episcopalians. For convenience of reference we subjoin a tabulated statement setting forth the standing of the six larger Protestant communions relatively to

* In these tables we do not undertake fractional exactness. For instance, in cities of the first class there is a slight fraction above 28 Methodists in every 1,000 of the non-Catholic population; but 28 is much closer to the real fact than 29 would be.

the three classes of cities and to the country as a whole outside of these cities, giving the numbers of each in these respective locations for every 1,000 of the non-Catholic population:

	First Class Cities.	Second Class Cities.	Third Class Cities.	Country.
Methodists	28	43	69	91
Baptists	20	32	47	75
Lutherans	23	29	23	19
Presbyterians	29	27	27	21
Episcopalians	28	21	20	5
Congregationalists	7	10	19	8

From the above table it would appear that the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches are relatively stronger in the large cities than elsewhere. The Presbyterians and the Lutherans, however, are distributed with a somewhat noticeable evenness throughout the entire territory covered. The Congregationalists seem to reach their best in cities of the second and third classes. The Methodist and the Baptist communions show a marked and phenomenal decrease as they come to the larger centers of population. The decrease of these two denominations as they approach the great centers is all the more significant because of the relative rank they hold among the evangelistic agencies of the land. The Methodists and Baptists combined greatly outnumber all the other Protestant denominations of the country. The facts of the above table, applied to the absolute numbers of the six general denominations compared, will demonstrate beyond challenge that the evangelical Churches are numerically very much weaker in the great centers of population than they are in the country at large outside of these great centers.

The tabulations before us suggest many inferences—some, very probably, for which they do not present adequate grounds. We might ask why the Episcopal Church flourishes in the city as not in the lesser communities; why Presbyterianism, while relatively stronger in the city, yet sends its columns forward with such comparatively even front in both city and country alike. We might legitimately, and perhaps profitably, inquire for the special type or quality which gives one denomination advantage over another in securing for itself numerical increase in the city. But the one great and grave fact which stands

ever before us is that the evangelical Church of the land, taken as a whole, is numerically far weaker in the great city—the very place where by all the needs of the case it ought to be strongest—than it is elsewhere; and the larger the city, the more momentous the concentration of interests, social, political, moral, the more pronounced is the diminishment of evangelical forces. The facts tell us that the growth of the city tends practically more and more to carry it away from the control of evangelical agencies. There is in this fact that which should stir the heart of the American Church as with a trumpet of alarm. Any weakness of our Christianity in coping with the conditions of city life carries in itself the prophecy of defeat. A distinctively Christian civilization in this country, as a matter of manifest destiny, must rise or fall according as it shall show itself a dominant or a failing force in the life of our cities. Even now it requires no mysterious reading between the lines to discover that the Christianizing of the American cities calls for a Church wiser, holier, more opulent in its endowments, more Christlike in its consecrations, more heroic in its activities, than any which our history has yet produced. An evangelical Church has not thus far held its own within the American city.

Remembering that the figures before us deal only with the non-Catholic populations, the query naturally arises, Why should the evangelization of these populations in the great city be more difficult than in the lesser communities? Many elements enter into the complete answer to this question. The limits of this article forbid any attempt at an exhaustive discussion of these elements. Several facts, however, lie upon the surface:

I. The life of the great city is intense as is no other life. Here business absorbs, pleasures divert, as nowhere else. The Stock Exchange is but the concentrated type of the business life of the metropolis. Here the "bulls" and the "bears" engage in daily strife, filling the air with the din of fierce bellowings and hoarse growls, and each party is ever on the alert to vanquish the other and to enrich itself with the spoils of the battle. But this life is costly for the men who enter it. It lays a special tax on heart and nerve and brain; it requires that men shall be acclimated to cyclones, and the process is one which only the few long survive. So the business life of the great

city is reduced to hair-line scales of competition; success here means thought whetted to its finest edge, a business vision keen as an eagle's gaze. But all this implies the absorption of men in business affairs through the most enslaving and merciless exactions. But, at the opposite pole from this business intensity, and as, in some sense, its counterpart, there flourish the agencies of diversion and of relaxation. Theaters of all grades, operas high and low, amusement resorts of all varieties—these are all multiplied and patronized in the crowded city as not elsewhere. From these two features named, to say nothing of many others which also might be emphasized, the Church of Christ suffers impairment and limitation in its work. Intense business absorption, upon the one hand, prevents many of the ablest and most worthy sons of the Church from doing much of the spiritual work for which their gifts would richly qualify them; on the other hand, such worldly diversions and relaxations as flourish in the city tend to blunt and destroy in multitudes all taste for that spiritual thought and life which it is the mission of the Church to foster and to strengthen.

II. Again, the Church suffers limitation from what may be called the chasmic "divides" that run through the life of a great city. An impassable ravine will check the march of an army. One group of these "divides" may be defined as the polyglottic. And this feature especially characterizes our American cities as almost none others. The life of a British or of a Continental city is mostly homogeneous in its racial composition. Not so the great cities of America. New York, in the sense of representing many races and tongues, is doubtless the most cosmopolitan city in the world. But the Church, before it can successfully reach and evangelize these diverse race groups, must bridge the chasms of language, of customs, of traditions that now separate them each from each, and all in some measure from approach by an American type of Christianity. Another "divide" which confronts the movements of evangelical life in the city is that artificial chasm which has been opened deep and wide between the wealthy and the poor. This chasm, however artificial or unnatural it may seem, is nevertheless one of the most real and portentous facts in our modern life. It runs like an impassable gulf between two widely different social worlds. Upon the one hand is a world of privilege, upon the

other a world of want. Upon the one hand is that wealth which in winter shelters itself in costly homes upon the city avenues, and which in summer feasts its senses upon artistic landscapes and fragrant breezes from the verandas of suburban palaces; upon the other hand are the swarming and grimy masses who in winter huddle and shiver in the stuffy and cheerless apartments of the cheap tenement house, and who in summer writhe and swelter under the heat that smites the overcrowded city. The gulf that separates these two worlds is one but too rarely crossed by the dwellers on either side. The dwellers on the one side do not know how those on the other side live. Not that the needs of the one are never responded to by the wealth of the other; but the aid given, in far too great measure, is bestowed through such mediums as not to bring the heart of the donor in direct contact with the heart of the receiver. The aid received at the mechanical hand of a charity organization or disbursed on business principles by a committee having the matter in charge is not the kind that awakens a redeeming and transforming gratitude in the breasts of the depressed, discouraged, and fallen poor. The deep and abiding lesson of the ages is, that life can be saved only by life; hearts, even the hearts of the poorest and the humblest, can be won and swayed only by the giving of hearts. Between the two worlds of which we now speak there is altogether too little interchange of heart to insure any generally vitalizing or uplifting result upon the less favored community. However close the proximity geographically of these two worlds, they are separated from each other by the widest social distances—distances that can never be vitally spanned by long-distance telephonic processes, nor even by the establishing of freight lines for the carrying of food and provisions from the one over to the other.

III. Another quality of the great city which makes it a difficult field for evangelistic success is what Dr. Josiah Strong has well characterized as its isolation. There is no place where human society so secludes and bars itself in as in the city. In a rural parish or in the village the new pastor is at once known to all and has access to the entire community. There everybody knows his neighbors. Not so in the city. Let the popular pastor of the country village be transferred to the great city, and he very soon awakes to the discovery that he is only

an ordinary individual lost in a great sea of humanity. Four fifths of all living with him in the same block neither know nor have interest in him. In the city proximity of residence does not mean, in the deeper things that draw men together, community of interests. The social life of two families with only a partition wall between them may have practically as little interchange as though these families were separated by the width of a continent. Many results naturally grow out of this condition of city isolation. One is that the religious worker finds here greater difficulty of access to the subjects of his work than is to be encountered elsewhere. Another result is that a stranger is apt to receive but a cold or indifferent welcome, even when he enters the doors of the city church. The pew-holders of the church know not this person; they, in all probability, will never see him again; in any event they must incur no social risk by too warm a welcome, even to the house of God, of a pilgrim who has strolled within their gates, but whose social credentials they have not yet received. Another tendency of this isolation of life is to make men indifferent as to the claims of society upon themselves. And this is one of the worst results that can happen. When a man loses his sense of responsibility to society he is in danger of losing his sense of responsibility to himself. Reputation is a thing of social relations; real character is apt to flourish under the quickening sense of social responsibility. It is for the want of inspirational and uplifting social environment that multitudes of young men and women, who come from the country to the great city, become in the city, first lonely, then desperate, then lost. Finally, this quality of isolation makes the great city the retreat of the criminal. There is no place where the man of evil life may so effectually hide himself. And so, as a matter of record, the city with its dense population furnishes many times over the number of criminals to the same number of people as the open country.

IV. From the many as yet unmentioned facts which are inimical to the evangelization of the great city we select but one more. The greatest need of the city next to its need of Christianity, and a need which, unmet, makes Christian success in the city itself impossible, is the need of homes for the people. A goodly home in the city is a luxury so costly as to be afforded

only by the few. Eighty per cent of the great population of New York city live in tenement houses. This means a population of fickle residence; a population that makes for itself only ephemeral neighborhood attachments; a population that wears but lightly a sense of obligation to society; one that is in such a constant state of passage as largely to elude all direct influence from the Church. This state of things is true concerning those who dwell in the better class of tenements. Christian effort must be doubly alert to discover and to win the people in any shifting community, as compared with those who dwell in permanent homes. But, passing from the tenement houses that in themselves are tolerable, there is in every great city a large tenement life which carries within itself all the elements of perdition. There is one compact district in New York, comprising not more than one twenty-fifth of the city's area, in which there is an average of more than a quarter of a million of souls to the square mile. If the ground room of all this section were apportioned equally among its dwellers each person would have twelve square yards as his own rightful domain. In this region people are not only piled layer above layer, but it is not unusual to find men, women, and children crowded together under conditions that more suggest the herding of cattle than the housing of human beings. Such tenement sections are always a fruitful breeding ground for all kinds of disease—physical, social, moral. Here are to be found poverty in its most helpless forms, vagrancy, theft, besotted appetite, marital lawlessness, incest, idiocy—every malignant growth that may be born of evil blood or vicious life. Where decency cannot thrive a pure religion cannot live. Before the people of these overcrowded tenement house sections can be Christianized their very physical environment must receive the purification of fire. We need first to have a civilization itself so Christian that it will absolutely permit no place in the great city where the Shylock landlord shall be able to swell his sordid revenues at the expense of all that may pass under the sacred synonyms of home, of health, of decency.

But now, not to pursue further the special difficulties of the city, all the facts converging upon the situation clearly and irresistibly enforce the conclusion that the great battlefield on which Christianity, in its struggle for moral supremacy in the nation,

will brilliantly win or disastrously fail will be within city walls. It is as clearly evident that our Churches as now constituted are not sufficiently empowered and marshaled for their needed mission in this field. Success, therefore, manifestly needs more power, better methods, a fuller loyalty to Christ, a more alert discernment of opportunity, movement more swift and aggressive—all of this in much fuller and better measure than now exists. To specify without elaboration, some things indispensable to the triumph of Christianity in the cities would seem to be the following:

I. A more perfect reenthronement in Christian conviction and love of Christ's estimate of man as man, irrespective of his social or material environment. Christ never once shrank from the presence of the poorest and the most degraded of men, because he recognized in every man the possibilities through redemption of an immortal and godlike manhood. All social affinities which tyrannously separate men in society ought themselves to be trampled into the dust when it comes to the question of seeking the salvation of the lost. If there is any fact which the Christian Church needs at this hour to domesticate, in the very holy of holies of its most practical convictions, it is that in all the range of human pursuits there is no work so godlike as that which seeks the salvation of men for whom Christ died—all men, whoever they may be and wherever found.

II. A wide and persistent publication to the Church of the facts and needs of the situation. Many are inactive and seemingly indifferent because they do not know the tremendous needs which call for their action. Conviction must precede action; but knowledge is essential to conviction.

III. A wider conception of the practical mission of the Church than that which has been prevalent in the past. The Church of the past, in its relations with men, has dwelt too exclusively in the realm of soul. Christ spent a large part of his ministry in dealing with the physical needs of men. The Church, in its failure more fully to imitate him in this respect, has narrowed its proper mission and has lessened its power over the world. There are innumerable benevolences in the world, the mission of which is essentially Christian, which are practically supported by Christian men, but which nevertheless

are conducted outside of the Church; and by so much the proper mission of the Church of Christ, to the detriment of the Church, seems to be relegated to outside agencies. The Church, before it can fulfill its mission with the souls of men, must have in many instances much to do with the bodies in which these souls dwell. A significant proof of how this general truth is forcing itself upon Christian thought is furnished in the fact that recently, in New York city, one hundred and fifty clergymen agreed to devote one service each on a given Sabbath to a discussion of the tenement house problem.

IV. The development of new and aggressive methods of church work. The historic and conventional method, as applied to large sections of our city populations, stands to-day a confessed failure. The shore-line of our great cities is strewed with the wrecks of once prosperous churches; and these wrecks stand in the midst of thronging communities. There has been what is now quite well known and defined as an "uptown movement" of the churches. This means really that the wealth and the culture of the Church have moved away from the communities that more and more are filling with the wage-earning, the poor, and the needy multitudes. The prosperous people of the Church did not do their duty by these multitudes when they moved away from them and left with them simply their old houses of worship. These houses are deserted and are falling into decay, or else they have been converted into something like profane uses; but in the meantime the dense populations around their doors are practically unchurched and ungospelized. The prosperous and cultured church life which has moved "up-town" will never have done its duty by the multitudes "down-town" until it organizes itself into a holy, enduring, and resistless crusade for the winning and uplifting of these multitudes into the real brotherhood of the Church and kingdom of Jesus Christ. The sons and daughters of wealth and of privilege must carry to their brothers and sisters to whom life is a struggle hearts whose love shall be Christlike. The times are not without cheering indications that the best life of the Church is increasingly stirred with a sense of its obligation to the unprivileged multitudes of the city. Such movements as the "college settlement," "Toynbee Hall," "Hull House," "Epworth House," and other like enterprises

organized for the purpose of carrying a privileged Christian life into the most neighborly contact with the most unprivileged poor—these are encouraging symptoms of a new awakening of the Church to really Christlike methods of saving the city.

Among all methods to be suggested, the institutional church should have a foremost place. This is the church that carries with its organization all appliances, so far as possible, for helping men clear around the circle of their needs—physical, intellectual, moral; the church the material support of which shall be amply guaranteed, irrespective of the financial ability of those to whom it ministers; the church that shall have a sufficient number of employed workers to keep itself ever in aggressive and helpful relations with all the needy life of its wide and populous parish. Such an institution will require a somewhat expensive plant, and will need a large income for its current support. But results will amply justify all financial outlay required. It will be an institution adapted to reach conspicuous success where all ordinary churches fail. It has already been tried on a sufficient scale and in sufficiently critical locations to place it beyond the sphere of a mere experiment. Wherever amply supported and wisely worked, the institutional church is a great success. The time is ripe for every evangelical denomination in every large city to undertake the establishment and support of at least one such church in some populous and strategic center of the city's needs. This will call for what we present as the final suggestion of this paper, namely:

V. The generous giving of money for an essentially new departure of church work in cities. There is much popular rumor abroad that church members are already called upon to give too much money for benevolences. We personally are not a convert to this view. On the contrary, we believe that the Christian community as a whole is under supreme obligation to give vastly more than it is now giving for the sake of advancing the victories of Christ's kingdom among men; and obligation is never divorced from ability.

To confirm the sanity of our view, we herewith present a statistical argument from the condition of Methodism in the city of Brooklyn, as shown in the Conference Minutes for 1893. These Minutes report for the Methodist Episcopal churches of Brooklyn a membership, including probationers, of 18,667. We

find, by examining two church manuals, that there is an average of one family represented for every two persons in the membership of these two churches. Accepting this as a basis, we should have represented in the entire membership of Brooklyn about 9,300 families. If we assume that the Methodist family has an average income of $800 per year—and we judge that this is clearly within the facts of the case—then we have as the aggregate income of the Brooklyn Methodists the sum of $7,440,000. The Conference year 1892-93 marks a very exceptional activity in the churches of Brooklyn in the paying of large debts, and also in the raising of large amounts of money for new buildings and improvements. It is, therefore, a year which gives an exceptionally favorable showing for the benevolence of the denomination in the city. We find that the total gifts for the year from all of Brooklyn Methodism as reported, including items of pastoral support, current expenses of churches and Sunday schools, all amounts paid for indebtedness, new buildings, and improvements, all benevolent collections—everything given for and through the churches—aggregate $430,630. Now, if we swell this amount by one third of itself to allow for the unreported benevolences of our people we shall have as the grand total of their giving for the year the sum of $574,173. This would indicate that the Methodism of Brooklyn averaged last year a benevolent giving of about seven and seven tenths per cent on its income. We would be first to recognize the possibility of many stray elements in this estimate. Any such estimate in its very nature can, at best, be only proximate. We would recognize also the injustice of applying the logic of this calculation indiscriminately to all of our people. Of the 18,667 Methodists included, many are giving grandly—giving all that they ought, and possibly more. But if this is true it must also be true that many are falling far short of what they ought to do. It should, moreover, be remembered that quite a percentage of the money reported does not represent the gifts of church members at all, but comes from non-members in the congregations.

It is our belief that the premises assumed for this estimate are conservatively within the lines of truth. If so, then Brooklyn Methodism as a whole, by the exhibit of a year of exceptional giving, stands convicted, in the full light of this Christian

age, of giving two and three tenths per cent less for Christ's kingdom than the very minimum amount which Jehovah, under the old dispensation, formally demanded of the Jewish people. And this deficit is permitted in the presence of multiplied moral and spiritual needs that urge their cry to the very heavens, in the presence of opportunities for spiritual achievement such as might excite the envy of angels. Let Brooklyn Methodism but give the added two and three tenths per cent which it now withholds, and its Church Society can safely guarantee with it to plant a dozen new, vigorous churches every year, and, in addition, will maintain in resistless strength where it would do immeasurable good the most perfectly organized institutional church as yet developed in Christendom. One of the last things that flame in the sunset of Old Testament history is the condition on which Jehovah promised to open the windows of heaven and pour out upon his people blessings which there should not be room to receive. This condition was that they should cease longer to rob God and that they should bring all the tithes into the storehouse. The Christianity which will save our great cities is not a Christianity that in the heart of these Christian ages can be content with a proportionate giving less than that which God required of his people twenty-five centuries ago.

George P. Mains

Art. V.—SOME DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF OLD TESTAMENT STUDY.

When the Revised Version of the Old Testament was published many were surprised and disappointed because so few changes from the Authorized Version appeared. It was naturally expected, especially by those unacquainted with the form of the original text, that the number of variations would correspond in some degree with those that had been made in the New Testament. Some suggested that the severe strictures on the numerous alterations in the New had driven the revisers of the Old into the opposite extreme of undue conservatism. The criticism was without foundation. As a result of scientific progress in the study of the New Testament manuscripts many text emendations had been uniformly accepted, so that it was necessary that the revision be made to correspond, even at the risk of temporary condemnation. On the other hand, there were practically no differences in the Hebrew text, so that variations from the Authorized Version on this account were much fewer than in the New Testament. Various renderings or modes of expression in the latter are also possible, because of the philosophical character of the Greek language and the substance and form of revelation in the gospel dispensation.

The changes in the Revised Version of the New Testament have been generally accepted as amendments, at least in the matter of accurate statement, though they have not been received with uniform cordiality, owing partly to certain infelicities of language and a slavish adherence to literalistic idioms, and partly to their frequent deviation from accustomed expressions to which by the worship of the sanctuary we are almost indissolubly wedded. The simple and uninvolved structure of the Old Testament original, on the contrary, did not permit apparently violent transformations or marked alterations, except in those obscure passages on which recent discoveries in history and archæology had shed additional light. Moreover, the subject-matter is so largely historical or objective that it restricts the translator, except in choice of phraseology; and fortunately the sentences are so constructed that a simple and accurate reproduction of the word-sense is clearer and better

than free paraphrase. It is, therefore, natural and appropriate that the revisers should have made in the Old Testament comparatively few changes; and those made are almost universally approved, though many in the New Testament may not now or ever command general assent.

While the evangelical interpretation of the Old Testament is possible only in the light of the Gospel, it is evident that there must be some difference in the line and method of study for the pre-Christian revelation. Its independent value must be recognized, for it has been attested by inspired authority as "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." From a human standpoint it is to be viewed as the sole literary product of a race whose absorbing business was the development of a universal religion. The books which compose this incomparable volume have been much neglected, because they have seemed to be limited to local and temporary conditions. Their naive simplicity of language has led many to read them cursorily; and their fine touches have not been noted by those who failed to observe that the most skillful artists had bent their best energies to the production of an inimitable picture. Unlike the language of the evangelists and apostles, that of the Hebrew poets and prophets is couched in classic form. There is an indescribable and elegant finish in the expression, showing that the author was convinced of the importance of the structure as well as of the substance of the truth. While the writer in the New Testament felt bound to observe the general laws of Greek etymology and syntax, he was under some sense of constraint in the use of a tongue not his own by nature, and further was more impressed with the matter of his message than concerned with the quality of the vessel in which he carried the news; though more credit than is often allowed must be accorded him in the use of Hellenic speech. The New Testament volume was completed within a comparatively short period, presumably by busy, active men on whom rested the care of the churches. Old Testament literature was composed at widely separated intervals, and much of it was in the thought and life of the nation for centuries. Style was a matter of study; so that an exegete, to be thoroughly equipped,

must be well versed in Hebrew temperament and its modes of manifestation. Any one who is filled with experiences of God, such as are portrayed in these wonderful stories, will be well qualified to comprehend and declare the lessons which they furnish; but a correct conception of the language principles, which reflect a peculiar inspiration, will be indispensable for intensifying the view and bringing forth many otherwise hidden suggestions that add beauty and force to the picture.

The term "picture" is used advisedly. All language is more or less metaphor; but the Hebrew is preeminently a series of forcible symbols. One needs only to consult a lexicon to see that almost every word has a concrete signification—a realistic power of representing an idealistic relation.* The Hebrew mind fed on signs, dreams, visions, fables, and types. The subjective was readily reflected in a materialistic medium. In a word there is often conveyed a world of meaning. A people comprehending such communications were well adapted for miraculous manifestations and anthropomorphic revelations of the Deity. Semblances and analogies could be legitimately employed in the revelation of truth. Some very grotesque theology has resulted from an inability to interpret a figure of speech. What applies to isolated words is also manifest in the construction of sentences, often in the order of the terms, and is especially marked in the combined effect of a completed essay. The frequent occurrence of אֵת, the sign of the definite object, and of the article and the suffix possessive pronoun in the story of Abraham's offering of Isaac shows how distinctly the duty of the ordeal was portrayed in the patriarch's mind; while there are certain other indescribable features that illustrate his determination and agony of spirit as pathetically as a painting of Rubens or the statuary of the Laocoön. Even the shape of some of the Hebrew letters has probably suggested their names.

* A few words taken at random will serve as illustrations: אֹהֶל, *tent*, root meaning, *shine, glitter*; אָמֵן, *verily, amen*, root meaning, *prop, be firm* (so יָמִין, *take right hand*); בּוֹשׁ, *be ashamed*, root meaning, *blush*; בֵּין, *between*, root meaning, *discern, distinguish*; בָּרַךְ (especially in Pi'el stem), *bless*, root meaning, *kneel, invoke God*; כָּבוֹד, *glory*, root meaning, *be heavy* (compare 2 Cor. iv, 17, "A far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory"); כִּפֶּר (Pi'el), *at one for*, root meaning, *cover*; פַּעַם, *time*, root meaning, *stroke, tread*; רַע, *bad*, root meaning, *break*.

Parables, regarded as such, are not numerous in the Old Testament; but those that are furnished are exceedingly suggestive, and they prepare the way for those inimitable forms that Jesus employed to illustrate the kingdom of heaven. Jotham's fable of the trees seeking a king and Nathan's account of the seizure of the poor man's ewe-lamb are only more elaborate in structure than those that can be found on every page. The literary genius that dictated this striking imagery is apparent in all the writings. Historic events, or such as are to be so treated, are recorded not only for their own sake, but also because they vividly portray moral relations. What an object lesson, for instance, was presented to the descendants of Abraham in that singular and awful chasm of the lower Jordan and the Dead Sea, the traditional site of Sodom and Gomorrah, which were destroyed for their outrageous and unmentionable immorality! Was it surprising that the prophets of future generations, in reproving the Israelites for their aggravating vices, should so vividly warn them of a threatening doom by reminding them of that which in the distant past had actually befallen the cities of the plain? No wonder that the chosen people were deterred from committing the horrid crimes which were always so prevalent among the surrounding nations! Israel's wandering in the wilderness supplied a type to enforce moral lessons that concerned both the nation and the individual, and has been veritably spiritualized by New Testament writers, as well as by more modern expositors.

If this principle is remembered much of the apparent conflict of the Bible with other revelations of truth will disappear. No attempt at a reconciliation of Genesis and geology will be necessary if the story of the creation is treated as a panoramic display of the origin of all things, a most skillful work of art to portray a vital thought which must possess every reverent and believing mind. Observe the frequent insertion of the term יהוה for the Deity in these first chapters, and ask yourself if this was not evidently designed to remind man that the great invisible Force must be recognized in the phenomena of the universe. Was it ever the purpose of a painting to be a criterion in chronology? Must every detail be subjected to the mathematical test? One might as well condemn Leonardo da Vinci's famous and helpful cartoon of the "Last Supper" be-

cause it is not faithful in every particular to the usages of an oriental house. Too often sincere Christians have made an appeal to the Bible as an ultimate authority on natural science and the events of history, whereas these are matters that are to be discovered, if at all, by human effort and ingenuity. It may be assumed that God's word, where there is a strict averment of fact, does not squarely contradict truth elsewhere revealed or discovered; but it must not be forgotten that the Bible is to be revered chiefly as the fountain of infallible moral teaching,* and that it incidentally utilizes the manifestations of nature and history for the inculcation of principles that are essential to the welfare of the human soul, both in this life and in that which is to come. It is occasion for congratulation that the discoveries of the archæologists in various ages confirm the actual reliability of the Old Testament record, especially in matters of history previously questioned;† from which we are assured that the writers were not willful impostors or misleading and incapable chroniclers. The work just quoted declares ("Introduction," p. xi) that "the Bible is now read and studied by many . . . as an invaluable help in the study of the past." We must, however, be able to recognize when it is the main aim of the inspired writer to record a fact in its literal form and when it is his ruling purpose to inculcate essential truth by emblematic statements. Of course, facts must not be perverted; but allegory and even legend may aptly teach the real philosophy of human life.

The Hebrew literature bears the mark of divine dealing and of the spiritual consciousness of a holy nation that gives expression to its faith by concrete acts and protestations. It seems providential, and even necessary, that the revelation concerning the soul's life should have been first committed to a people endowed with the imaginative faculty—to such as Abraham, who could commune with God for a day and two nights in succession; as Jacob, who prevailed after wrestling until break of day; as Moses and Elijah, who for six weeks uninterruptedly secluded themselves from human associations to sensibly

* Compare O. Pfleiderer, *Development of Theology*, p. 311, London, 1890. This and other references are made by the writer, not so much to indicate his approval or disapproval of the entire view presented, as to direct the reader to an interesting line of passages where the subject is treated in a manner not suited to the compass of this article.

† See H. A. Harper, *The Bible and Modern Discoveries*, London, 1891.

realize the strengthening and enlightening presence of Jehovah. Only such were capable of originally conceiving God as a person, yet without visible shape, and as a being capacitated for emotion, yet infinitely superior to those who were made in his image. It is natural, therefore, that the language of these religious devotees should be a reflection of their spirit and faith.*

There seems to be interesting evidence that language reflects and at the same time modifies the sentiment of a people, in the idiomatic use of the ו, *waw* consecutive, of the Hebrew. It disappears in the later colloquial Aramaic; but its influence is again detected in the oft-recurring phrase of the New Testament, "And it came to pass" (*καὶ ἐγένετο*), also in the unusually frequent repetition of "therefore" (*οὖν*) in the Gospel according to John. The children of the covenant, being in constant remembrance of their theocratic relation, would naturally attribute all events to divine interposition; so that logical sequence must be postulated in connection with chronological order. This, it seems fair to say, is especially marked in the use of *οὖν* in the Johannine gospel, and is a point of no mean consequence in favor of the Palestinian authorship. *Waw* consecutive is the most common formula of Old Testament syntax. It is the very first expression in some of the books, so that many commentators have suggested that they must be connected with previous statements or relations of fact. The form is not invariably translated by the copulative conjunction *and*, but is often illative in sense, and in correlative sentences is expressive of the cause and consequence. It is quite generally admitted that the Jews in their later history showed a decided proclivity toward a philosophy leading to predestinarianism. Can it be that this bias was in any way brought about or betrayed by the oft-recurring consecutive particle?

The bearing of the Old Testament on the doctrine of the decrees is somewhat affected by the interpretation of the *Hiph'il*, or causative, stem of the verb, which may govern two accusatives—one, that which is the agent or instrument of the action, and the second as the direct object of the primal idea. There must be a distinction between hardening Pharaoh's heart and

* For additional illustrations consult M. S. Terry, *Biblical Hermeneutics*, pp. 76–106; and Briggs, *Biblical Study*, pp. 46–59.

causing it to be hard.* Some may think that the difference does not amount to much in the final result; but the use of the stem in verse 3, quoted in the note, implies an intermediate agency, and seems to recognize in some degree the moral responsibility of the heart. This very common conjugation of the verb has had its influence in the Calvinistic interpretations of modern times, as well as in the exegesis of a people regarding themselves in covenant relation with Jehovah, who was bound to protect, preserve, and govern them. The causative stem does not play so prominent a part in the language and philosophy of the nineteenth century.

It has been stated that the *Pi'el*, or intensive, stem is sometimes causative in sense. It perhaps would be more exact to say, "in practical effect;" for surely two different forms will not be used to express the same idea. The root thought of קדש is *pure*, *clean*, *holy*. The intensive stem means to *make holy* or *sanctify* (*sanctus*, holy, and *facio*, make; passive, *fio*, be made), applied usually to things, or to persons regarded as things. When used of persons, it does not signify so much a change of nature as of relation. It is employed where the object does not seem to possess the ability or right to exercise an option, as in the consecration of the firstborn (Exod. xiii, 2) or of priests (Exod. xxviii, 41). Where the *Hiph'il* is employed in Isa. viii, 13, and xxix, 23, and Num. xx, 12, apparently in the sense of a *Pi'el*, it will be observed that the moral responsibility of the people is involved. The lexicographer may be unable to perceive a difference in the abstract definitions; but the exegete and theologian will be bound to consider the terms in their concrete relations.

One of the most attractive and, perhaps, profitable features in the study of the original text of the Hebrew Scriptures is observed in the ingenious and suggestive variation of verbal stems. For example, the three intensives may not be distinctly marked in a translation, but they betray a state of motion or activity that no single phrase in English can convey. They often occur in quick and uninterrupted † collocation, even in a short passage, and disclose the author's purpose to represent

* Exod. viii, 3, 13. Observe the error of the Authorized Version in verse 13, corrected in the margin of Revised Version. The translators of 1611 took הִכְבִּיד as if it were *Hiph'il*.

† See Isa. i, 16-18.

with his pen the character of the event and the feelings of the actors in the scene. A capacity is evinced to produce a picture in which every detail is depicted in its proper color. Life itself is represented by the use of the intensive reciprocal, or *Hithpa'el*, in the phrase, "Enoch walked with God." The simple meaning of the verb employed is to *walk;* but in the *Hithpa'el*, here inserted, it signifies to *walk about* or *to and fro*, hence to *live* with God. The relative frequency of the seven stems is also worthy of note, those in the passive voice, both of the intensive and the causative, occurring not so often as the active forms. Fervor is not so likely to be marked where the subject is inactive. Isaac has less occasion for the *Pi'el* than Jacob. Irresistible causation is seldom recognized where responsibility is postulated.*

In the Hebrew verb tense is only subjectively represented, so that the time when an action is described as occurring must be determined chiefly by the context. The terms perfect and imperfect describe the stage of completion in the act, and may refer to the sphere of the past, the present, or the future. In English provision is made, especially in the active voice, for showing the exact instant of the verb's operation. A people absorbed in commercial transactions must command a language that will fix dates and determine to an infinitesimal part of a second when the ball drops at the Greenwich Observatory. Such precision was not necessary among the Hebrews, whose life was quiet, rural, and contemplative. Usury was forbidden. What use, then, for interest tables? Why, then, be so strict in marking time? Three days might be more or less. It was not so mathematical and prosaic to call six weeks forty days as to reckon them forty-two days. When men lived, like Isaac, in tents for one hundred and eighty years there would be no such loss or uneasiness as in a modern metropolis, where rents may be five or a hundred dollars per day and a business career must be closed in a third or a quarter of a century. When our fortunes are made to depend on such maxims as "Strike while the iron is hot," or "Make hay while the sun shines," the tense of the verb must be most carefully regarded. If success or

* Note the significant use of the *Hoph'al*, or causative passive, in Exod. xx, 5, "nor serve them;" literally, *nor be caused to serve them*, that is, under the influence of surrounding idolaters.

safety itself seems to lie wholly in our own hand, we must watch every minute and arrange our business according to the undeviating train schedule. The Semitic devotee, however, rested securely in the lap of nature's God, who would provide somehow or somewhere for his creatures. If there was famine in Canaan there was corn in Egypt. If the waters of Cherith dried up there was a widow in Zarephath with a handful of meal and a cruse of oil to feed the prophet for an indefinite period. It was this Hebraistic mental cast that made possible the long series of lessons inculcating implicit trust in God under all circumstances. The New Testament writer had been nurtured in an atmosphere which taught him to confidently believe that "the Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness." The promises are therefore possessions, as, "Unto thy seed have I given [נָתַתִּי perfect] this land" (Gen. xv, 18).* Such an idiom was especially fitted for the declaration of permanent truths, as in Gen. xv, 6, "And he believed [וְהֶאֱמִן perfect, with *waw* consecutive] in God."

In the Old Testament original there are some significant constructions to show that it is addressed to those who can exercise a moral judgment and make the proper application. Observe the common omission of the copula "to be" in such phrases as "I [am] Jehovah thy God" (Exod. xx, 2). Behold this and that in juxtaposition and draw your own inference. Think, says the inspired messenger, for yourself. So there is room for the operation of the moral and reflective sense, which may occasion the introduction of the very peculiar absolute infinitive in Gen. ii, 17, מוֹת תָּמוּת, *to die* (or *dying*, as substantive), *thou shalt die;* that is, Know assuredly that thou shalt die. Attention is called to death as a concrete fact, an objective reality. As if a teacher of the olden time should point to the rod very conspicuously displayed, or, on the other hand, to the red apple associated with an encouragement to study, so the absolute infinitive vividly fixes the self-apparent application in the mind of the person addressed. Usually the sentence in Hebrew is simple, plain, and direct; but the reader is expected to pose as an appreciative observer before a skillfully executed picture, and be able with the aid of his own thoughts to apprehend the exact nature of the situation. An elliptical idiom,

* Compare Gen. xii, 7, where the imperfect is used.

made necessary, if for no other reason, by the scarcity of stationery, afforded the reader some share of responsibility in apprehending truth.

To take a broader view of Old Testament composition, we may add that an imperfect understanding of the word sometimes results from neglecting to properly interpret the form and spirit of poetry. Nearly the whole of the ancient record is poetic in conception, and the usual license to free itself from dull and prosy literalism must be granted. Often the writer breaks out in strains designed to be memorized, as the lines of Homer among the Greeks. There is refrain and antiphone, verse and strophe; but the chief merit of Hebrew poetry consists in the aptness and beauty of the sentiment. Form and structure are not of as much consequence as the inspiration of the muse and the revelation of the divine. Poetry is a proper expression of religious conception, which is no less real because it is best communicated by means of metaphorical imagery. Are we to insist that the morning has wings because the psalmist uses the phrase, or that the stars sang together in an audible voice when the works of creation were made manifest? In truth, the real meaning is entirely lost by those who endeavor to reduce the sacred text to the interpretations of bare literalism.

It is important to notice that the Old Testament volume is composed of several parts. The same may be said of the New Testament; but the latter is less fragmentary, though both are pervaded by a common purpose and give many proofs of singular unity in their design. No matter what may be our judgment in reference to the conclusions reached by some exponents of the higher criticism, we must learn to appreciate the value of that method which deals with a writing as the product of its author, who was inspired by a distinct aim and affected by his environments, natural and historical, as well as supernatural and spiritual. Is the book a philosophical treatise, or the spontaneous effusion of an inspired sentiment? Is it a record of fact, a series of annals, or the sketch of a fancy all aglow to illuminate truth and cheer a fainting spirit, as well as to show the course of the nation and to immortalize its heroes? Is it all spiritual, or may any part be nothing more than a pleasing story from which a moral lesson may be derived? Was it written in its present form and order, or have stray leaves of

previously existing manuscripts or tablets been compiled by an enthusiastic patriot and devotee?* The imaginative faculties must be brought into very active exercise by the true interpreter to supply much that does not appear on the surface of the printed page. The parts exposed are merely the peaks of huge mountains of solid truth in the ocean of the universe, seeming often to be separate and distinct, but really united at the bottom so as to form an impacted mass originated from a single impulse. It was God who spoke "in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners;" but while the divine element must be invariably recognized, the human factor must not be ignored.

There need be no alarm at the suggestion that there are different degrees of inspiration, though the statement does not exactly convey the proper impression. If a work is divinely authenticated it is absolutely conclusive in so far as it is authority at all. One may be enabled to perceive more of God's truth in a certain passage than will be observed in others, and the character of the subject-matter is by many regarded as one of the criteria of inspiration. It is sufficient if the seal of Heaven has been attached, however vaguely in the opinion of some. That which may seem earthly or relatively of little value may be essential to the completeness of the volume. Though there may be more flowers in June than in February, in the order of Providence the month of winter rain must precede the season of summer beauty. There may not be as much literary finish in the Book of Daniel as in the first part of Isaiah's prophecy or in the First Book of Samuel; but it is not, therefore, unseemly that this Babylonian apocalyptic should continue to produce, as heretofore, marvelous and salutary results in spiritual life. Suppose the muse did seem not to maintain the same lofty level of oracular manifestation, either in artistic form or spiritual doctrine, one or the other or both, in all parts of the Scripture; shall we reject Esther and Ecclesiastes as uninspired because they are not as truly philosophical as Job or as clearly evangelical as the second division of Isaiah? Truth may be taught by implication. Who dares question

* On the importance of a correct view of the Old Testament writings consult Kuenen, *The Religion of Israel*, vol. i, pp. 12-27. In fact, the moral as well as the historical teaching of the Bible is affected by our judgment concerning authorship and proportionate relation.

that Mordecai would have staked his life on his belief in the providential destiny of his people? When paradox is a common figure of speech the strange reasonings of *Koheleth* may not be unprofitable, especially when it appears that a mere animal life is, after all, disappointing. Mayhap the Song of Solomon is a harem tale, and the mystic interpretation of its prefiguring the union of Christ and his Church is baseless and misleading; yet is a love story containing such a beautiful lesson, especially to those familiar with oriental usages and scenes, unprofitable and unworthy of a sanctified pen? Jewish literature discloses a truth which this practical Christian age is beginning to recognize, that the thought of God is to pervade the entire movement of our being.

Many conscientious students of Scripture grant with hesitation that the declarations of the Old Testament are not originally absolute and universal. The ancient Hebrews were wont to assert very lofty claims in regard to their intimacy with Jehovah, and they were doubtless far, if not incomparably, in advance of their neighbors in the knowledge of divine things. They were ordained to be successful explorers in the regions of holy truth; but it is not unreasonable to infer that some of their excursions led to imperfect and unsatisfactory results. The accounts of their endeavors show that many of their efforts were experiments, some of them possibly blunders, at least in effect, and that the chosen people could only arrive at a true spiritual insight by a long and painful series of national disaster and individual suffering. Much lasting material for a sound orthodoxy was accumulated; but there were pieces in the old structure that could not be used in the new order. Indeed, they would have had a disruptive effect. It must be granted that the Holy Spirit is never limited or mistaken; but the human instrument may not have known all the truth which his words conveyed, and these words may not originally have meant all which they finally came to signify. Did Abraham understand that his natural progeny would be as numerous as the stars or as the sand of the seashore? Perhaps he knew more astronomy than we give him credit for; but there are very few now who entertain an adequate conception of the multitudes of the sidereal host. Doubtless some of his descendants supposed that God's covenant was literally fulfilled during

the reign of Solomon, when "Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude." If the Jews supposed that the promise referred to a seed according to the flesh —and it is probable that this interpretation was practically universal until corrected by Paul—they were plainly in error, for the race has never been numerous. It cannot be positively denied that Abraham understood the promise in a purely spiritual sense; but this is hardly probable, though he was exceptionally celebrated for his prophetic faith. The treasure of revelation has been carried in earthen vessels, and those to whom it has been brought are human and may possibly fail to distinguish between the truth and its medium.*

Those who have become accustomed to the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament, as illustrated in the Epistle to the Hebrews, may be somewhat perplexed in admitting limitation of knowledge on the part of the original authors, who were not as fully acquainted with the possible consequences of their revelation as are those who now witness history as a progressive development of previous processes. Isaiah must be acknowledged as a truly evangelical messenger, even though he may not have distinctly seen the virgin's Son as Him who was born in Bethlehem seven centuries later.† The workman may be thoroughly competent for the piece assigned him without even knowing its place in the edifice yet unreared. The broader meaning of which the prophecies are capable through an allegorical or spiritual interpretation does not preclude a literal, historical, and originally exclusive application to the matter in hand; but the final import may be all the more prominent and distinct in consideration of what has preceded. The teaching of a text must not be made top-heavy. Let it be securely founded on its basal facts, and if there has been a growth, as of a plant, let it be observed what was the nature of the primal seed and the state of the soil in which it germinated and produced; "for of thorns men do not gather figs."

Messianism was a peculiar feature of the Hebrew faith. It pervaded secular and ecclesiastical life, so that almost every distinguished and heroic Israelite was regarded as a servant of

* On the same line good old Richard Baxter, in 1683, made some rather startling statements, as quoted by C. A. Briggs in *Biblical Study*, p. 243.

† For a fuller discussion of this view see *The Old and New Testament Student* for 1891, pp. 321-324, and for 1892, pp. 129-131.

Jehovah or some sort of messiah. Hence the perplexity of the Ethiopian eunuch in reference to the application of Isa. liii. All these notions converged toward culmination in One who was to be Prophet, Priest, and King, for in each of these offices the ceremony of anointing to a messiahship had been observed. Jesus Christ is the perfect embodiment of all the aspirations of a worshiping, backsliding, believing, hoping, chastened, and disappointed nation, which had repeatedly assured itself, especially in times of misfortune and disaster, that the Messiah was already on the earth. The most rigid critics grant that many of the psalms are directly messianic, though having no reference, immediate or remote, to Jesus as a human person. The condition which they describe may be far beneath the grace, benignity, and glory of the new dispensation; but the words are capable of the modern adaptation, and were composed in the spirit which has since stirred the heart of gospel believers. If, as Delitzsch supposes, Psalm xlv refers to the marriage of Jehoram and Athaliah, the most devout disciple would be unwilling to compare this king with Christ, or the idolatrous daughter of Ahab with the purified Church. Nevertheless, parts of this impassioned lyric are utilized in the New Testament for proving the divine supremacy of Jesus. Some may be shocked at the thought that this psalm, now hallowed by its rapturous application to the Son of God, was once sung by an enthusiastic courtier, possibly at the marriage of a king who was neither strong nor good. The gospel writers adopted a plan of exegesis approved by contemporaneous Jews. Their imaginative sense could discern resemblances of lasting moral value in a hymn composed for an occasion far inferior to that which it is now used to celebrate. Metaphor and illustration deal with things of less importance than the truth. If by this method a particular passage on account of its real historic relation is deprived of some artificial dignity, there will be vastly superior compensation in the power gained to derive a spiritual lesson from the whole of sacred story.

John Poucher

Art. VI.—ROBERT FORMAN HORTON—HIS LECTURES ON PREACHING; HIS CRITICAL INQUIRY; AND HIS ATTEMPT AT RECONSTRUCTION.

The Yale Lectures for 1893, delivered by the English preacher, Robert F. Horton, will take rank with the best which have been given on the Lyman Beecher foundation. Here in the United States we began to know Mr. Horton (as he wishes to be called) through his compact *History of the Romans*, published eight or ten years ago—a book used in schools, and yet much more than an ordinary school compendium. In the Boston Public Library this history is even now the only book catalogued under his name, although the first edition of *Inspiration and the Bible* was published in 1888.

To anyone interested in the preacher's life at school the work of Mr. Horton at Oxford is exceedingly significant. He was a student of the finest type, reminding one of John Wesley in a point or two where he makes culture tributary to a religious ideal. It was in Oxford that Mr. Horton became, not what Henry James terms "a fingerer of style," but a master of style; though not yet is there such precision and temperance of phrase as we see in Matthew Arnold. Now and then Mr. Horton seems to enjoy verbal extravagance. And yet he has found out how to put his real self into words. For one thing, and a more important thing than many preachers deem it, he never makes an artificial quotation. He quotes a great deal, because he loves books and the choicest things in literature are constantly coming to mind; but these quotations are toned up by his own meditation, and so, charged with his personality, they become a living part of the whole structure of his utterance. Precisely so, in using illustrations of any kind, he takes them from various sources where he has had actual experience, either as a scholar, a pastor, or a man, and never plucks them by index out of a homiletical cyclopedia in which some doctor of humdrum has gathered, dried, and labeled specimens of all sorts. Thus Mr. Horton's utterance has the subtile aroma of his individuality. Everything conspires to give you the man. Long before you fully grapple his argument you can perceive his theme steeping in all his manhood. He also has a masterly way of securing

movement in his discussion. In all his speaking he has a defined purpose, and even his rhetoric must do honest work in relation to this purpose. Nothing is for show. In a profound way, there is an element of self-sacrifice in all his speaking. He understands that deep, deepest principle of great speaking, namely, "Whosoever will lose his life . . . shall save it." Everything working in this spirit of sacrifice toward the one unselfish end, there is progress, and the audience catches the impulse and thinks, "This man is really going somewhere."

But some would question whether the pastor of the Independent Church at Hampstead is an orator. Not in the academic sense surely. He has neither the presence, nor the voice, nor the finished elocution of the trained pulpit orator. To these things, indeed, he makes no claim. In his first Yale lecture we find this passage:

> It may be well to say at once that the noble gift of oratory and the fine art of elocution may be pressed into the service of preaching; but they have to be watched. They are saucy slaves who, with their castanets and bangles, will always be seeking to gain the upper hand, superseding their master and covering his absence with their noise and sparkle.*

Still, if we once drop the academic idea of oratory and consider it in a larger way; if we look upon oratory as neither more nor less than getting at men with earnest speech; if, for example, we are altogether ready to call Phillips Brooks a great orator, then Robert Horton is as true an orator as ever spoke in any tongue. Always he has a real word for you, and you cannot get away. His message has an eager fashion of coming at you as if an elder brother, with entire right to you, were pouring earnest words into your ear. Amiel says that Ernest Naville added to other gifts a "contagious cordiality." In our own land we have seen exactly what Amiel means, in that most fascinating of pulpit orators, Henry Ward Beecher. Mr. Horton has not this contagious cordiality. His manner (if we heard him at his best) is not so friendly as his message. But he has what is much better than a cordial manner, namely, a spiritual mien and a power to make an audience feel that the preacher has just come from God. He has the prophet's way of lying quiet and bare before the Almighty until his soul glows with the divine presence. He also dares to "grapple with God,

* *Verbum Dei*, p. 19.

spirit to spirit, knee to knee, hand to hand." And so he comes down from "our Great Skellig" to the people with a wonderful light in his face and a burning message in his heart.

It is this (as he would like to have it expressed) prophetic element in his Yale lectures which give to them large worth. As mere didactic performances, as a discriminating treatment of the sermonic art, they are not equal to some we have had before; but as a great voice crying in the vast wilderness of finical and mechanical homiletics, as a solemn warning against all pulpit insincerity, and as a manly revelation of the real dignity of the preacher's work these lectures should call out only words of commendation. That wonderful sixth chapter, on "Receiving the Word," is enough, all alone, to keep the book in perpetual market. Any man who can write a chapter like that is, even if we must reject some of his conclusions, a man for whom the ministry of the Church should thank God.

These Yale lectures have, however, a theological importance which is perhaps even greater than their homiletical value. The title itself, *Verbum Dei*, suggests the key to the author's theological position. Of the word of God he has a notion which he deems constructive, or which he thinks can be made constructive over against all the destructive work of modern criticism. As a matter of fact, these Yale lectures do not stand alone. Theologically, anyway, they are closely related to the two books Mr. Horton had already published, *Inspiration and the Bible*, and *Revelation and the Bible*. The three books, taken in order as written, furnish a constructive scheme which may be outlined as follows:

I. A preparatory inquiry, to show that the Bible is inspired in the sense that there is in it a revelation or word of God.

II. A positive analysis, to show to what extent this word of God is in each portion of Scripture.

III. The practical outcome, to show that revelation is just as possible now; and each Christian preacher should be a modern prophet, giving to his generation as true a word of God as ever was spoken by Moses, Elijah, or St. Paul.

Before criticising this scheme it will be necessary to look at each one of the three books, at least sufficiently to get the author's spirit and teaching. In his preparatory inquiry Mr. Horton assumes the inspiration of the Bible; but he quickly

explains himself: "We mean by inspiration exactly those qualities and characteristics which are the marks or notes of the Bible." * His idea is to limit the discussion; and so he begins with what all Christians will readily grant, namely, that the Bible is a peculiar book. Now, then, he says, let us take this peculiarity (which is usually called inspiration) and study it inductively to see what it really is and is not. Let us examine the Bible as freely and as fairly as if the Church had never said anything about it. We must have the truth even if we have to give up our old theology. Not as a dogmatic, but as a tentative help, Mr. Horton makes a formula to take with him in his inductive study of the Scriptures. The formula is this: "We call our Bible inspired, by which we mean that by reading it and studying it we find our way to God, we find his will for us, and we find out how we can conform ourselves to his will." † The plan of study is: 1. The epistle in the inspired book; 2. The biographies; 3. The New Testament in general; 4. The prophet in the Old Testament; 5. The history; 6. The law; 7. The poetry and the miscellaneous writings.

Mr. Horton's conclusions, as far as we need to deal with them in this article, are these:

I. As to the old conservative view of inspiration, "the cast-iron theory," it must be given up altogether. It came out of the rabbinical theory, when "disputed Protestantism was seeking for some simple and final authority to set over against the discredited authority of the infallible pope." ‡ This old theory is very largely responsible for infidelity in the world, as well as for an inert Church.

II. As to biblical inerrancy, any inductive study of Scripture shows that such a doctrine is a pure dogma *a priori*. There are all sorts of errors in the Bible. Each writer is subject to limitations of culture and knowledge imposed by the age in which he lived. Historical writings are by no means protected against error, and therefore we must deal with biblical history critically, just as we deal with any history. Even in moral teaching the Bible is not consistent and complete in each part. Speaking of Prov. xxxi, 6, 7, Mr. Horton says:

> If our teachers insist in treating all the precepts of the Scripture as the direct utterance of God for the guidance of our life, then the publican has

* *Inspiration and the Bible*, p. 10. † *Ibid.*, p. 13. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

as much right to quote this passage as the temperance lecturer has to quote that other passage, "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red."*

Nor in purely theological teaching is the Bible to be always relied upon. The old fashion that slumberous creature, the systematic theologian, has of quoting proof texts must be given up entirely. In 2 Sam. xxiv, 1, we are told that "the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah." But the later author of the passage in 1 Chron. xxi, 1, cannot tolerate any such conception of God, and so he says that "Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel."† Not even the theological teaching of the New Testament will Mr. Horton accept as always revelation and always reliable.

III. As to the work of the higher critics, Mr. Horton thinks that they are doing much good. They rob us of nothing essential. What does it matter who wrote a certain book, provided the message of the book is left intact? Even in considering the gospels "we are not to treat the authorship as an essential factor." Also in regard to the date of composition, let the critics do whatever they can, the central word of God is not disturbed. What the critics do is to discover the fact; and this discovery helps us, for it brings out the local situation, which often suggests the clew to an adequate exegesis. In short, Mr. Horton believes that the higher critics are putting reality into the Bible. They are justly giving a new emphasis to that human side of Scripture which was a faint and vanishing thing under the artificial treatment of the traditionalists. One important feature of this human side is the pseudepigraphical; that is, writings were clustered around the nucleus of a great name. It was an ancient literary custom.

In modern times we should be apt to call this forgery. But in ancient times what we call forgery passed as a due humility; authors were more anxious that their books should be read than that they should have the credit of writing them.‡

IV. As to the doctrine of inspiration itself, there is no clear philosophical discussion of it in the book. From passages here and there it would seem that Mr. Horton's view of the

* *Inspiration and the Bible*, p. 210. † *Ibid.*, p. 145. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

nature of inspiration is, at the bottom, about the same as the view of Dean Stanley. Accurately speaking, the Bible is not so much inspired Scripture as it is the record of an inspired people. We have to do with a nation in remarkable relation with God—a nation to whose leaders and in whose history God verily revealed himself. There were "the movements of the divine Spirit in the national life and faith of Israel, which give to the representative utterances of its literature a certain prophetic and universal significance."* Thus these Scriptures, if used in a large way, with historic sense and with Christian sense, do tell us what God is, and do show us the divine will, and teach us how to fashion our lives according to that will. In other words, Mr. Horton goes through his inspiring inquiry holding the tentative formula with which he started; and that formula is the core of all he has to say about the inspiration of the two Testaments. Here is the whole book in a sentence: The Bible is inspired because there is in it a revelation, or word of God; and this word, because it is of God, is not disturbed in the least by modern criticism.

Revelation and the Bible is not, as some think, merely an elaboration of *Inspiration and the Bible.* Naturally the two books overlap and interlace, but they are not alike. One is an inquiry, and the other is a positive analysis growing out of that inquiry. Having in the preparatory book reached the conclusion that there is in the Bible an unshaken word or revelation, the author now undertakes to point out this revelation, place by place, even according to his original plan. In the preface to the second edition of *Inspiration and the Bible* we find these words:

> If God grant me life and strength and opportunity it is my great desire to issue a companion volume, *Revelation and the Bible*, in which I shall try to review, sum up, and estimate those incalculable treasures of spiritual truth and practical help which have been stored up for our use by our gracious God in the inspired book.

The main points which determine Mr. Horton's method of analysis may be systematized as follows:

I. There is the truth of research. This truth man can get by working for it. God does not reveal it. "There is no indication that God ever intended to reveal a scientific fact." †

* *Inspiration and the Bible*, p. 225. † *Revelation and the Bible*, p. 8.

II. There is also the truth of revelation. This truth man can never get by working for it. "Revelation, in the strictest use of the term, is that body of truth which is made known to man in a specific way, because the ordinary methods of discovering truth would not suffice." *

III. This "special way" is the way of the Holy Spirit—"a direct operation of the Holy Spirit." †

IV. The main purpose of revelation is that we may know God. "Thus they are not far wrong who say that the only thing revealed in the Bible is God." ‡ Much else is told in the Bible that might have been told elsewhere and in other ways—ways powerless to give us a true conception of God as Creator and Ruler and Saviour and Judge of the world.

With these four points in mind one would expect Mr. Horton to say that much of Scripture is not the word of God. And this is precisely what he does say. We have already noticed how, in the preparatory inquiry, he emphasizes the various sorts of error; and he even goes so far as to assert that certain things are in the Bible for the very reason that they are not the word of God. It is important, he thinks, to have man in the book just as we see him in life, with all his boggling at truth and all his freaks of conscience and all his spurts of blasphemy. If this be so, if the Bible is such a conglomerate, how are we to decide which part is God's word and which is man's word? Here is Mr. Horton's answer: "The answer is very simple—come to Christ, accept him as your Saviour, and receive from him the Holy Spirit." § This answer amounts to the same thing as that given by Dr. Ladd in his larger and profounder study of the subject. It is placing the utmost emphasis upon the adequacy of the Christian consciousness.

With this test Mr. Horton takes up his tremendous task. He examines the Scriptures part by part, to show what is and what is not revealed truth. His examination is an exceedingly brilliant performance, but it is too long for us now to present in any detail. All we can do is to get a clear notion of his work and its outcome. In the inquiry he began with the epistle in the New Testament; but now he reverses his process and begins with Genesis, which he, with a stroke of genius, examines as "the book of the origins." Each Testament he

* *Revelation and the Bible*, p. 9. † *Ibid.*, p. 4. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 9. § *Ibid.*, p. 404.

divides into six parts; and even in the way he makes these divisions and relates them to each other you can see constant evidence of his scholarship and originality. To illustrate his method we can hardly do better than to notice his discussion of creation. From the standpoint of the higher criticism he puts the two accounts in Genesis side by side, without trying to harmonize them or to relate them in any way to science. Such an effort as that fine one of Mr. Gladstone in his "chapter theory" Mr. Horton would look upon as wasted. We have, as students of the word of God, nothing to do with scientific truth. The separation is as pronounced as it was when a certain Christian editor said to a certain physicist, "I know nothing about science, and you know nothing about religion." So it does not matter if the record in Genesis does contradict the testimony of the rocks. In fact, if there is any geological truth in this record, then that truth is not a part of the revelation. What, then, is the revelation here? Take the clay tablets found by George Smith and contrast their story of creation with this one in the Bible, and easily we see what was revealed in Genesis:

> This clear and firm conception of God as the Creator and of man as the image of his Creator is in itself sufficiently wonderful, and can leave no doubt on the mind of the student of comparative mythology that in this point lies the essential revelation of this chapter. If the chapter had been composed for the first time to-day—in the schools of Darwin and Haeckel, for example—it would be a revelation; it would be not a scientific statement, but the assertion of two consummate truths which science is not able to discover.*

But this discussion of creation gives one no conception of the extremely negative side of Mr. Horton's method. He finds a great deal of revealed truth, surely, and the Bible is, even as he leaves it, the most precious of sacred books; and yet a man's heart beats a little wildly, it must be confessed, when he realizes what this Christian scholar asks the Church to give up. Ecclesiastes he considers "the most irreligious of religious books," and adds, "To speak of it as the word of God is an impiety."† Of the Book of Esther he says, "But no ingenuity of those who are bent on maintaining that every word of Scripture is given by inspiration of God has been able to show in what sense the Book of Esther is a revelation, or even contains

* *Revelation and the Bible*, p. 36. † *Ibid.*, p. 203.

a revelation."* Of the Song of Solomon he says that the most thoughtful minds of to-day will not "concern themselves with the questionable task of showing that it is a divine revelation."† Of the Book of Ruth he says, "Revelation, in the strict sense, the book does not contain."‡ Of the synoptic gospels he says that the revelation is but the picture they give us of Christ; the only claim to be made for them is that they are "the honest reports, delivered to posterity by those who saw it, of the most remarkable life ever lived upon earth."§ Even St. Paul must be watched and corrected by the exegetical omniscience of the nineteenth century, for he has his apostolic tricks in dealing with the Old Testament: "To cite him as an exegete of the ancient Scripture would be obviously absurd."‖ And Mr. Horton has such a poor opinion of the epistles of Peter and James that Marcus Dods cannot quite let it pass without comment. Reviewing the book in the *British Weekly*, he writes: "A profounder study of these epistles might lead him both to see the importance of these books to a complete canon, and to modify somewhat his definition of revelation."

We are now prepared to understand the theological significance of the *Verbum Dei*. The word of God is revealed to us in the Bible; but is the Bible the only place where there is this revelation? This very important question the Yale lectures frankly answer in the negative. The subject of the fifth lecture is "The Word of God Outside the Bible;" and in this lecture four points are made emphatic: 1. There is nothing to show that God has not been speaking to his servants since the first Christian century "in the same way he spoke to men of old." 2. There is much ground for thinking that in the ethnic religions and literatures God has also spoken, with "a fullness and richness which will greatly enlarge our conception of the God who is the Father of every family that is named in heaven and earth." 3. As man is God's offspring it is fair to assume that in the constitution of the human mind itself there is "a latent word of God;" further, that God's purpose is progressively revealed in human history, and all literature contains "manifold words of God." 4. The universe itself, as it is a creation of God, must reveal his thought and, "in certain con-

* *Revelation and the Bible*, p. 208. † *Ibid.*, p. 206. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 207.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 237. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

ditions, his articulate word." But this outline does not tell us of the astonishing prodigality with which Mr. Horton grants inspiration to all sorts of men. Such generous estimates as Balzac, in *The Brotherhood of Consolation*, gives of Thomas à Kempis are, in these Yale lectures, as common as tassels in a cornfield. Not only such saints as Augustine and Wesley are inspired, but the lecturer wants us to see a word of God even in Goethe and Walt Whitman! Is there, then, nothing protective in these lectures? Is the Bible no better than the individualistic sermon in *Faust*, or than the filthy liberty of the *Leaves of Grass?* Yes, the Bible is "the word of God *par excellence*." Mr. Horton says:

> It is a revelation of God, the greatest, the clearest, and the most complete that the world possesses; but it is one function of its divine teaching to open our eyes to other revelations of him which are outside itself.*

With such a view of the Bible and such a view of revelation Mr. Horton easily gets a basis for the central homiletical contention in his *Verbum Dei*. If the word of God is that kind of truth which God reveals to men by the Holy Spirit, because they can receive this truth in no other way, and if, although this revealed word of God is at its best in the Bible, yet it may be found, outside the Bible, in Christian books written since the New Testament canon was completed—in the heathen literatures, in the modern poets, and in works on history, science, and philosophy—then surely the Christian preacher may be earnestly urged to put his pious platitudes away and speak out a vital, modern "syllable of the Holy Ghost."

Looking critically at Mr. Horton's entire scheme, some features in it should be commended and other features should be condemned. As a whole, the work is, anyone can see, constructive and not destructive in purpose. The author wants to get the Bible safely out of contention, and the ministry quickly into a more effective way of preaching; and hence he introduces this view of the word of God—a view which probably he has received, directly or indirectly, from the mediating theology of Germany. But wherever the view came from it has been treated with marked originality and force by this noble English scholar. The result is the best evidence yet produced

* *Verbum Dei*, pp. 145, 146.

that Professor Cheyne knew his ground when he said, "The period of negation and destruction is past, and the work of gentle and gradual reconstruction has begun." Mr. Horton's attempt is, of itself, a practical failure in relation to the Church, for the Protestant Church can never accept his notion of revelation, and will never accept such a dismembered Bible as he offers; but it is something to have a really serious beginning in reconstruction, and yet more to have a pioneer who has not only convictions and courage to defend them, but spiritual insight. He may not have the delicate, special training and cool, judicial temper of some of the great critics; but he has what they often seem to lack—vision. He can see the profounder issues of the battle.

Yet more important, and perhaps not altogether unrelated to this spiritual vision, Mr. Horton has a Christological aim. To him Christ is not merely his personal Saviour, but also the true center of any theology which is worth the keeping. He means anew to build up the Church around the Master, and is honestly afraid that the conservative view of the Bible is blocking the way. He believes that we care much more about a final authority for opinion than we do about a living Lord for the practical redemption of man. In a few places he uses words which suggest that he may have been caught in the new Kantian drift; but the most that he says about Jesus rings thoroughly true. Here is a passage from one of his more earnest statements:

> To attempt to interpret him as an ordinary man, or even as an extraordinary man, is to falsify the whole record and so to reduce him at once to an unknowable quantity. We are on the horns of a dilemma from which there is no escape: either this record is historical or it is not. If it is, Jesus is the unique Son of God manifest in the flesh; if it is not, we have no knowledge of Jesus, we can say nothing about him.*

One can understand the joy of a certain preacher who, reading this passage after spending several hours drifting about among Mr. Horton's critical negations, exclaimed, "His anchor has grabbed the bottom at last!"

Over against these praiseworthy features there is now and again manifest a polemical spirit which is harsh and extravagant. Seldom does Mr. Horton refer to the conservative

* *Inspiration and the Bible*, p. 93.

position with any measure of fairness. In this discussion over the Bible this easy explosion of the epithet on both sides, and about as much on one side as on the other, is doing no good whatever, and is sometimes making the separation between men much deeper than their argument.

> Friend, though thy soul burn thee, yet be still;
> Thoughts were not made for strife, nor tongues for swords;
> He that sees clear is gentlest of his words,
> And that is not Truth that hath the heart to kill.

This intense polemical bias has led Mr. Horton into some very rash statements. Take this one:

> The loose and careless habit of describing the Bible as the word of God is more than any other single cause responsible for the infidel literature which has flooded the Protestant world in the last century and the present. Poor Tom Paine shattered his soul and made shipwreck of faith in a frenzied protest against the obvious error, and was met by the sleek orthodoxy of the eighteenth century with loathing and vituperation.*

Does Mr. Horton really think that his own notion of the word of God would not have been obnoxious to "poor Tom Paine?" Deism had a profounder cause than any theory of inspiration whatever. The Frenchman was not far afield when he said, "The deist is an atheist lucky in classification." Just as superficial and extravagant is Mr. Horton's entire consideration of the conservative position. In all his chapters in the three books you will look in vain for any just, discriminating statement of what the conservative writers teach. Here is an example:

> For this alarm, of which we are beginning to be ashamed, the cast-iron theory of inspiration is no doubt largely to blame. We did not think that the Hebrew vowel-points were inspired, perhaps, but we thought that the headings of our chapters and the titles of the books certainly must be.†

He has in mind, I suppose, "the mechanical theory," which is often associated with the name of Quenstedt; but that theory has not, as far as I know, been taught in the Protestant Church in this generation. The "verbal theory" is taught in some places, but Mr. Horton has given no fair idea of it, and if he had, that would not be enough; for that theory is not dominant, is not even central, in the Protestant conservative

* *Verbum Dei*, p. 112. † *Inspiration and the Bible*, p. 21.

camp. Why does he not bring before his readers the conservative defense as it really stands in conservative literature? Why not quote from such a book as *The Supernatural Revelation*, to show that those against him are not fully represented by any "cast-iron theory?" If in these days a Universalist should, in a serious argument against the doctrine of endless punishment, quietly give the impression to his readers that everyone holding the said doctrine believed in an everlasting torture by physical flame, would not his polemic be a misrepresentation? Precisely this kind of polemical misrepresentation is chargeable to Mr. Horton. There can be no fair and helpful polemical discussion unless it is made to bear upon the point of least difference between the two antagonistic positions.

Mr. Horton's Christology has already been spoken of in a spirit of admiration, and his view is so loyal and so close to the truth that I am loath to offer any further word of criticism. But the person of Christ is by Mr. Horton somewhat overemphasized. In this regard he is like many of the modern liberal writers. Their philosophy of Christianity, as far as they express it, seems to be about this: Take a natural or ethnic religion and add to it Jesus Christ, and the result is the Christian religion. With an evangelical estimate of Christ to begin with, the sum total here is so large that it satisfies a great many people; but for all that it is not large enough. In the Christian religion there is a long series of peculiarities. Now and then in this series the Christian view touches, for an instant, something in natural religion, but soon it springs away and rises to a positive contrast. An illustration is found, as Bishop Westcott has pointed out, in the large difference between the heathen notion of the immortality of the soul and the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body. Even more decidedly peculiar are the Christian views of God, of sin, of the world, and of religious experience.

In relation to Christ, the true Christian peculiarity culminates, not, as some try to make out, in the person of Christ; not even in the incarnation and the person considered together; but in the atonement for sin. Thus all this extreme modern emphasis upon the Sermon on the Mount as the heart or the one vital note of Christianity is a false emphasis. It was too early to express the heart of Christianity at any point before the Son of

God cried out, "It is finished." This explains the hold St. Paul has always had upon the profoundest thinkers in the history of the Church. Of all the inspired writers he is the one who has most nearly mastered the vast Christian peculiarity of the death of our Lord. When the pulpit is once again drenched with St. Paul, then we shall once more get a typical Christian sermon; and when we once get such sermons everywhere it may be that the day of the "new theology" and the "sanctuary orchestra" and the "ecclesiastical panorama" will have passed away. Never were there church leaders and workers more thoroughly honest and consecrated. But the trouble is that an imperfect philosophy of Christianity has got the ear of the century; and this indirectly produces all sorts of superficial and inadequate things, both in theology and in service. We may not understand Mr. Horton; but if we do understand him he has, under all his work, this imperfect philosophy of Christianity, and such a philosophy is a sad fault in a critic of the Bible. To understand, not merely the New Testament, but even the Old Testament, one must grasp all the peculiarities of our Christian faith. If all that is only grasped, then let the critic do what he must as an honest scholar with the precious records. Ah, what would we care what he did with these little questions of date and authorship and literary form, if at the last he really gave us back our Bible as the organic and supernatural revelation of God's entirely peculiar and only plan of redemption?

This necessarily leads us to say something about Mr. Horton's conception of the supernatural, although the subject is larger than can be thoroughly managed in this article. The Christian doctrine of the supernatural is just as peculiar as anything else in Christian doctrine. It is not the extraordinary, nor the extraordinary for moral ends, but the extraordinary doing of God in direct relation to the plan of redemption and for the very sake of that plan. So the true Christian supernatural is ever in wholesome check. Never can you push it into the queer and abnormal, as to-day the spurious miracle is often pushed. Dr. Frank, of Erlangen, in dealing with the school of Professor Ritschl, has shown how this spurious supernatural grows out of an overemphasis being placed upon man's superiority, as a rational, moral agent, to the whole

physical universe.* The emphasis Christianity puts upon God's laws is lost sight of in the effort to dignify man. Mr. Horton has enough to say about the supernatural; but his supernatural is not in full Christian check. It is so cheap that it is to be had in every pious market. Instead of discriminating between that natural revelation which M. Taine said he found in rocks and plants (and which culminates in the ethnic religions) and the Christian revelation (which culminates in Jesus Christ), Mr. Horton defines all revelation as that truth which comes to men, in extraordinary way, by the help of the divine Spirit. If his definition were sound, then there would be, as he says, revelation outside the Bible. But if his definition were sound it would not take much effort to do, what he himself unconsciously begins to do in his Yale lectures, namely, to break down his distinction between scientific and revealed truth.

But he has missed the Christian point of view altogether. Revelation, in the Christian sense, is not truth which is not scientific, but truth which is redemptional—truth which is a part of the supernatural plan of redemption. More precisely, revelation is all the truth the Holy Ghost himself put his seal upon in working out the peculiar plan of redemption. Thus the distinction Mr. Horton makes between the truth a man can get and the truth he cannot get is entirely irrelevant. As a matter of fact, the prophet or apostle did not, probably, ever make any very large personal contribution to the theopneustic utterance, although there often was a positive personal coloring. But it is useless to try to separate so finely between the human and the divine in man. Only a person with both feet in deism would expect to find the dividing line.

The matter of importance for us is, not the question of what the prophet or apostle could or could not get, but the question of what the Holy Ghost sealed. However this message started, whether from a vision at night or in looking over an old manuscript in the morning, whether by precise words given with articulate voice or by subtile suggestion given in the ordinary process of thinking, the main thing is that the message ended to the chosen man's consciousness in a word sealed by the Holy Spirit as belonging to the supernatural line of salvation. From this point of view, even the Old Testament is supernatural and

* *Dogmatische Studien.* See the *Critical Review* for April, 1893.

just as different from all other sacred literatures as Jesus himself is different from Confucius. From this point of view, the real word of God is finished; not because the Holy Spirit is gone, and not because he has nothing more to say, but because there is nothing more to say which is basal in redemption. I doubt not that the Holy Spirit did, as Mr. Horton so eloquently says, suggest to the missionary the thought so effectively preached to the Indians, "I know where all your dead children are;" but that is no more than a specific application of a portion of revelation already given in the word of the Bible. To-day the Holy Ghost is doing that kind of work; that is, he is helping us to understand and readjust and freshly apply old Scripture truth. And if one wants to call the result of this present pressure of the Holy Spirit a modern word of God, perhaps no harm would be done if one were as careful as Dr. Kübel of Tübingen, who insists that there is a word of God now, but calls this modern word "indirect," and leaves the Bible undisturbed as our final authority.* But Mr. Horton is not so careful; and his discussion at this point is theologically as reckless as it is homiletically glorious.

Here at the end, then, I find myself in difficulty. This great English preacher has been to me so helpful that I do not like to close this article in a critical spirit. But his teaching, if taken in a thoroughgoing way, would surely bring the ministry into that realm of vagary where the typical preacher would be a William Miller or an Edward Irving, and not a Robert Horton.

* *Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1893, No. 2. See the *Thinker* for July, 1894.

Olin A. Curtis,

Art. VII.—METHODIST DOCTRINE OF ATONEMENT.

The subject naturally divides itself into two questions: (1) What was the doctrinal position of original Methodism? (2) Has the Methodist Episcopal Church adhered to that doctrine? In answer to the first question we refer to the twentieth article of our creed:

> The offering of Christ, once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone.

In the ritual of the Lord's Supper, in the Prayer of Consecration, occur the following significant words:

> Who made there, by his oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.

Space will not permit the discussion of the pedigree of these statements of belief. They contain the actual doctrine of atonement as accepted by original Methodism.

Watson's *Institutes*, constituting the most able and comprehensive systematic theology of original Methodism, is found to be in exact accord with the creed and ritual. Watson not only emphasized the words "propitiation" and "satisfaction," but ascribed a penal significance to the sufferings of Christ:

> But that Christ died for us directly as a substitute . . . is to be fully proved from those scriptures in which he is said to have borne punishment due to our offenses. . . . The death of Christ was primarily intended for the expiation of sins with respect to God, and not to us. . . . We call the death of Christ a satisfaction offered to divine justice for the transgressions of men, with reference to the effect upon the mind of the supreme Lawgiver. . . . The term *satisfaction* is taken from the Roman law, and signifies to content a person aggrieved. . . . God is love; but it is not necessary, in order to support this truth, to assume that he is nothing else. . . . In the case before us the wrath turned away is the wrath of God.

These quotations will suffice to show in what sense Mr. Watson used the terms "propitiation" and "satisfaction." In these fundamental matters Richard Watson is found to be in exact accord with Arminius.

The way is now prepared to consider the second question. "Does the Methodist Episcopal Church of to-day stand on

the same doctrinal platform?" As to creed and ritual there can be but one answer. There has been no change whatever in these. But when we turn to the assigned Course of Study and find Miley's *Atonement in Christ* we are compelled to hesitate. The stream of tendency has set in strong for Dr. Miley's views; and it is no mean compliment that our chief pastors have decided in his favor. A work to gain such recognition must possess something besides a superficial fascination, luxuriant rhetoric, and the ability to cull extended quotations. Dr. Miley's work is a strong book, showing unusual analytical power and the rare faculty of letting go the thread of a subsidiary thought at the right moment. But when we place it by the side of Watson's *Institutes* and ask, "Are the doctrinal lines parallel?" we cannot give an affirmative answer. Dr. Miley loads the word "satisfaction" with opprobrium and relegates its use to those whose views he repudiates; but he concedes that his "rectoral theory" is in process of gradual evolution, and this concession has a tendency to create suspicion. He seeks the groundwork of his theory, not in Watson or Arminius, but in Grotius.

Is it not true that Grotius, when he made his attack upon Socinianism, was answered by Crellius, to whom he never replied, but thanked Crellius for the answer? Is it not true that Unitarians quote Grotius in their published tracts as on their side? Did not his biographer try to defend him from the charge of Socinianism? Was he not declared to be too broad for any sect?* When a man is found to have been so broad that, after he is dead, the orthodox and liberals strive together concerning his doctrinal position, and when such a man supplies the groundwork of a theory of atonement, even though that theory does seem capable of scientific adjustment, should we not as Methodists do well to pause for another hundred years before committing ourselves to a theory built upon such an equivocal foundation? The rectoral theory is Grotian and not Arminian. Grotius was primarily a jurist, not a theologian. Law took possession of his mind first and held it by right of possession. To Grotius belongs the honor of being the pioneer writer on international law. How natural that he should have come to survey the atonement first of all as a governmental expedient—with-

* See Wallace's *Anti-Trinitarian Biography*, vol. iii, p. 574.

out reference to the inherent nature of the Lawgiver—and as a plan of adjusting serious embarrassments between two sovereignties? To pass over in silence or with briefest mention the fact that the sovereign of the skies is that God who has declared, as distinctly as he has declared his love, that vengeance is his prerogative alone is to distort the just proportion of revealed truth and to court the favor of Universalism.

Not so with Watson. That they may prove that propitiation, in the proper sense, cannot be the doctrine of Scripture, he charges his Socinian opponents with denying that there is wrath in God. The governmental theory is significant because it withdraws attention from the actual personal displeasure of the Almighty toward sin and locates the embarrassment chiefly in governmental necessity. The governmental theory appears to the writer to have a direct tendency to divert the mind from that necessity which lies deep in the nature of God himself and fixes the mind upon the matter of legal adjustment; and, in so far as this is accomplished, the tremendous sanctions of holy law are weakened as they reach the mind of the recipient. Therefore, we are unable to conclude that the doctrinal basis of the Methodist Episcopal Church is in accord with that of original Methodism. Without imposing any burden upon the imagination, we may claim, what any well-informed minister or layman will scarcely deny, that a change has come over Methodist preaching. Brimstone Corner—so called in derision of the faithful proclamation of the sure penalties which should overtake impenitent transgressors—once was located in nearly every city where early Methodism had won its trophies. Of late we have had so much of natural law in the spiritual world that ministers allude to law as if it were older than God, as an impersonal principle of operation or evolution; and the rectoral theory is in accord with this manifest trend.

We might also note the natural effect of this theory upon experimental and practical holiness. Holiness in the creature implies likeness to God. Hence the command, "Be ye holy; for I am holy." The root of this command is to be found in the nature of God. Christ, when he unfolded the principles of the kingdom of God, in his Sermon on the Mount, said, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." The ground of required holiness in the creature is

not primarily in law, but in the essential nature of the Lawgiver. Under the economy of redemption the promise, yea, the expectation, is that we shall be "changed into the same image from glory to glory." This seems to be the Scripture viewpoint of holiness. What, then, if the vision of the believer be in any degree diverted from God himself to some governmental adjustment? Alienation, in the Pauline sense, means something more than being out of harmony with environment, law being included in environment. It is alienation from the life of God, for under redemption everything points Godward. This brings us to the pivotal point of so preaching the atonement as to fix the vision of the inquirer on God himself. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself"—not simply to his law, but to himself. Are we not warranted in cherishing apprehension lest the governmental theory shall be found to divert faith from its true objective?

Another objection to Dr. Miley's work is its inadequate recognition of Old Testament typology. If Christ is indeed "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," and if the Bible contains the gradual unfolding of God's chosen method of redemption, strange would it have been had there been no Old Testament symbolism of the supreme fact of history. If the ceremonial law was replete with shadows of good things to come, then any theory which is adequate to cover all the revealed elements of redemption must be tested by the elements of Old Testament symbolism, as well as by New Testament revelation. One of the palpable features of Dr. Miley's book is its scanty treatment of the typology of redemption; and this feature, so manifest, seems to confirm the justice of the language of a recent author that, while the governmental theory "contains a valuable element of truth, namely, that the sufferings and death of Christ secure the interests of God's government, it is false by defect in substituting for the chief aim of the atonement one which is only subordinate and incidental."* A single quotation from the *Atonement in Christ* will show that we have not mistaken the tenor of Dr. Miley's theory:

> With these facts, the atonement of satisfaction must be excluded from her system of doctrines [referring to Methodism], and the rectoral theory maintained as the only doctrine of a real atonement agreeing with them.†

* A. H. Strong, *Systematic Theology*, p. 403. † Page 215.

Take the very title of Dr. Miley's work, *Atonement in Christ;* as if a single proposition could tell the whole story of Christ's mediatorial work—a translation of a Greek particle by one preposition of restricted sense—a particle which has such varied significations as *in*, *at*, *on*, *upon*, *by*, *through*, *with*, *among*, *on account of*, *concerning*, *toward*, *against*, *before*, *near*, all these significations put into a philological compress and reduced to the dimensions of an English particle. This may be a convenience in constructing a theory, but it is open to the criticism of unjust restriction, or putting a part for the whole; and it is precisely this objection which must stand against the rectoral theory. We object to its principle of exclusion; it practically excludes, by retiring to the background, the primary truth of the immanent holiness of God. Dr. Miley's book is consistent with his theory, but cannot be reconciled with the doctrinal basis of original Methodism. He has evidently been more industrious in setting forth a philosophical adjustment of the facts of atonement as recognized by himself than in pressing the inquiry as to the possibility of the omission of any revealed element in this matter of adjustment.

Again, what must be the result of denying that there was any penal element in the sufferings of Christ? Does not such denial require a theory of accommodation unwarranted by Scripture? If he suffered only a substitute for a penalty, then his sufferings had no penal significance. Then we must read in Isaiah that the Lord laid upon him a substitute for the iniquity of us all. Isaiah represents the Messiah as "stricken," "smitten of God," as undergoing "chastisement," and that "it pleased the Lord to bruise him." He was "cut off," but not for himself. Can we see nothing retributive in such language? Did he, indeed, bear "the sin of many," or only bear a substitute for their sins? From what passage of Holy Writ is such a conclusion reached? We read that Jesus Christ "by the grace of God" tasted death "for every man." Death is the original penalty for sin—a penalty which has not been annulled. Aside from its penal relationship, death is an insoluble mystery. Where do we learn from prophet or apostle that in Christ's case the penal relationship was detached and a substitute for a penalty projected? When "in the days of his flesh" the Son of God "offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying

and tears unto him that was able to save him from death." Is there anything on record to show that those tearful supplications were moderated by any assurance in the heart of Jesus that the death which confronted him had all the penal element eliminated? If philosophy is what we are after how shall we understand those awful symptoms of soul distress when Christ felt such a sense of abandonment that it extorted from him a loud lament? Truly, we cannot understand how the penalty which was our due could in any form touch his immaculate personality? No more can we understand how he could suffer a substitute for a penalty. Dr. Miley is not alone in modern Methodist authorship in advocating this theory. All the greater, therefore, is the reason for careful circumspection of doctrinal trend. One thing is evident, namely, that no great Church organization can permanently and without unrest continue to teach one thing in creed and ritual and another and contrary doctrine in a text-book of its course of ministerial study.

What if it be true that the revealed elements of atonement involve facts which are in their essential nature transcendent; is it within the province of mundane philosophy to deal with the "how" or "why?" Whether the philosophy of the plan of salvation has ever been enshrined in earthborn language, oral or written, is a subject which would seem to call for another essay. If Paul the apostle, even after he had been caught up to the third heaven, referred to the fundamental facts of redemption as a great mystery, and if another apostle referred to the same facts as things which the angels desire to look into, and if God has forewarned us that these are secret things which belong to him, then there is room for an appropriate reserve or hesitation before we seize upon fractional knowledge and attempt to compel such knowledge to square itself with the metes and bounds of a preconceived theory.

S. M. McElveen

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

Anarchy is a ferocious folly, a mixture of dense ignorance and murderous insanity. Nothing more stupid or more malicious can be imagined. The anarchist is the enemy of mankind, a species of human mad dog. Vaillant, awaiting the guillotine in the dungeons of La Roquette, refused to see the prison chaplain, saying, "I do not believe in religion; it is all a sham. Let those who profess religion give some evidence of it by extending a helping hand to the deserving poor. This will do more to crush anarchy than all the armies of the world." Such is the brutal libel against godliness and the godly which comes hissing from the livid lips of anarchy, gnashing its teeth in bitter rage. For centuries the followers of Christ have been piling up the very evidence he calls for. In times of distress and destitution it has never been seen that any society or body of men went before the members of the Christian Church in gifts of benevolence and deeds of mercy for the succor of the needy and the relief of the suffering; or, if it has ever in rare instances so been seen, then, by so much, those who bore the Christian name and fell behind were not true to its teachings and obligations nor in any way worthy of it. From the beginning every Christian church was a benevolent association, a humane society. Justin, giving, in his *Apology*, an account of Christian customs in the second century and a description of Christian worship, with its baptism, its eucharist, its reading of the gospels or of the writings of the prophets, its admonitions and exhortations by "the president of the brethren," says, "And those of us who are wealthy help all that are in want." After relating that every Sunday there is a meeting of all Christians who live in cities or the country, he adds more particularly that, at these assemblies, "of those that are well-to-do and willing everyone gives what he will, according to his own purpose, and the collection is deposited with the president, and he it is that succors orphans and widows and those that are in want through sickness or any other cause, and those that are in bonds, and the strangers that are sojourning; and, in short, he has the care of all that are in need."

In like manner Tertullian, in his *Apology*, early in the third century writes in vindication of the Christians:

> We are made a body by common religious feeling, unity of discipline, and the bond of hope. . . . Our presidents are the approved elders, obtaining that honor not for a price, but by elevated character; for, indeed, the things of God are not sold for a price. Even if there is a sort of common fund it is not made up of money paid in fees as for a worship by contract. Each of us puts in a trifle on the monthly day or when he pleases, but only if he pleases and only if he is able, for no man is obliged, but contributes of his own free will. These are, as it were, deposits of piety; for it is not paid out thence for feasts and drinking and thankless eating-houses, but for feeding and burying the needy, for boys and girls deprived of means and parents, for old folk now confined to the house; also for them that are shipwrecked and for any who are in the mines.

Likewise we learn from Eusebius, the "father of church history," writing about the beginning of the fourth century, that there was current in his day an Epistle of Dionysius to the Romans, in which that writer said to the Roman Christians: "For you have from the beginning this custom of doing good in divers ways to all the brethren and sending supplies to many churches in all the cities, in one place refreshing the poverty of them that need, in another helping brethren in the mines with the supplies which you have sent from the beginning." Although Dionysius here speaks only of aid and comfort given to the brethren, there is no room for anyone to suppose that the early Church was merely a mutual benefit association confining its kindness to its own members. No such policy of exclusion ruled. Its benevolence was as universal as the offer of salvation. The whole spirit of the Gospel, as well as the distinct teaching of Christ and his apostles, is in harmony with Paul to the Galatians, "As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men;" nor is that exhortation contracted or curtailed by his adding, "especially unto them who are of the household of faith."

The mental habits of a scientific age make more vividly absurd some of the unscientific procedures of those thinkers who undertake to decide by *a priori* determination exactly what is knowable and what is not, what is possible and what is not. Philosophy takes on the tone of dogma and prescription. Spencer, in his *First Principles*, draws the line of the unknowable, as Hume and others have drawn the line of the impossible. Certain omniscient critics who know more about past events than the eyewitnesses thereof dogmatically affirm that the Bible miracles must be regarded as

unhistoric because miracles are incredible, being in the nature of things so impossible that no amount of evidence can prove them to have occurred; the observed uniformity of nature forbids them. The same learned gentlemen, with their exhaustive knowledge of the contents and potentialities of this mysterious, wondrous, and immeasurable universe, inform us that Bible prophecies must be rejected for the reason that they are miracles of foreknowledge, and therefore in the very nature of things impossible. For the purpose of giving Holy Scripture a momentary rest, it might be lawful to create a small diversion by asking these knowing rationalistic critics to employ their superhuman talents and keen implements for a while in deciding what shall be done with the indubitably authentic letter written in the middle of the last century by Sarah Pierpont, afterward the wife of the great Jonathan Edwards, in which she narrates a singular dream that she had about the time of the birth of the famous, or infamous, Aaron Burr. Is there anything in this dream which seems prophetic of the subsequent career of the infant then in arms? Can it be that this good woman received in the form of allegory a revelation of things to come? Was this a supernatural event, a *miracle*, or is it a *natural* power of the dreaming mind to foreknow future events? Is there a divine Spirit who has a way of giving intimations and revelations to the human spirit? Here is the letter as published in an old magazine:

STOCKBRIDGE, *May* 10, 1756.

DEAR BROTHER JAMES: Your letters always do us good, and your last was one of your best. Have you heard of the birth of Esther's second child at Newark? It was born the 6th of February last, and its parents have named him Aaron Burr, Jr., after his father, the worthy president of the college. I trust the little immortal will grow up to be a good and useful man. But, somehow, a strange presentiment of evil has hung over my mind of late, and I can hardly rid myself of the impression that that child is born to see trouble.

You know I don't believe in dreams and visions; but lately I had a sad night of broken sleep, in which the future career of that boy seemed to pass before me. He first appeared as a little child, just beginning to ascend a high hill. Not long after he set out the two guides who started with him disappeared one after the other. He went on alone, and as the road was open and plain and as friends met him at every turn he got along very well. At times he took on the air and bearing of a soldier, and then of a statesman, assuming to lead and control others. As he neared the top of the hill the way grew more steep and difficult, and his companions became alienated from him, refusing to help him or to be led by him. Baffled in his designs and angered at his ill-success, he began to lay about him with violence, leading some astray and pulling down others at every attempt to rise. Soon he himself began to slip and slide down the rough and

perilous sides of the hill, now regaining his foothold for a little, then losing it again, until at length he stumbled and fell headlong down, down, into a black and yawning gulf at the base.

At this I woke in distress, and was glad enough to find it was only a dream. Now, you may make as much or as little of this as you please. I think the disturbed state of our country, along with my own indifferent health, must have occasioned it. A letter from his mother, to-day, assures me that her little Aaron is a lively, prattlesome fellow, filling his parents' hearts with joy.

Your loving sister, SARAH.

ITALIAN SORROWS.

THE difficulty of judging respecting the value of things contemporaneous is generally felt, though the feeling does not prevent the making of a full record of judgments upon current events and opinions. The feeling is that of sobered wisdom ; the record is made by inexperienced enthusiasm. Every considerable event carries with it some unexpected sequences. We may know these sequences to be possible, but we are so much occupied with the first results of a change that the results farther away get no attention. In some cases this is well for us ; the change may be a beneficent one, but we might not make it if we saw all the consequences. A good case to illustrate all this is the Italian revolution of 1859–70. Each step of that great march of Italy —from Solferino to the entry of Victor Emmanuel into Rome— was witnessed by philanthropists abroad and Italians at home with gratification. The creation of an Italian nation and the abolition of the temporal power of the pope—giving the new nation its capital in the Rome of the Cæsars—furnished the lovers of progress one of several nineteenth century occasions for exultation. Nothing has happened to make us regret the triumph of liberal Italy. But much has happened which was not foreseen; had it been foreknown the chilling vision might have checked the ardor of the revolutionist and the joy of the philanthropist.

If the actors and spectators of that great drama had been able to read the journalism of 1893 and 1894 would the change have come which made Italy a nation? Perhaps not. The journalism would have shown brigandage in Sicily, riots in Carrara, deficits in the treasury, poverty everywhere, and national bankruptcy looming threateningly in the future. The philanthropic spectator sees the young nation humiliated and discouraged. He knows that the actors in this afterpiece are in their hearts weary of their

accomplished desire, or at least but languidly reciting their ritual of liberty and independence, while some are rehearsing litanies of despair. We need not share those melancholy emotions or distrust the final outcome of this historical performance. Nothing has happened which does not logically follow from the revolution.

We have ourselves gone through as a people a similar experience. A decade after our emancipation from British rule our prospects were clouded by sectional controversies, by debts, by the languor of a diminished confidence in our ideals. We had a painful march to make toward our real unity and our national repose. The march did not really end until the emancipation of the slaves. The sense of security in our political institutions had none of its present strength when Webster made his immortal plea for the Union. Few of those who fought for deliverance from Great Britain lived long enough to outlive a fear that what they won was worth too little in comparison with its cost in blood and suffering. And yet not one trouble or pain came that might not have been foreseen as a necessary accompaniment of the toil of building the American colonies into a nation.

The dramatic entry of the King of Italy into Rome did not complete the unification of Italy; it began it. That which seemed the end only removed the obstacles long interposed between the people and their desired opportunity to rear aloft the temple of liberty; they began to build from that hour of triumph. They have builded, as men must always do, both wisely and unwisely. Their errors and failures were necessary, because they were only men. Perhaps another and happier future may commend them for the rare wisdom of preparing the minimum of sorrow. They did not, like our fathers, build on virgin soil. They inherited an old estate, discrepant in its powers as related to the demands upon it, disordered in management, and overgrown with every kind of weeds. Differences in dialects and in history made unity of blood and speech rather a possibility than a reality. A vast number of "improvements," such as railways, required wealth which did not exist. The vast majority of the people could not read, and the government had to become a schoolmaster. Besides, all history warned the Italians to beware of the men beyond the Alps, and to provide arms and soldiers for their own defense. All this, and vastly more, which an American can scarcely weigh, Italy has wisely and rapidly accomplished. If there be room for doubt, it must be whether it lay within the power of humanity to make a new, self-governed, and independent Italy out of the people

who in 1870 called themselves the Italian nation. If any well-grounded fear exists that the nation will stumble and fall this fear must attach itself to the immense difficulties of the task which rose up to confront the man of 1870. It is not mistakes, not bad alliances, not bad financeering, not political antagonisms in the last quarter of a century, but the legacies of other centuries, making all these things inevitably a part of the new national life, which still weaken our hope of the political and social redemption of Italy. The burden of history is the weight upon Italian shoulders.

This is a load which nations must carry. It is a fond delusion that in an inspired moment a people may disburden themselves of all hateful things. They would need for that the power to die all at once and leave behind them a generation they had not reared into manhood. The brigandage of Sicily is as old as the exploits of Spartacus. No quarter of a century of free institutions will change the character and habits of a people—a character and habits stamped into their inmost being by centuries of despotism. We get now and again a glimpse of these habits when the Mafia embroil New Orleans or a murder in New York is traced into the black ooze of secret society bogs. Distrust of the next man, intrigue against the authority of law—these are not passions such as we experience. In Italy they run down into the roots of the manhood out of which the new nation must be built. So of every difficulty and failure in the well-beloved peninsula—the cause of it all lies back in the terrible past. The census of this last twenty-five years is a ground of hope; it is more, not less, than was to be expected. The sorrows of Italy as they confront us in the daily press are the sorrows of a people measurably successful in a vast undertaking. And they are less grievous to know than the voiceless sorrows of the ages whose legacy they are.

The future has a large investment in the new Italy. She is one of the historical glories of the age. We had doubtless underestimated the vastness, moral and social, of the enterprise. But the possibility of success is rather proved than disproved by events. If there be any new reason for doubt of the future it is that, though education is spreading, the moral rehabilitation of the people of southern Italy is still delayed. That work, the bracing of the moral character, is not to be expected from schools or polling booths. It is the work of sound religious training; and we are compelled to distrust the agencies officially or by historical right intrusted with the moral culture of the people.

JEWISH OBJECTIONS TO CHRISTIANITY.

JEWISH objections to the invitations of Christianity and to Christianity itself, as formulated in an editorial of the *American Hebrew*, under date of September 29, 1893, kindly criticising an article in the September–October number of the *Methodist Review* in which the questions, "Is Christianity progressing? Is Judaism progressing?" were discussed, are of critical, theoretical, and practical character. They are couched in terms of appreciative manliness, candor, and fairness, and also of scorching rebuke to certain workers whom it brands as a "hungry, sordid, and ignorant crowd of conversionists."

Into the merits of Jewish quarrel with the latter it is foreign to our purpose to enter. The Christianity of Christ, which we endeavor humbly to personify, has nothing of feeling, purpose, or method toward Jewish brethren that is inconsistent with profound respect for their intellect and learning, deference to their right of private judgment, and unselfish love for them as children of our common Father, entitled, equally with ourselves, to all the blessings of his providence and grace. With any "manner of disseminating religious truth" discordant from this spirit no true follower of the great Teacher can have the least sympathy. Neither force, nor fraud, nor "profligate wretches," nor aught save the truth spoken in love should or can avail to effect Christian ends. "Degrading methods" constitute ground of just "practical objection" to spurious Christianity, but not to the Christianity of purity, love, and beneficence. While of one mind with the *American Hebrew* in repugnance to iniquity, howsoever manifested, we should be glad for that very reason to see all its coreligionists walking in fellowship with the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the only and true God.

The critical objection to Christianity that it "has not accomplished its ostensible mission," and, therefore, is not preferable to Judaism, is stated by the *Menorah Monthly*, June, 1893, in many forms. Among them is the sadly true assertion that "the Churches as organized bodies have preserved an ominous silence in those questions that affected the Christian standing. Can the Church approve a policy which denies refuge to the unfortunate exiles that are driven from house and home because of the faith that is in them—because of the faith which rests upon the same pillars upon which the Church rests, acknowledged to be of divine

origin by Jew and Christian? What has the Church done as an organized body to counteract the spread of sentiment opposed to the very first principle professed by Christianity, that of the brotherhood of man? And in the face of such culpable negligence can the Church still claim to have progressed and to be entitled to the recognition of living up to the divine command, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself?'" Answer who chooses. "*Peccavi*" should be the confession of each of the Churches as organizations in reply to these questions. Nevertheless, whether this be a "reason at all that counts for much with Jews" is, in the candid opinion of the *American Hebrew*, "to be seriously questioned." It is "reasonable enough and honest enough to admit that it [Christianity] has achieved enough to warrant the presumption that it will do still more for humanity."

The principal Jewish objection to Christianity is theoretical. Its real ground is alleged to be "the fundamental recreancy to the teachings of Judaism involved in the Christian dogmas, notably the sonship, the divine sonship of Jesus, [and] the necessity of his mediation as a condition precedent to the hope of salvation to humankind. These doctrines, and others affiliated thereto, which constitute the distinguishing trait of Christianity, are absolutely antagonistic to the principles of Judaism."

In order that adherents of the old faith and those of the new, or of the immature and the perfected respectively, may understand each other and the points whereon they differ, it is essential that the term "Judaism" should be accurately defined. If in Jewish usage it denote "the law and the prophets," or the entire contents of the Old Testament, we have no objection to it or its teachings, but cordially accept both. If in addition to these it include the traditions of the fathers, the sayings of the sages, and the miscellaneous lore of the Mishna and Gemara, or Talmud, then are we bound by principles of the inspired prophets to judge of the latter by their concord or discord with the former. "The Lord is our lawgiver" (Isa. xxxiii, 22). "The law of the Lord is perfect" (Psalm xix, 7). "To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them" (Isa. viii, 20). Whatever is agreeable thereto is to be received, whatever is incongruous therewith is to be rejected. These are the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth also, and of those eminent Jewish Christians, the apostles John, Peter, Paul, James, and the evangelist Mark. All accept and continue that consensus of faith in the Old Testament canon, established

by the overwhelming authority of predecessors to whom were intrusted the "oracles of God."

Just as systems of physical science are human interpretations of facts and phenomena, so systems of theology are human interpretations of divine revelation. All are more or less truthful and more or less erroneous. As knowledge increases systems of faith, whether scientific or spiritual, change, expand, and bring believers into ever closer approximation to, and possession of, absolute and relative truth. In nothing is this process more obvious than in the doctrinal history of the Jewish Church. Fresh light is perpetually breaking forth from the pages of "God's word written," and is, or should be, gladly welcomed by those who love the truth, through whatever media and from whatever quarter that light may come. In the blending lights of past centuries and of present time what is the best representation—confessedly imperfect at the best—of biblical doctrine concerning "the sonship, the divine sonship of Jesus?" "The principles of Judaism"—modern Judaism—may be "absolutely antagonistic" to any Christian representation; but the teachings of "the law and the prophets," as constituting the ancient or biblical Judaism, may necessitate, and so far forth assist to, the best representation. Each earnest searcher after truth must do the best he can for himself. Our representations, like those of the natural sciences which deal with life and force, cannot exhibit geometrical exactitude, because it is life, not matter, and life in its highest forms, with which they are conversant. Representations must necessarily differ, just as the representers differ in natural endowment and moral quality. None can rightfully claim infallibility nor attempt to compel belief or profession of belief.

Yet, notwithstanding diversity of representations, the things represented remain just what they are. Jews, equally with Christians, believe in the fatherhood of God. He is the infinite and eternal Spirit, immanent in all things, and transcending all things. In him "we live, and move, and have our being" (Acts xvii, 28). Personality is his, together with omniscience, omnipotence, independence, absolute supremacy, and perfection of every intellectual and moral attribute. Before and above all cosmical things, when neither means nor being was in existence outside himself, he brought the whole into reality of his own free will. The author of Heb. xi, 3, in his sublime confession testifies to historical fact: "Through faith we understand that the worlds [κόσμος, universe] were framed by the word of God, so that

things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." Nothing has, or has had, or will have being without the *logos* of God. Gesenius affirms that *bara'*, "create," with plural subject, is rather employed with respect to the new production of a thing (see Gen. ii, 3) than to the conformation and elaboration of material. So also most of the rabbins hold that creation is the production of a thing from nothing. In the doing of this, to us inconceivable, work the moving force was eternal love. His plan embraced the creation of myriad worlds, and especially of our world, which was to be peopled by many generations of sentient, responsible creatures. His purpose was consummated with majestic ease. "He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast" (Psalm xxxiii, 9). In the solemn, deliberate creation of Adam, in whom was seminally the human species, God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness" (Gen. i, 26). "Us"—is this the *pluralis majesticus?* Aben Ezra says that it is not; that the plural of majesty is foreign to the *usus loquendi* of the earliest language degrading to the Deity, and that seeming examples in the Hebrew Scriptures, in Num. xxii, 6, and Dan. ii, 36, do not justify the opinion. In the latter passage, moreover, it is an Aramaic form of speech. Maimonides impliedly denies that "us" is the *pluralis majesticus* when he includes in "us" the earth, as cooperative, "mediately and obediently through the divine word," as Professor Tayler Lewis puts it, with the Eternal acting "directly and sovereignly." "In *our* image." This pronoun points out an original view of distinction in the divine personality, which afterward developed into the distinction of *Elohim* and *Ruach Elohim* (or of God and his wisdom, in Prov. viii) with reference to the creation. The trinitarian idea is here unfolding itself germinally. Maimonides defines *tselem*, "image," as the specific form, or that which makes a thing inwardly what it is. Gen. ix, 6, shows that this "image" was not wholly destroyed by the fall. Man, in his relations to the universal Father, may "put off the old man with his deeds," and "put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him" (Col. iii, 9, 10). This "new man" is, "after God," "created in righteousness and true holiness," or holiness—*wholeness*—of truth (Eph. iv, 24). Physically, man may be an architectural product of divine power operative in the processes of nature; but as the *tselem*, "image," of God he is also a metaphysical, a spiritual being. The image of God is his distinguish-

ing type. By virtue of this he and all his descendants are a peculiar species, lifted far above the level of what is commonly called nature into the realm of the supernatural and divine.

Whether, as optimists believe, the plan of creation adopted by Jehovah is the best of possible plans or not, it is a fair deduction from his postulated infinite and necessary perfection that his prescience included and still includes all the events of the future. The temptation and fall of man and the long train of awful ills thence resulting—were all foreknown by him. For the redemption of the lapsed species his plan provided. So the revelation of his mind and will declares. Father of the spirits of all flesh (Isa. lvii, 16; Zech. xii, 1; Heb. xii, 9), whether by direct creation, or through traduction and growth by means of mechanical forces—which we call natural because evidenced by visible phenomena and by that minute providence in which he numbers the hairs on every head and plentifully supplies the wants of all beings—he from the deep love of his own paternal nature constructs the way by which his banished ones may be brought home again to his heart and likeness and to consummate bliss.

In all his grand designs concerning the future of the Adamic family the wisdom of God is gloriously evident. He compasses the highest ends by the use of the best means. In Prov. viii, 12–36, is a beautiful poetic personification of his unerring wisdom. Some interpreters, mistakenly, we think, understand this personification to be identical with the *Logos* or "Word." Others believe it to represent the mediative element of God's omnipresence, while the Word represents the mediative element in his action. "Wisdom," according to Philo, "corresponds to the *immanent* word, while the Word, strictly speaking, was defined as *enunciative*." Both ideas are signified by prophetic language. "The one prepared men for the revelation of the Son of God, the other for the revelation of the Holy Spirit." Immanent wisdom and enunciative energy were manifested by the Father in the execution of his creative plan. His eternal power and Godhead are "understood by the things that are made" (Rom. i, 20). In this projection of self-force and wisdom into the field of creative energy the Father becomes objective to himself. Himself in creation and conservance is contemplated by himself. What is contemplated is the *Word*—that which expresses with infallible precision and fullness his ideas and purposes. This Word is personal, and is the "brightness" of the Father's "glory, and the express image of his person," "upholding all things by the word of his power,"

"by whom also he made the worlds" (Heb. i, 2, 3). The Word speaks, is spoken of, acts, demands, and receives worship as the divine Son of the Father. As an hypostasis he is in some respects differentiated from God, and yet at the same time God himself.

In the prologue to the Gospel according to John it is stated that the Word was in the beginning with God and was God, that he was the Creator of all things, the original possessor and source of life, and the light of men in all their spiritual and moral relations. In the Lord's communings with men after the expulsion from Eden he appeared as the *Debar Jehovah*, the *Logos* or "Word" of God, and disclosed to them the way of salvation. In various revelations of the divine will to the patriarchs and to other persons under the law the *Logos* appeared as the angel Jehovah. In visions, voices, and symbols there were also revelations by the *Logos*. In the *Shekinah* was the visible token of his presence with his people. We read a thrilling description of his glory in the theophany to Isaiah (vi, 1–13). All these revelations of the Word were foreshadowings of future disclosures in the fullness of time of God as Father, Christ as redeeming Son, and the Holy Spirit as Comforter and Sanctifier.

The most ancient uncanonical writers among the Jews, namely, the Chaldee paraphrasts, ordinarily use the name *Memra* where Moses uses that of Jehovah. The idea that under this designation they allude to the Son of God is at least probably true. They lived before the era of Christ, and voice the sentiments of their people on this subject. In most of the passages where the sacred name occurs they substitute *Memra Jehovah*, the Word of God, and ascribe to *Memra* all the attributes of deity. The inference seems to be inevitable that they believed in the divinity of the Word. According to them *Memra* created the world, appeared to Abraham on the plain of Mamre, and to Jacob at Bethel. To *Memra* was the appeal as witness of the covenant between Laban and Jacob, "Let the *Word* see between thee and me" (Gen. xxxi, 49). "The same Word appeared to Moses at Sinai, gave the law to Israel, spoke face to face with that lawgiver, marched at the head of that people, enabled them to conquer nations, and was a consuming fire to all who violated the law of the Lord. All these characters, where the paraphrasts use the word *Memra*, clearly denote Almighty God. This Word, therefore, was God, and the Hebrews were of this opinion at the time when the Targum was composed."* The author of the Book of Wisdom expresses

* McClintock & Strong's *Cyclopædia*, Supplement, vol. ii, p. 980.

himself after the same manner. All these writers, men of godly character and large erudition, simply adumbrated the great truth which, in John's gospel, shines out with such splendid effulgence that to the *Logos* belong eternal existence, distinct personality, and proper Deity, including "the possession and exercise of perfections which absolutely exclude the idea of derived or created being."

As we conceive it the ground-consciousness, the mind, and the will of the Father are permanent and changeless. Projected into the *Logos*, they are fundamental to the nature and character of the Son. But in the Son is also the consciousness of his own creative, conservative, judicial, and executive functions. Thus, while one with, he is relatively differentiated from, the Father. As the Son divine, only begotten, unique, in all his work he is approved, loved, and publicly acknowledged by the Father as one "beloved, in whom" he "is well pleased" (Matt. iii, 17; Luke ix, 35).

In the more extended and endlessly differentiating application of unlimited potential energy the Father through the Son is objective to himself as the Holy Spirit. In Gen. i, 2, we are told that "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," brooding over the surface of darkest chaos, and implanting within the ruck of primitive and tempestuous elements the invisible, indestructible germs of every possible form of vegetable and animal being—germs that should await in the concurrence of favorable conditions the hour for embodying the architectonic ideals concealed within themselves. These formal organisms appeared in due order, some to survive indefinitely, others to vanish and give place to successors of greater dignity. In Psalm xxxiii, 6, we read that "by the word of the Lord were the heavens made; and all the host of them by the breath [Hebrew, *Spirit*] of his mouth." This reveals a field of activity indefinitely large, but high and wide enough to elude all attempts at human comprehension. Job xxxiii, 4, says, "The spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life," the second clause being exegetic of the first. In the "continued creation" of preservation the Holy Spirit is ever efficient. In what Alexander Von Humboldt declares to be the best description of the cosmos extant in literature we have the following passage: "These wait all upon thee; that thou mayest give them their meat in due season. . . . Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled: thou takest away their breath, they die, and return to their dust. Thou sendest forth thy Spirit, they are created: and thou renewest the face of the earth" (Psalm civ, 27, 29, 30). The work of the Holy Spirit was appar-

ent in the inspiration of the prophets, and is now experienced by vast multitudes that no man can number in the light that shines upon their minds, in the admonitions of conscience, in the bitter sense of personal guilt, in the peace that passeth understanding, in the force of moral fruitfulness, and in the confidence of a blissful future. His might is purifying and uplifting, working, both in the physical and spiritual contents of the universe, to grander ends than John on Patmos could set forth in his revelation of what shall surely come to pass. The unity of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son is manifest in perfect temperamental accord, identity of teaching, and flawless unity of aim and working. As teaching, working, saving, sanctifying, the Holy Spirit is personal, speaks, is spoken of, demands and receives coequal divine homage and worship with the Father and the Son. In his personal consciousness is the ground, the projective, the volitional consciousness of the Father, the creative, conservating, soterial, regnant, and judicial consciousness of the Son, together with the official consciousness of perpetually applying in unspeakably differentiated ways all the energies and perfections of the infinite and eternal Personality, who is the source and sustenance of all that is. "From the Father, through the Son, by the Holy Spirit, all things are." Christianity is no less monotheistic than trinitarian. It gives meaning, application, and fruitfulness to the undeveloped truths latent or half concealed in Judaism. Tritheistic it is not. Its intuitions, logic, and theology are as repugnant to tritheism as those of Judaism are to the millioned gods of pantheon, pagoda, and heathen shrines of every form.

The divine sonship involves and demands the human sonship, both in the Father's purpose and in fact. In the hypostatic unity of the Christ the two natures, divine and human, possess divine filiation. Edersheim, the eminent Jewish Christian minister and author of the *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, in an appendix to his monumental biography gives a long list of Old Testament passages messianically applied in ancient rabbinic writings. Among them is not that of Isa. vii, 14, which is quoted by Matt. i, 23, as a prefiguration of the virgin birth of Jesus, and as a pledge that in the latter case, as in the former, the divine promise of salvation shall be fulfilled. Parthenogenesis to Mary, as to modern materialists, appeared to be in the category of impossibilities, until reminded that "with God nothing shall be impossible" (Luke i, 37). This at once classed it with the certainties. Unbelief often confounds the uncommon with the impossible. Yet

Ernst Haeckel, the pantheist, avows his scientific belief in the "nonparental generation of an organic individual, the origin of an organism independent of a parental or producing organism."* He argues, as does the late Judge Wright in his *Genesis of Life*, that under suitable conditions organic forms of life have arisen without organic parental predecessors. This, he reluctantly concedes, is "perhaps no longer possible." "Life can come from life only" is the accepted *dictum* of modern science. And it is a true one. But there was life in the creative ideas of God—ideas immanent in the physical nature that the brooding Spirit had reduced to order—that embodied themselves in all the species of paleozoic flora and fauna—"every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew" (Gen. ii, 5). The sublimest creative idea of the Father was that of his Son, the God-man Christ Jesus. His omnipotence, cooperative with powers of purest virginity, gave birth to the central being of the world's history—that Messiah who in relation to the Father is the Son of God, and in relation to humanity is the Son of man. This was miraculous, or extraordinary, manifestation of divine power for worthy moral ends. The miracle is frequent and familiar in Jewish history. And why not? The divine Architect and Organizer of all things, animate or inanimate, is free as he is able to vary his methods of working and to introduce new instruments suited to the accomplishment of his purposes. His human son by the Jewish virgin—one with humankind by his kinship, brother to us all, and yet different from us all by reason of his sinless generation and character—is one with his divine Son in consciousness of unity with God, spirit, moral character, aim, and activity. In the unity of the dual Christ-nature "dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily" (Col. ii, 9). The Christ-life reveals the Father (John v, 17–47). As the Son is in all spiritual and moral attributes, so is the Father; as is the Father so is the Son. "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father" (John xiv, 9).

The divine Sonship in the order of the Father's redeeming grace necessarily involved the human sonship. Sin and suffering are in the world. How they came the Old Testament records narrate. Behind these records and into the realm of inscrutable mystery wherein God's deep designs are shrouded it is not now our wish to peer. How to remove sin and suffering from the world—or, if that be altogether beyond human power, correlated

* *History of Creation*, vol. i, p. 413.

as it is, within time limits, how to convert sin and suffering into means of higher blessing—is a problem whose solution is of infinitely greater moment. Through the twofold sonship of Christ and his redeeming work in that relation we believe that the problem is entirely solved. The more deeply its contents are studied the more truthfully the nature and work of the Christ are apprehended, the more clearly does it appear that the divine involves the human sonship, the more thoroughly demonstrable is "the necessity of his [Christ's] mediation as a condition precedent to the hope of salvation to humankind."

All of humankind, arrived at years of amenability to law, are stained by sin, guilty before God, and under the curse of that law which saith: "The man which doeth those things shall live by them" (Rom. x, 5; Lev. xviii, 5), and "The soul that sinneth, it shall die" (Ezek. xviii, 20). Consciousness of condemnation, exposure to just wrath, and the suffering which is the inevitable result of unconformity to the laws of that power which "makes for righteousness" is the common experience of our race. It needs an upright, wise sympathizer, whose love is as great as his power; and both, to be efficient, must be unbounded. It needs a sufficient redeemer, through substitutionary sacrifice of himself, in view of man's relation to universal, inexorable law. This is the object teaching of Mosaic ritual and of sanguinary offering, the wide world over and throughout all time. This is the doctrine of the prophets (Dan. ix, 26; Isa. liii, 10), and it is also the doctrine of Him whom we intelligently and devoutly receive as the Christ of God (Mark ix, 12; Luke ix, 22, 24, 30, 27), the anointed to be the Saviour of the world. Did not Isaiah in glowing strains predict the coming of such a holy, sacrificial, triumphant Saviour? All his writings—all the writings of Isaiah, or of the two Isaiahs, if two there were—are a glorious evangel of the sufferings of Christ and of the glory that should follow. Such is the Christian, and such to a very wide extent is the rabbinical, interpretation of them. Is not Isa. ix, 6, expressly applied to the Messiah in the Targum? Is there not also, as Edersheim affirms, "a very curious comment in Debarim R. 1 (ed. Warsh., p. 4*a*) in connection with a Haggadic discussion of Gen. xliii, 14, which, however fanciful, makes a Messianic application of this passage; also in Bemidbar R. 11?" And what says Isa. ix, 6, 7: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor,

The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this." Here is the human and the divine sonship, the prophecy of that dominion over faith and morals which becomes more apparent with the march of days, the manifold characterization of his oneness with the divine Father, the prediction of his ever-waxing power and beneficence, of his perfect administrative agreement with the will of Jehovah, and of the unerring judgment and equal justice with which all the affairs of his kingdom shall be directed. And of that kingdom—which is not of this world—there shall be no end. Daniel's dream (Dan. vii, 13, 14) foreshadowed what is now becoming more and more a glorious reality: "I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man [a name given to himself by Jesus of Nazareth, according to Matthew thirty times, to Mark fourteen, and to Luke twenty-five times] came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." This day is this prophecy fulfilled before our eyes. Do not Kohler and Grätz and Gottheil, and many other manly, magnanimous, and godly masters in Israel, speak of the Nazarene in terms consonant with part fulfillment of these inspiring foretellings of glorious blessings yet to come? Does not faith in the God-manifesting Christ generate love and issue in the glad obedience of countless lives? Do not ever-increasing multitudes of human beings feel the expulsive, transforming power of this love—to them a new affection? So multitudes of those who are the kinsmen of Christ according to the flesh do eagerly testify. So vaster multitudes of remoter kinsmen, yet kinsmen because human beings, bear witness. "In his name shall the Gentiles trust" (Matt. xii, 21; Isa. xlii, 1–6).

The God who created and preserves the human family, who (for reasons that we may conjecture, but not here and now certainly know) permitted his earthly children to fall into sin and misery, himself provides the Saviour, the all-sufficient remedy for all their ills. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only

begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John iii, 16). This is the *Magna Charta* of Christianity. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself" (2 Cor. v, 19). There is no other Saviour; nor could Christians possibly desire another or different one. There was, is, and will be imminent, pressing necessity of this wondrous mediation as condition precedent to human hope of salvation. Christ is "the Saviour of all men, specially of those that believe" (1 Tim. iv, 10). "If, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life" (Rom. v, 10). Our Jewish brethren are more indebted to the Christ of Christianity than they think. Where he is most cordially and extensively received as Lord and Saviour they are coequals in all legal rights and privileges. To him is their salvability, like that of all men, due (Rom. v, 12–19). For all that is excellent in spirit and morals in the Montefiores, Schiffs, and multitudinous magnates of the Jewish faith we are profoundly grateful. But could they see in Jesus of Nazareth the promised Messiah—a Messiah for all—as Saul of Tarsus, Neander, Edersheim, Saphir, and innumerable others have done; would they model their lives wholly by his example and accept that fullness of divine life which enters into and abides in the soul through faith in him, then would their lives be purer, sweeter, richer, and more fruitful of every good word and work. The future would be more attractive and eternal life more blessed, because springing from and filling larger capacity. Such is the faith that is in us. Therefore we appreciate and share the spirit of the whilom persecutor, but then distinguished apostle to the Gentiles, who wrote: "My heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved" (Rom. x, 1). Respectful of Jewish dignity and rights as of our own, we cannot insult them by the slightest wish to force or desire to beguile them into acceptance of Christianity. Neither is it in our power, nor if it were would it be exercised. Christians are not made in either way; and any attempt would only yield results as barren as the attempt itself would be absurd. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—in one word, the only and true God—appeal to the understanding and reason, and through them to affection and passion, and through all to the free and sovereign will in order to bring all men to knowledge of the truth and harmony with the divine will, and through these to realization of the highest ultimate possibilities of humanity here and hereafter.

THE ARENA.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR SIN.

Moral freedom is a postulate of moral character in created moral beings. As of the structure and essence of their moral nature, it must be predicated of them all. In the acts of such creatures only can there be, in ethical sense, merit or demerit. A consideration of these truisms makes evident that no act can be sinful which is not free. Hence, however evil in itself, if the action of a moral being is conceived as under divine compulsion, by that fact it cannot be sin.

One certainly may assume that if God could have made moral beings to whom sin was impossible he would have done so. That for heaven and earth he did the contrary, the record proves. Sinless angels for one sphere and sinless men for the other were created, and they sinned. Hence the conclusion that it was inherently impossible to create a moral nature to which sin would not be a possibility. This view is also emphasized by the fact that Christ was "tried" and "tempted," as men are. Sinlessness, then, with freedom to sin, must be regarded as the utmost extent to which infinite power and wisdom could go, in the nature of the creature, to prevent sin, if moral beings were created. Moreover, as their creator, God is to be considered as cognizant of the moral constitution and possibilities of action in these creatures, the work of his hand. Therefore, directly to him are to be traced the conditions out of which sin might come, and to the volitions of his moral creatures the acts by which sin came.

How is this result affected by the doctrine of God's prescience of sin? If foreknowledge of an act is to be conceived as compelling it, the palpable consequence is to destroy its freedom. But with that also goes its moral quality, and so its character as sin. Hence, in this conception of it, prescience must be rejected. But if it be held to involve only certainty of action to which it relates, and not its necessity, then the doctrine becomes consistent with freedom, in which view moral quality may attach to an act, though foreknown. The latter form of the doctrine, therefore, is open to the freedomist. But if a necessitated act comes of this foreknowledge, then he is driven to the theory of nescience. On the old debate between certainty and necessity, as conditioned, one or both, by foreknowledge, it need only be said that, in itself, either notion is conceivable, and neither is capable of absolute proof. Prescience with freedom seems to be at least as free of difficulty as nescience. Under each God's responsibility for the existence of sin is obviously the same.

As respects a scheme of redemption from sin, however, the case is different. That, we assume, like the impulse to create moral beings, had its spring in God's love. On the theory of his prescience, the creation and redemption of man should be complemental parts of one grand plan. But with nescience taken as true, salvation would be provided after the divine

mind had been surprised by the unwelcome fact of sin. Further, prescience and nescience appear to accord equally well with God's hatred of sin and his desire that his creatures should not sin; or, at least, the harmony is as perfect in the one view as the other—unless we hold the necessitarian notion of foreknowledge. HIRAM L. SIBLEY.

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THE UNFAIRNESS OF SOME BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

PROFESSOR TOY, of Harvard, in a recent article, severely condemns the use of the Bible in the pulpit, or rather its misuse, by the custom of detaching a text from its context and appending to it a discourse upon another theme, as if the minister should say, "I call your attention this morning to a passage from Scripture about which I shall not say anything whatsoever." He also deplores the ministerial habit of substituting for the historical and literal meaning of the passage a wholly modern and fanciful interpretation. In both criticisms there is some truth. It is assuredly a lack of critical honesty to wrest a passage from its context in the Scriptures in order to use it merely as a catchword for our own reflections or fancies. It is no aid to clear spiritual perception to have confused and ignorant impressions of the historical sense. We must lay aside our preconceptions, our nineteenth century habits of thought, to understand truly the primitive and rough-hewn men of the old scriptural history or, indeed, the simple, untaught fisher-folk of the synoptic gospels. A true interpreter of Holy Scripture, above all things, should be honest. He must honestly set forth what manner of men these were whose lives are recorded here, what thought they had of the Jehovah or Elohim they worshiped, and what were their actual laws of conduct, the relations between man and man then, and, a yet more crucial test, the relations between man and woman. He must not read our later morality between the lines, nor gloss over "hard sayings," nor shrink from any ascertained truth because it contradicts our traditions. Truth is not served even by well-meaning deceit. Yet, being honest in all things to the history and meaning of the past, does he owe nothing to present truth? Have these histories, these poems, these prayers no present meaning, no spiritual thought contained in the literal one, as the perfect rose sleeps within the close shut bud?

To treat the word of God thus, to limit it to one age and one generation, is obviously unfair, for these same critics would not so interpret any other work. Even the myths and legends, the struggling thoughts of races in their childhood, have within their rude and simple forms lovely germ-thoughts, only half understood by those who uttered them, but which feed the imaginations of poet and artist to-day. Would any critic demand that we should restrict ourselves to the confused, half-seen impressions of the barbarian, and refuse to read the larger inner meaning as truly there as the winged creature within the oval egg? Or in studying a great writer like our English Shakespeare, because we ought to under-

stand the conditions of the Elizabethan age, its ambitions and struggles, its coarseness of expression, its fermenting and vigorous life, its time, impress, and color, must we, therefore, force ourselves back into the ruder mold of Elizabethan thought, the interpretation of his contemporaries, deaf and blind to his merit? I do not hesitate to say that if we do we will get little good out of our Shakespeare. We may learn the outside cut and fashion of his intellectual vesture; we will surely miss the inner meaning, the spirit burning within, but throwing far-reaching light. And shall we grant that Shakespeare has a word for us as well as his heedless contemporaries, and declare the writers of the Scriptures mute save to their own age, in the face of the fact that thousands of brains and hearts to-day draw sustenance from them?

The fact that a writer may not see the full meaning of his word does not invalidate the reality of the meaning. It is not necessary, it is not possible, that any true teacher should know the fullness of the truths he declares. The old prophets, setting forth a higher sacrifice than the blood of bulls and goats, could not know the height and depth of their saying. All truth is living, growing, unfolding in its very essence. It is for man; and the tongue of a child may stammer its syllables or the prophet and sage proclaim its wisdom, each in a different fashion. And, though the historical meaning and setting of a life is important, the vital and essential meaning is the moral or spiritual truth which it teaches to us to-day, read more clearly by the long education of centuries. True historical criticism does not seek to cast the past adrift from the present, but to show the living connection.

As an illustration we may quote a recent writer, who explains the meaning of the words, "For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost," as referring merely to the disowned publicans and sinners of the Jewish race on whom the upholders of the law looked with scorn. It is surely well to see the vivid picture of these race-aliens, hating and hated by their own people. It gives a more piercing accent to the pathetic words. But who that fairly reads the life of the Son of man cannot see within this local and temporary meaning a fuller and deeper spiritual one—compassion for these spiritually lost by alienation, not from the Jewish race, but from the human brotherhood? Restricting the meaning to its political significance is indeed false to Him who broke all barriers between man and man. A criticism which, in bold adherence to the letter alone, is blind and untrue to the spirit of truth is no trustworthy guide to knowledge.

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ANSWERS TO PRAYER.

ARE the answers to prayer preordained? Are they prepared from all eternity and kept on hand for the occasion when it arrives or when acceptable prayer is offered? That may seem to be a strange theory, and yet we find it sometimes in speculative theology. But is it true? Is it scriptural? Is it Arminian or Calvinistic theology? Manifestly it

belongs to the latter system, which predicates everything of divine sovereignty and eternal decrees. Calvinism, as a system of doctrine, is a unit; its peculiar tenets, its fundamental principles, stand or fall together. If God has preordained one class of human events why not another, why not all? And, as the final result, we have full-fledged Calvinistic predestination. How can God preordain the answer to a prayer and leave its acceptability contingent? If the character of a prayer be contingent, then the answer to that prayer must also be contingent or uncertain. God can only foreknow contingent events as contingent and uncertain; for if he foreknows them as certain, then they are not contingent, but must come to pass. Does the Bible anywhere teach this doctrine—that is, that God has preordained the answers to all acceptable prayer? If so, where is the scripture proof? We have been unable to find it and seriously doubt its existence. We do know of some passages which, to us, appear to teach directly the opposite, as, for instance, the case of Nineveh. The wickedness of the people in that great city came up before God, and he was about to punish them. He sent the prophet Jonah to warn them of their danger, that they might repent of their sins and thus escape the penalty. "So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest even to the least of them. . . . And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil, that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not." Dr. Clarke says, "He therefore changed his purpose, and the city was saved." But if God had preordained to answer their prayers, with a complete absolution of all their sins, then the declared purpose to punish them was in conflict with the eternal purpose to hear their prayers and to save them! "And he did it not." If God had foreseen their repentance and foreordained a gracious answer to their prayer, then it must follow either that God did not intend to punish them when he threatened to do so, or else that prayers, the answer to which had been preordained, might not have been answered after all. In this case the penalty was contingent upon persistent rebellion, and the gracious deliverance must have been equally contingent upon the prayer of penitence and faith, and neither was preordained.

But take another example, the interposition of Moses in behalf of the idolatrous children of Israel when they made and worshiped the golden calf. It is written, "The Lord said unto Moses, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiff-necked people: now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them: and I will make of thee a great nation. And Moses besought the Lord his God, and said, Lord, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with great power, and with a mighty hand? Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, and say, For mischief did he bring them out, to slay them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth? Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people. Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou swarest by thine own

self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I give unto your seed, and they shall inherit it forever. And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people." "He thought to do." He had in his mind a purpose to punish them, but "the Lord repented;" he changed his purpose in answer to the prayer of Moses. Now, if the answer to this prayer was preordained, then God did not really intend to destroy this idolatrous people and to make of Moses a great nation. Was it a false pretense? It does seem to us that, in the light of this theory of the preordained answer to the prayer of Moses, the above narrative is little better than a caricature of the Deity. It represents him as being very angry and threatening to do terrible things, which he knew at the time that he would not and could not do, because he had from all eternity ordained a favorable answer to the prayer of Moses. If the answer to this prayer was preordained it could not possibly fail to be given, and in that case actual punishment was never impending. Was the fearful threatening all for effect? Was it intended simply to terrify the people and prompt Moses to pray, so that God might display his sovereignty, if even it be at the expense of truth? We greatly prefer to believe that God meant just what he said, that he did really intend to punish this rebellious people with national destruction, and that he changed his purpose in answer to the prayer of Moses. This change of purpose was evidently wrought in the mind of God at the time, and not fixed by an eternal decree. Here is a most beautiful and sublime example of the prevailing power of prayer, and it should inspire us with confidence and courage in all our approaches to God.

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THE QUESTION OF "ZENANA BAPTISMS."

A CASUAL glance at the difficulties that confront our missionaries in the Orient, as suggested in an article under the above caption in the last number of the *Review*, might seem to present a case of an irresistible object coming in contact with an immovable one. But fortunately the case is not so bad as this, for deeper reflection will prove that such a thing is impossible, as in physics, so in morals. It may safely be assumed, indeed, that Christianity is irresistible. It must, and will, move on to the accomplishment of its divinely appointed mission, for it is assuredly destined to be the religion of the whole earth. But that heathenism, either in its religious beliefs and manifestations, or its social structure, presents an immovable barrier to its progress, no Christian believer can admit.

Truly, the question of providing baptism for women "who have become Christians in heathen lands, where social customs of an inexorable order immure them in zenanas," is "no small problem," and before it can be solved something must give way; for the exclusion of women from the public, whatever may have been the occasion of such a social eccentricity at the beginning, is at variance with the spirit and teachings

of Christianity, and as there can be no compromise of the principles of the latter, the logic of the circumstance requires that the former shall yield. And why not? It will not be the first, or only, instance wherein "social customs of an exorable order," or even religious or political dogmas and practices, have been disturbed or annihilated because they did not harmonize with the ethics of the New Testament. We instance Judaism, polygamy, slavery, etc. Whenever and wherever they have existed, on the introduction of Christianity they have been compelled, sooner or later, to give place to its higher moral standard. And this we conceive to be the fundamental idea of that aggressive system established by the Galilean Teacher, that it shall accomplish the reform of the human race in every particular in which it is found to be contrary thereto.

Must Christianity confess that "it is idle to force an issue with the custom [purdah system of India] under present conditions?" When will the conditions for the emancipation of the women of heathen lands from their social bondage be more favorable? There is no necessity for, and we do not insist upon, any "sudden and severe modification" of the present social economy of those lands. Christ's kingdom can afford to go slowly and give time for the "development of moral resistance to justify the removal [eventually] of artificial restraints." Meanwhile, the whole heathen community must be effectually taught to believe and know that Christianity does not endanger the purity of its homes nor attempt "to lower moral fastidiousness among people" so lacking in knowledge of the true principles of social ethics; and it is a sad mistake to place it side by side, in comparison, with that "freebooter in morals," Mohammedanism, in its relation to the most sacred of all earthly shrines —the home. On the other hand, Christianity will not only have instructed the heathen to revere the home and to preserve it "inviolate," but will have also so imparted the power of "moral resistance" to its inmates as to render perfectly safe in general the association of the sexes.

The twenty thousand women in the zenanas of India who have espoused Christianity, and are to-day "unbaptized by virtue of the embarrassment of this social condition," are to be pitied on account of the privation they are called to endure; yet their eternal salvation is by no means at stake, and should they die before the opportunity for baptism comes we cannot believe that their souls would be lost. When in God's good providence the barrier is removed, and they, or their children, or their children's children, are emancipated, then, and not till then, will their duty be imperative to publicly acknowledge their faith by seeking baptism.

The Church need not teach nor allow "lay baptism" (not that baptism is "a matter of indifference," nor yet that it is "a matter which requires that they must violate" any "sense of moral propriety and womanly decency);" but it may, and will, if consistent and faithful to its great Head, teach and insist that heathen women shall set aside, when it becomes possible, "their standards of existing society." W. A. CARVER.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE FOUNDATIONS STILL FIRM.

THE press is teeming with speculations on religious topics, especially those relating to religious beliefs. We are gravely reminded of the fact by clergymen and laymen who do not believe in the orthodox ideas of the atonement, punishment, the person of Christ, etc., with the inference that therefore the old views are to be regarded as obsolete. The modern form of putting the case is about thus: Rev. Mr. —— no longer believes in endless punishment of the wicked; Rev. Dr. —— has doubts on the subject of the divinity of Christ, etc.; therefore orthodox views of Christianity are declining. A few names are thus made to go far, and the most sweeping conclusions are based upon grounds the most insufficient. Suppose that all whose names are thus paraded as authorities on these questions reject the doctrines out of which they grew and take rank among the liberalists of our time. What then? The evangelical Church of Christ was not built upon them nor founded by them. It existed long before they came upon the stage of action, and it will continue when they cease to live. The truth is "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone."

There has rarely been a period in Church history when the same argument could not have been used with equal force, and there has never been a time when the truth of the Gospel has not marched right forward. It is one of the proofs of the credulity of this superficial age that so many intelligent people are borne away from the truth by mere declarations of subjective conclusions which rest upon no foundation of fact. The truth is that the thinking people of this country and of the world are not moved away from the truth. The appeal of Scripture and of religious truth is to the hearts and consciences of humanity in general. These beat as loyally to the old theology as they ever did. The real difficulty is that so many who are called to instruct them, mistaking the voice of magazine and review articles for the voice of the people, neglect to feed them with the truths which their hearts so earnestly crave. Wherever the pulpit is loyal to the rich inheritance of truth handed down from our fathers there is warmth and Christian life. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? The truth must be sown in order that the truth may be reaped. If the churches of our land were numbered to-day and the views of the people were accurately taken the Church as a whole would be found as loyal to Christ as ever. It is not true that the people of our Churches are drifting away. It is a figment of the imagination of them who would have it so. So long as our people are true as they are there is little danger from the attacks which are now being made.

Nor is the scholarship of the country drifting away from the evangelical faith. We have said that the people are loyal to their faith. We go a step further and say that the scholars are loyal also. Far be it from us to

depreciate the talents of many who hold the views we here antagonize. No question is raised as to their conscientiousness or their ability. But biblical scholarship is mainly orthodox, especially in England and America. Bishop Ellicott, the greatest of modern grammatical exegetes, is in harmony with the soundest evangelical teaching. So, too, are Lightfoot, Vaughan, and others. The biblical thought of our own country is almost entirely on the same side. Where, however, says some one, is the scientific thought of the times? We answer at once, it is drifting—drifting as to science, drifting also as to religion. Unstable as water, it cannot have any force over the religious mind of our age which we can consistently accept as authoritative. Failing to answer the final questions which the religious world must ever ask as to the origin of sin, of goodness, and of hope; failing to give any satisfactory method by which a wicked world is to be made better; failing to solve the deep problems of our higher nature which have come up through all the ages, it cannot be regarded as a teacher of religion.

What if many clergymen have wandered? Does that shake the fabric of religion? Is not the edifice as perfect as ever? Are orthodox pulpits destitute of ministers, are orthodox churches empty? Are the churches filled where a modified and, as they say, improved Gospel is proclaimed? Let us estimate all that is claimed at its full value, but let us not be led away by false ideas as to the nature and strength of the inroads which are being made upon the Church. It is the constant weakness of our adversaries to misunderstand the forces on the side of the Church of Christ. A supernatural religion will not be overthrown by natural causes.

The faith of the Church is strong in the supernatural forces which underlie its progress. Those who have gone have not affected with disloyalty those who remain. It still remains true that "the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his."

NOTES ON HARMAN'S "INTRODUCTION," CHAPTERS III–V.

These three chapters have to do with the linguistic character of the Old Testament, namely, its language, its manuscripts, and its versions. These are logically presented, inasmuch as it is necessary to know the original language in order to study its manuscripts or its versions. The student of English who has never studied the classical or biblical languages will find these chapters difficult to comprehend, and he can scarcely hope to master them. Indeed, the classical student who is unacquainted with Semitic languages will be embarrassed. The peculiar features of the Semitic languages will in the nature of things be obscure to such persons. And yet every preacher ought to master the general facts which are presented by the author.

The subjects considered in the third chapter are:

1. The language in which the Old Testament was written (p. 41).

2. The family of languages to which the Hebrew belongs, and what is included in that family (p. 42).

3. The two forms of Aramaic, namely, the Syriac and Chaldee (pp. 42, 43).

4. The peculiar features of the Semitic languages (pp. 43, 44).

5. The periods in biblical Hebrew (pp. 44, 45).

6. The scholars who have chiefly promoted the advancement of Hebrew learning, and the books most valuable in Semitic studies (pp. 46, 47).

It may be remarked that for the student of Semitic languages it is best to begin with the study of Hebrew, which combines simplicity with completeness in a way which will enable a student to grasp readily the general principles of language formation that are found in the other languages of the same family. It is a very easy road from a mastery of the Hebrew to a knowledge of Syriac, and Chaldee, and Ethiopic. Arabic is more difficult, and the student is embarrassed by its extensive vocabulary.

Chapter IV is devoted to "The Condition of the Text of the Old Testament," and also gives a catalogue of the chief Hebrew manuscripts. It is here to be noted that the Hebrew manuscripts are few in number as compared with those of the New Testament, and the reasons are given by the author for this fact. It is also to be noted that the existing Greek manuscripts are of a much earlier date than those in Hebrew. The student should further note that the vowel pointings of the Hebrew are a late addition, and should remark the influence of the Masorites on the sacred text. It must be borne in mind, however, that a manuscript of late date may represent a text of a very early date.

Of almost equal importance with the manuscripts of the Old Testament is the study of versions (Chapter V). The value of the versions, both of the Old and the New Testament, is well understood by the critical student. Dr. J. A. Alexander's statement of the value of the study of the Septuagint is equally applicable to the study of versions in general:

> In the first place, it is an important aid in determining the text of the Old Testament (though often misapplied in this way), by showing how these old translators read it. In the next place, it affords assistance in determining the sense, by showing how these old translators understood it. In other words, it is, when properly employed, a help both in criticism and interpretation.*

The emphasis of this chapter is justly placed upon the Septuagint, which is recognized as the most important of all the ancient versions. Its chief importance arises out of a fact already indicated in the quotation just given, namely, that "it is an important aid in determining the text." Its use and abuse in this particular involve great principles and deserve more extended mention than is possible in a brief space. The history of the Septuagint, its character and authority, its text, the versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, and its corruptions, are distinctly set forth. The attitude of the Jews toward the Septuagint has been strangely inconsistent. There was a time when it was their Bible and was held in high esteem. Alexander says:

> It . . . was highly valued by the Jews themselves, until the virulence of antichristian controversy led them to denounce it as an inexact translation. . . . The violent revulsion in

* *Notes on New Testament Literature and Ecclesiastical History*, p. 97.

the feelings of the Jews with respect to this time-honored version may be gathered from the [illegible] and extravagant expressions of the Talmud; for example, that darkness overspread the earth when it was finished and that the sin of making it was equal to the sin of making the golden calf.*

There are now very diverse views as to its value, some regarding it as containing a representation of an earlier Hebrew text and thus placing upon it an extravagant value; others regarding it as valuable chiefly as a specimen of Hellenistic Greek and because of its bearing upon the study of the language of the New Testament. There can be but one inspired text, and that is the original Hebrew. So far as the Greek translation throws light upon the original we may profitably employ it; but it cannot be a substitute for the original, and it cannot by itself constitute a sufficient authority for the existence of another supposedly purer text. The author's discussion of the various texts and of the corruptions in the text will show that the Septuagint cannot be an absolute and final arbiter as to the Old Testament text. The further discussion of the Targums, the Syriac translation, the Latin versions, Egyptian translations, etc., constitute the balance of the chapter.

It is again proper to urge the English student to obtain a clear conception by fixing these topics in outline clearly in the mind. This part of the book will serve as a stimulus as well as impart information. It will show what wide reading is necessary in order to have a critical understanding of the Holy Scriptures. It also shows the value and necessity of a knowledge of Hebrew in order to a critical apprehension of the great problems confronting the Old Testament student. Appliances are so numerous for aiding those desirous of improving themselves, especially in the department of languages, that any one of energy can lay a foundation of great value without interfering with his ordinary work. The prosecution of these studies is especially incumbent on those who have been through a college or theological course. If, however, linguistic studies are not possible a careful study of Harman's *Introduction* and of cognate works will do much to familiarize him with the profound problems in the Holy Scriptures.

AN IMPORTANT PAPAL ENCYCLICAL.

A RECENT encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, on "The Study of the Holy Scriptures," is important because it has not been supposed that the Roman Catholic Church was particularly given to biblical studies, especially to the study of the Holy Scriptures in the original languages. The encyclical is dated at Rome, November 18, 1893, and has been summarized by Cardinal Gibbons. We take from his summary the following passage of great importance:

> Leo XIII exhorts the priesthood of the Catholic Church, and in particular its patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, to whom the pontifical epistle is addressed, to study the Bible. Two principal reasons impel the pope to take this step. The one is his desire to see "this glorious source of revelation more safely and more abundantly opened for the use of

* *Notes on New Testament Literature and Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 92-94.

the Lord's flock." The other is his unwillingness to "tolerate that the same should in any way be violated by those who either by impious daring openly attack the sacred writings or imprudently are scheming new and fallacious doctrines." He refers his readers to 2 Tim. iii, 16, 17: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."

The maintenance that the Bible is a supernatural revelation is strongly insisted on, as is also a thorough study of the Bible by all the prelates and high officials of the Church. He thus assumes that the Bible is to be the instructor of all who hold authority in the Roman Catholic Church. But he does not stop here. After citing the examples of the fathers of the Church in favor of the study of the Scriptures the pope discusses the methods of study of the sacred oracles:

About twenty pages are filled with special regulations and provisions for the searching of the Scriptures in the Catholic schools, academies, and seminaries "according to the requirements of the times and the importance of this department of study." The pope counsels a more prudent and careful selection in the choice of the teachers and professors of this important discipline. He then lays down certain detailed rules for a thorough and scientific course of biblical interpretation, which ought to be both comprehensive and profound. Adopting the *Vulgata*, or recognized Latin version of the Bible, as the true and generally accepted text-book, Leo XIII, upon the indorsement of St. Augustine, advises the use and study of the Greek and Hebrew originals of the New and Old Testaments respectively.

In what follows the dogma of the Church is considered, subject to its verification by the Bible and the authority of God's revelation in it, as interpreted by the divinely ordained sacerdotal faculty of ecclesiastical teachers. These must be well versed in oriental and classical lore and languages. They ought to study the more ardently, and acquire the more of secular as well as religious wisdom, the more the signs of the time and the advance of secular learning and scientific research sternly demand the apologetic exertion of the defensors of the Christian faith and a keener critical acumen, sharpened by a stricter and more assiduous application to historical and linguistic studies.

The apparent conflict between biblical doctrine and the discoveries of modern science, faith, and knowledge is referred to and denied. Natural and supernatural revelation, the God of creation and the Lord of salvation, do not contradict each other. Besides, says Leo, with St. Augustine, it must be remembered that the sacred writers, or rather "God's Spirit, who spoke through them," did not intend to teach men things that were of no use for their salvation. The writer confirms constantly his assertions and pontifical admonitions by concurrent quotations from the fathers and the decrees of the Church, and after an eloquent peroration concludes his encyclical.

We cannot, of course, accept the statement that the Vulgate should be accepted as a basis, for the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures can be the only solid foundation. But we may still indorse his plea for the study of originals, and also his advice as to the character and capacity of those who shall give instruction: "These must be well versed in oriental and classical lore and languages." He further recognizes the necessity of meeting the current antagonism to faith, and maintains that there can be no real conflict between science and revelation. While there is much as to the authority of the Church in interpretation which we cannot accept, we cheerfully note this encyclical as one of the signs of the times and a movement on the part of Leo XIII which must be of great advantage in the advance of that knowledge of God's holy word which is so essential in order that mankind may become "wise unto salvation."

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE TEL-EL-AMARNA TABLETS.

VIEWED from an archæological standpoint, the accidental discovery of the above tablets by some fellahin, or, more correctly, by a peasant woman, is one of the greatest discoveries of modern times. No records or monuments of the past, of any kind, have yet been found which contribute more to our knowledge of the exact state of civilization at the period when the Hebrews under Joshua invaded Canaan. For that reason they will be welcomed by every student of the Bible, and especially by those who regard it as the inspired word of God. These tablets contrast singularly with previous monumental discoveries in Egypt, which are all almost, if not wholly, silent concerning the sojourn of the Hebrews in that land, as well as concerning the exodus. If the identification of a few proper names is established we have recorded in this correspondence found at Tel-el-Amarna a number of events corroborating in many ways the biblical account given in Joshua. This becomes doubly significant when we remember it is generally agreed by those fittest to judge that many of these tablets were written about 1500 B. C., or when, according to Usher's chronology, the Israelites were wandering in the wilderness (compare 1 Kings vi, 1). They consist, for the most part, of dispatches to at least two, possibly three, kings of Egypt from petty rulers, governors, and consuls in Palestine, Phœnicia, and Syria, imploring immediate assistance against the several nations in revolt against the Egyptian government. Several are from allies or friendly kings in Armenia, Babylon, and Assyria. Those from Armenia and Babylon are of a private nature, matrimonial alliances being the chief subject discussed; while the letters from Alasiya, probably Cilicia (compare "Elishah," Gen. x, 4), are also friendly in tone and discuss, among other things, an extradition treaty (see B. M. 5*). They are generally addressed to the kings of Egypt, three of whom are mentioned, namely, Mimmuriya, Babylonian for Neb-Mat-Ra, or Amenôphis III; Naphuriya, that is, Nefer-Cheferu-Ra, or Amenôphis IV; and Manachbiiriya, that is, Men-Cheferu-Ra, or Thothmes IV. The first two kings have been identified beyond doubt as Amenôphis III and IV. Bezold, Budge, and others agree in this with Professor Erman, of Berlin, who first established the fact. The number of the tablets is not definitely known, since quite a few were sold to private parties. There are, however, one hundred and sixty-six in the museum at Berlin, eighty-two in the British Museum, and at least sixty in the Gîzeh Museum in Egypt. They are made of clay, varying in color and composition, showing that they were not made in one place. The writing is also, though cuneiform, in several different styles. They are rectangular or oval in shape, varying in length from two to eighteen inches. Many of them are so damaged and broken as to be of little value.

* B. M. 5 means tablet in the British Museum marked 5.

Tel-el-Amarna was comparatively unknown till 1887, though the scientific men attached to Napoleon's army in the Egyptian campaign discovered there some objects of interest to archæologists. The ruins of this ancient capital are in a large plain on the eastern bank of the Nile, about equally distant from Thebes and Memphis. Though its former glory has long ago departed, Tel-el-Amarna was at one time a city of great splendor and the capital of Egypt. It is well known that Amenôphis III married several foreign wives, one of whom is said to have been the celebrated Queen Thi, probably a daughter of Suturna, king of Mitani, that is, Armenia, or a portion of it. These foreign matrimonial alliances did not increase the king's love for the national religion. Therefore the priests of Amen in Thebes became displeased; for, as in the case of Solomon, these foreign wives, with their foreign servants and courtiers, exerted, as might be expected, an influence upon the religious life of the court hostile to the established Egyptian cultus. Amenôphis III died when his son, afterward Amenôphis IV, was only thirteen years old. Brought up under the guardianship of his mother, it is not strange that he, like his father, married an Armenian princess, Taduchepa, probably his own cousin, the daughter of Dusratta, Queen Thi's brother. Influenced by his mother and wife, he not only changed his religion, thus earning the title of "heretic king," but also his own name, evidently because the first part of it was the name of the Egyptian god Amen. Henceforth he is called Khu-en-aten, "the glory of the sun-disk." He went still farther; he even transferred the seat of government from Thebes, which, with its great temples, could not but constantly remind him of the old religion. It is very remarkable that the change from polytheism to monotheism took place about the time when the Hebrews were in Egypt. That Queen Thi was a woman of great influence and power is sufficiently attested by the sculptures and other works of art in the rock-hewn tombs and in several places in and around Tel-el-Amarna. The discoveries made here during the past few years, by Dr. Petrie and others, prove that the reign of Amenôphis IV was one of great splendor, luxury, domestic happiness, and idyllic love, no less than of great effeminacy—just such an age as would render the conditions of things described in these tablets possible.

Though the Tel-el-Amarna tablets were discovered in 1887 and were sold in 1888, and though several distinguished scholars have been working hard to decipher them, it must be admitted that there has not yet appeared any translation in every way complete and satisfactory. Several translations or abstracts of a portion of these letters have been made by Winckler, Bezold, Budge, Sayce, and others. "Sayce," writes Professor R. F. Harper, of the University of Chicago, "as usual has made translations; and Sayce translations, as usual, cannot be regarded as reliable." This criticism may seem a little hard; but certainly it would have been better for Professor Sayce's reputation had he manifested less haste and more thoroughness in what he calls his tentative translation. One edition after another of the *Records of the Past* contains corrections of some former translation. Some of his renderings are not only meaningless, but ridic-

ations. Take the following, pointed out in an English review. It is from the proclamation against Aziru, the son of the king of the Amorites: "If thou art a servant of the king in verity, why dost thou not eat his stomach before the king?"* Major Conder translates the same passage: "If thou art, as is assured, the servant of the king, how is his cutting off lawful in the sight of the king?" Professor Sayce mistook also the age of the tablets (though he has since corrected himself) and ascribed them to Nebuchadnezzar's time. These things are said simply to warn students not to place too great reliance upon "Sayce translations" unless supported by some competent authority. Major Conder, the veteran explorer and writer on Bible lands and biblical archæology, is the first to publish anything like a complete translation. His renderings are often stiff, stilted, unidiomatic, and probably incorrect in places; yet it is not likely, as he says in the preface to his book, entitled *The Tell Amarna Tablets*, that "the general result or the historical value of these most important texts will be affected." He continues: "I may at least claim that the language in which they are written is the mother tongue of that Syrian dialect which became known to me by speaking it daily for seven years."

By far the most interesting are the one hundred and seventy-six tablets from Palestine. A large number of them are from southern Palestine, and not less than six from Jerusalem. If Major Conder's views can be substantiated at least three kings are mentioned who figured prominently in the war with the Hebrews on their entrance into the promised land. These are Jabin, king of Hazor, Japhia, king of Lachish, and Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem. Even then were it impossible to prove them the same as those mentioned in Joshua it would be of interest to compare the two records. In B. M. 50 we have: "To the king, my lord, etc., thus says Japa'a, the chief of the city of Gazri [Gezer]." In Josh. x, 33, we read that Joshua smote Horam, the king of Gezer, who had come to the help of Japhia, king of Lachish. In a country so full of petty kings it is very possible that Lachish and Gezer were both ruled by Japhia, and that Horam was simply a sub-ruler under him. B. 48† has the following: "To the king, my lord, by letter, thus says Jebaenu [Jabin], chief of the city Hazura [Hazor]." The reader will notice that the consonants are identical in these two sets of words, and that we are told in Josh. xi, 1, 10, 11, that Joshua took Hazor and smote Jabin with the sword. The identification of Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem, killed by Joshua, is not so fully established. The name of the king, as found in the letters from Jerusalem, is generally transliterated Abdhiba. It may seem strange to some readers that there could be any doubt about the correct forms of these proper names, or that there could be any confusion. Let us remember that the cuneiform script is not in letters, but that the signs represent sounds no less than ideas. Thus names are not always written in syllables, but by ideograms, like the various signs in mathematics. Professor Sayce illustrates as follows: "In English, the ideograph + may be pronounced

* See *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. v, p. 92.

† B. stands for Berlin, and this is tablet marked 48 in the Museum at Berlin.

plus, added to, or *more*." Hence the different spellings so common in proper names from ancient Egyptian and Babylonian monuments.

In the letters from southern Palestine, especially those from Jerusalem, a people called the 'Abiri play a most prominent rôle. They are said to have come from Edom, for the king of Jerusalem writes (B. 104), "They have fought against me as far as the land of Seeri [Seir];" and again (B. 103), "They have fought all the lands that have been at peace with me." Still in another letter (B. 109) he sends this plaintive message: "Truly we are leaving the city of Jerusalem; the chiefs of the garrison have left without order." Tablet B. 101, from Keilah, informs us that the 'Abiri had destroyed thirty temples of the Amoritish gods. This shows that the 'Abiri acted precisely as the Hebrews were wont to do. One line in B. 102 is of great value, if Conder's translation is correct. He renders it, "They have prevailed, they have taken the fortress of Jericho." There can be but little doubt that the 'Abiri are the Hebrews of the Bible. The two names are almost identical, and the events described in the tablets and in Joshua have much in common. Some render 'Abiri "allies," meaning the Babylonians. But Egypt and Babylon were at peace at this time, and the Babylonians had refused to join the northern revolt against Egypt. The 'Abiri came from the south; they are not even mentioned in the northern letters. Besides, another word is used for "allies." Finally, the initial sign corresponds to the Hebrew *ayin* (ע), as in עַזָּה, Gaza, not *cheth* (ח).*

The Egyptian soldiers left Palestine just about the time of the Hebrew invasion. We read (B. 102): "The 'Abiri chiefs plunder all the land. Since the chiefs of the Egyptian soldiers have gone away, quitting the land this year," etc. This confirms the fact, already known, that since the time of Thothmes I there had been Egyptian garrisons all along the coast as far as Beyroot, and thence east to Carchemish on the Euphrates, and that Thothmes III, after the defeat of the Hittites and Phœnicians, had occupied central Palestine. This perhaps explains why the Hebrews selected the desert route. While they were in the wilderness there was a general uprising of the northern nations tributary to Egypt. It is very possible that there may have been civil war in Egypt at this time, occasioned by the king's repudiation of the national religion; for it is not likely that the powerful hierarchy at Thebes would submit without any resistance. If this supposition be true it will be seen that this was a favorable time for the powerful Hittites and other nations, which Thothmes III had subdued, to throw off the Egyptian yoke and drive its soldiers out of their countries. Be that as it may, the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, if we have read them correctly, show that the Hebrew invasion of Palestine took place when the Hebrews were in no danger of resistance from their greatest oppressors, at a time when there was a general uprising all over the Egyptian empire, and when the several tribes who occupied Palestine had been greatly weakened by internal wars among themselves.

* See Conder's *Tell Amarna Tablets*, p. 141.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL MISSION INCOME.

The differences in the methods of tabulating the incomes of the several missionary societies often makes it very difficult to institute comparisons which are both desirable and us ful. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists include in their receipts the moneys raised by the woman's boards of their denominations. The Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society accounts only for what goes to its own treasurer, each woman's society having a separate treasury and disbursing its own funds. There are, besides these, two societies reporting separately, those of the Building and Transit Fund, originated by Bishop Taylor, and his African Fund, each independent of the other. Now, if we add these incomes together we will have the following result: Regular receipts of the treasurer of the Missionary Society for the year ending October 31, 1893, $1,196,608; receipts for "contingent appropriations" and "special gifts," $35,060; Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, $277,289; the Bishop Taylor African Fund, $39,676; the Transit and Building Fund, $15,000; Woman's Home Missionary Society, in cash, $130,000; the whole making a grand cash total of $1,693,633, exclusive of $77,000 worth of "supplies" (parts of which were cash) of the Woman's Home Missionary Society.

How much of this goes to foreign missions is not precisely determinable except by a little ciphering. The treasurer of the Missionary Society paid out last year $676,107 to the foreign missions directly. But as fifty-five per cent of the appropriations are given to foreign missions it is fair to charge up that proportion of the office and incidental expenses to this part of the work. This would add for last year fifty-five per cent of $118,714. If, however, we take but fifty per cent, it gives to the foreign account $59,357 more. There is still another small item which is outside of both these accounts, as per the treasurer's books, that of $8,900 for salaries of missionary bishops. But we must add the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society's income, already stated, and the two Taylor funds, which are exclusively foreign in their use; and thus we get for foreign missions $1,076,329, omitting the foreign part of the "contingent" and "special" appropriations of $35,060.

But what of the current year? We hope the depressed condition of the finances of the country will not cause any falling off of the income of these societies. The *Missionary Chronicle*, of London, is the organ of the London Missionary Society, which proposes to celebrate its centennial anniversary in 1895; and the *Chronicle* recalls the fact that it was amid the wreck and ruin in the commercial circles attendant on the disasters of the French Revolution that the society was organized. Carey began his foreign missions in the midst of a financial panic. As a matter of fact, there is no more reliable factor in the financial world than the income of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is this

that has made its credit sound enough to borrow, in emergencies, a half million of dollars from the banks, without giving mortgage securities on its property. But the chances are that there will be a good deal of unusual self-denial necessary if the income shall be advanced within this financial year. But the Church has this cause on its conscience and heart as it has no other form of organized benevolence, and will strive to honor the trust of the General Committee as expressed in its appropriations.

AMERICA A MISSION NATION.

THERE is food for thought in the utterance of George Smith, LL.D., of Edinburgh, Scotland, in one of his lectures at New Brunswick, N. J., to the effect that the foreign politics of the United States of America are foreign missions. Dr. Smith is the Convener of the Free Church of Scotland Missionary Society, was once editor of the *Friend of India*, and for a long time was intimately associated with the Serampore Mission. Dr. Smith's thought was the high vantage ground of American Churches as world-evangelists. "In the whole development of mankind during six thousand years there has been only one people and one land ready-made, as it were, to be itself free and, to all beside, the apostle of liberty in its highest form—the freedom which is in Christ Jesus. . . . The Americans were from the first prepared to become the chief messengers of Christ to the human race."

These is much besides encomium in this statement. It presents a view of our opportunity and responsibility which, there is much reason to suspect, has not been adequately grasped by the Christian public of this country. A map on a Mercator's projection which places the Americas in the center will show at a glance that the United States is on the highway of the world's travel. The shortest route from London to Australia, for instance, is across the United States. Europe is nearer to India by any route than is America; but all of eastern Asia—Japan, China, and Korea—is separated from us but by a Pacific lake, bridged by an easy ferry. European missions enter into the policy of aggrandizement of every European country, and are thus hopelessly entangled with European politics. America seeks no geographical extension, and does not even apprehend that missionary advance is allied with the increase of her commerce. Missions from America have, therefore, the unmixed meaning of unselfish benevolence which none apprehend more quickly than the heathen themselves. Thus America not only represents the evangel of Christian liberty, but her missionaries have a "clearance" for every spot on the globe. The opportunity involves the responsibility.

That a thousand Japanese should be converted on our Pacific slope within a few weeks and admitted to the Methodist communion, that twenty thousand of India's people should ask baptism at our hands in a single year, and that other thousands in China are seeking admission to our altars, is the providential indication that, for us, the hour has struck. It is for such a time we have come to the kingdom.

OUR MISSIONARY METHODS IN THE CHURCHES.

THE *Methodist Recorder* (London), calling attention to the action of the Wesleyan Conference in reference to some newly instituted measures for inspiring the churches in behalf of missions and advancing the collections for the same, says:

> The missionary secretaries have opportunely called the attention of superintendents and circuit Quarterly Meetings to the decision of the last Conference on the subject of Circuit Missionary Committees. In order to bring the affairs of the Foreign Missionary Society into closer relation to the circuit and under more careful supervision, a committee is to be appointed annually in each circuit, by the September Quarterly Meeting, of persons specially interested in the work of foreign missions, and is to have entire management of all matters throughout the circuit which affect the interests of the Missionary Society. A report of its doings, with an audit of the accounts and the amount of remittance made by the treasurer, is to be made to the September Quarterly Meeting. We do not know anything which is more likely to infuse vigor into circuit missionary affairs than this quiet piece of legislation, if only the committees be wisely selected. No pains ought to be spared in this. Especially let there be an energetic lay secretary elected.

In this connection we are constrained to ask for a special reading of Paragraphs 353, 358, and 360 of the Methodist Discipline. It will be seen that we have long since incorporated substantially these same features into our economy. They will be found to be efficient in the exact ratio in which they are exercised. But, to quote Sir William Jones, "Laws are of no avail without manners," which means that they will be of no beneficial effect unless the people can be brought to the disposition and habit of conforming to them. In our economy it is incumbent on the presiding elders and pastors to bring the people to this disposition and habit.

SUGGESTIVE FIGURES OF THE LAST INDIA CENSUS.

THERE are a good many anomalous facts stated in the last census of the British government in India. Among these is that there are six millions more of the male sex in India than of the female sex. Usually we have to account for the relative disproportion of males to females in the countries where a census is taken with any accuracy. This is attributed to the exposure of men to wars, the perils of the sea, or other dangerous and deadly occupations which fall to men rather than to women. But there is the reverse problem in this case. It is more than suggestive of the thought that the British government is not able to arrest female infanticide in its eastern empire. The census-taking of India was one of the marvels of modern organized action, the census of the whole empire having practically been taken simultaneously at the same hour. Hence there is little reason to suspect its accuracy. But as the zenana is always protected by a species of inviolable privacy it is barely possible that the count may not have been as perfect for women as for men. On the other hand, an ignorant apprehension as to the uses for which the census might be employed would be as likely to lead to falsifying the number of males as well as of females.

Another condition anomalous to Europeans is that the numbers of

married men and women are substantially equal, which shows that, notwithstanding the religious approval of polygamy, the mass of the people are monogamists. Other contrasts are suggestive also. There are over twenty-one million more unmarried men than unmarried women, while there are sixteen million more women who are widowed than men who are of this class. The widowers remarry in many cases; but here are twenty-three millions of widows, old and young, including child-widows, who are debarred from remarriage. The pathetic part of this lies in the destiny of Hindoo widows and the youth of many of them. There are 10,165 widows under four years of age; 51,876 from four to nine years; 140,734 from nine to fourteen; 280,942 from fourteen to nineteen; and 545,465 from nineteen to twenty-four years old. Of those that are more mature now a large proportion were widowed at a much earlier age. The illiteracy of the female population would be a source of alarm in any civilized State. No less than 127,726,768 are returned as illiterate, and only 543,495 as literate; and, still worse, only 197,662 are under instruction. If this mass of women is ever to be elevated there is vast work for somebody, and it will be no afternoon's task.

It may seem discouraging to note that there are sixteen million more non-Christian people in India than there were ten years ago, while there are but 2,284,380 Christians returned for all India, of which the Church of Rome counts 1,315,263, the ancient Syrian Church 200,467—leaving but 768,650 to represent the numerical result of a century of Protestant work. But we must never forget the ratio of increase, which is always an important feature of such estimates. The Protestant Christian figures were, for 1830, 27,000; for 1850, 102,951; for 1870, 318,363; for 1880, 528,590; and for 1890, 768,650. If anything like this ratio of advance can be kept up the gain must be very marked in the next fifty years. Nor must we ever forget that these systems of error are being constantly undermined. If there are more Brahmans there is less Brahmanism. Let us bear in mind, too, that the stream of new births, in this country in particular, adds to missionary opportunity. The progress of Christianity in India has been greater within the century than during the first century in the Roman empire; and there are many more Christians in the world to evangelize India than there were ten years ago.

THE magnanimous offer of the brethren who have in charge the Transit and Building Fund, inaugurated by William Taylor in aid of self-supporting missions in South America, by which they tendered to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church the work and property that had been accumulated in Chili, subject to conditions which the General Committee felt they could accept, means not only a gain of two hundred thousand dollars' worth of property, more or less, to the Missionary Society, but the other advantage of contributing to the solidarity and unification of missionary administration. Friends of this mission can favor it through the regular Missionary Society.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Friedrich Spitta. He stands among the foremost of the theological faculty at Strasburg. He is well prepared by scholastic training, by natural talents, and by long practice to exercise the office of a New Testament critic. He is courageous in the expression of his opinions, yet careful to conciliate, so far as possible, the minds of the more conservative, from whom he often differs so widely. On account of the vast interest awakened during the last few years in the criticism of the Apocalypse, and because he has risen to the rank of a first authority on the subject, it may be well to give his views. He denies (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes*—The Revelation of John) the unity of the book, claiming that, while the language throughout differs materially from that of other parts of the New Testament, this alone does not prove its unity. He believes that it is a compilation of Jewish and Christian apocalypses. The *Grundschrift* he takes to be the Christian portion, including the seven epistles to the Churches, and several other of the more favorite passages. Besides this there are two Jewish apocalypses apparent, one composed in the time of Pompey, and another in the time of Caligula. Besides these elements there are the additions made by the redactor who brought all these portions together in the time of Trajan. The Christian Apocalypse he supposes to have been composed by John Mark about a decade prior to the destruction of Jerusalem. He thinks it likely that the redactor did not suspect the Jewish origin of the non-Christian elements of the work he gave to the world. The redactor has done his work so well that it is only by the closest scrutiny that we would suspect its composite nature. Spitta thinks that his view is not only justified from the standpoint of biblical science, but also that he does not deserve to be cast out from the fellowship of the saints because of his conclusions. In the first place he has done his work in the interest of Christianity and the Church. Besides, he compares his conclusions with those of Luther and Zwingli, and finds that while they judge the Apocalypse with such severity as to give it no place in their New Testamen the has clearly proved the Christian origin of at least a portion of the book. He thinks, furthermore, that he has done a good service to religion by making clear which portions are of Christian origin and which of Jewish, to say nothing of the simplification of the apocalyptic problem for the ordinary reader. It will be noticed that, while Vischer makes the *Grundschrift* Jewish, Spitta makes it Christian.

Hermann Weiss. The theologians of Germany generally have the reputation of being specialists in the most restricted sense. Yet it must be said that most of them are capable of treating a great variety of themes. Weiss, although a professor of theology at Tübingen, is called upon to

write a work on Christian Ethics (*Einleitung in die christliche Ethik*) for the collection of theological text-books, of which Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte* forms a part. This places him at once among those of the first rank in German thought. It may be well, therefore, to confine our representations of him to his views on Christian ethics. Of these we can only touch upon anthropology. He affirms that in every individual there is a religious as well as ethical predisposition and capacity. So far as religion is concerned this capacity must not be confounded with the conscience, however closely they may be related to each other. Conscience is indeed the voice of God in the soul, but it is incapable of producing confidence in God. For this a religious capacity of another sort is imperatively demanded, which as really as the other is in man's nature. True morality can only be developed in connection with true religion. But while he asserts an innate capacity for religion in man he denies that the natural and spontaneous development of this capacity would ever cause man to attain the goal of his religio-ethical destination. For this the continual educational influences of the divine Spirit are necessary. This is proved not only by the heathen world, but by the constantly recurring condition of error and sin in the whole human race. This shows how absolutely necessary for the establishment of the religio-ethical consciousness and life is a special revelation from God. The experience of Christendom teaches that from Jesus Christ, especially as portrayed in his word, and not from the development of an original capacity, proceed the specifically religious and moral renewal and perfection. But this does not prove any contradiction between the revelation of God and the natural religious capacity of mankind. Here we have a side of human nature which has not been studied with sufficient care. The majority of theologians have been content to investigate the attributes and powers of God, but have neglected those of man upon whom divine influences operate. Weiss has gone into this department of investigation with all the zeal of a scientist, and yet with all the reverence of a sincere Christian. The profound remark of Augustine that the soul was made for God and cannot rest until it rests in God is constantly proved to be true, and the enemies of Christianity should take note of the fact.

Daniel Völter. His chief prominence is due to his views of the Apocalypse in his *Entstehung der Apocalypse* (The Origin of the Apocalypse). It is through his researches that the more careful study of the Apocalypse has been pushed with such energy during the past ten years, giving rise to so many theories, and raising the criticism of this book to as great prominence, although not to so great importance, as Wellhausen's theories lent to the criticism of the Pentateuch. No better illustration can be found of the extent to which the critical spirit will lead one who gives himself up to it than that furnished by Völter. The most recent criticism of the Pauline letters has been noticed previously in these pages. Völter is one of the most radical. A professor in a Dutch university, he took his

ment concerning the Pauline epistles from the Dutch professors Loman and Pierson, and the Swiss theologian Steck. But he is more radical than any of his teachers. Not only does he reject the principal Pauline letters along with the smaller ones, but he rejects the Acts of the Apostles as well. Nevertheless, he holds (*Die Komposition der Paulinischen Hauptbriefe*—The Composition of the Principal Pauline Letters) that Romans contains a Pauline element which he can distinguish. Following are the portions which he designates as Pauline: i, 1; i, 5, 6; i, 7; i, 8–17; chapters v and vi (except v, 13, 14; v, 20, and vi, 14, 15); chapters xii, 13; xv, 14–32; xvi, 21–23. The great reason which he gives for the belief in the spuriousness of the Pauline letters is that the Paul of those letters is an impossible character judged by the laws of development. He thinks him isolated from original Christianity and without influence upon the age immediately following. He is a phenomenon which, instead of making clear the early history of Christianity, renders it inexplicable. But we shall understand this better when we see how Völter sums up the views omitted from the letter that he has reconstructed. In it he finds no speculative construction of the person of Christ. There is no hint in his Romans of the preexistence of Christ, nor of two natures within him, but he appears as a man only. Here the real reason appears for the rejection of the other portions of the Epistle to the Romans. Glad indeed will be the day when men who profess to be purely scientific theologians shall be able to carry on their investigations without presuppositions which invalidate their results.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus" (History of Spanish Protestantism), by C. A. Wilkens. The history of the Reformation in Spain during the sixteenth century is scarcely at all known to the general reader, except through the history of the Inquisition. Wilkens has made himself master of the subject, and has produced a work of great interest and beauty. He treats the theme with all possible brevity, but gives the most weighty and characteristic features of this section of Spanish Church history. His work is increased in interest and value by the fact that he does not confine himself so closely to his subject as to ignore Spain and the Spanish people among whom the scenes are laid, but describes landscapes, localities, customs, politics, science, art, and important Spanish leaders, thus surrounding his subject with an air of concreteness otherwise impossible. There is a refreshing fairness in his treatment of the principal characters of the Spanish Reformation. He does not try to make them appear greater than they were; and so far as they are justly censurable by their Roman Catholic slanderers he does not undertake to defend them. In his sight the justness of their cause does not excuse their excesses. On the other hand, he does not treat with unnecessary harshness the leading personalities of Romanism during the

period. He appreciates whatever of excellence he sees in Spanish Roman Catholicism, while judging the doctrines according to the principles of the Reformation. In other words, he refuses to pay back the Romanist historians in their own coin when they abuse and slander everything Protestant. Nevertheless he does not fail to give the facts of the history. His work will in this respect prove unsatisfactory to the partisan, and may give comfort and even encouragement to the enemy. Roman Catholics are strangely incapable of gratitude for a spirit of fairness exhibited toward them. They are so wanting in magnanimity and so implacable that they will accept any advantage which that spirit may show them, but they will employ the advantage to destroy the one who affords it. The chivalric honor of knighthood may not safely be attributed to the Roman controversialist. But the true historical spirit has undoubtedly been caught by the author, and his work will be appreciated accordingly. With all its mildness it exhibits in a fearful light the cruelty and un-Christ-likeness of the Roman Catholic Church, which claims exactly to represent Christ on earth.

"**Der Paulinismus des Irenæus**" (The Paulinism of Irenæus), by Dr. Johannes Werner. The question here discussed has to do with the important problems of the canonization of Paul's epistles and the introduction of the Pauline theology into the Christian world. The conclusions of the author regarding the first of these are as follows: The first to use the Pauline epistles comprehensively in his writings, and as canonical, was Irenæus. These letters have indeed hitherto been reckoned as Pauline and estimated accordingly, but had not been reckoned as Holy Scripture. While gnosticism undertook to employ these letters as sacred Scripture in its own interest the Church was compelled to do the same; that is, the Church must turn the weapons of gnosticism against gnosticism. The Pauline epistles thus became canonical by being employed as such from necessity, not from conviction. The apostolic authority of Paul was undoubtedly held by Irenæus, but out of dogmatic considerations. It rested upon the leveling of the individualities of the apostles in the interest of the ecclesiastical tradition. It is independent of the historical Paul as he appears in his letters. Consequently Irenæus did not understand the individuality of Paul, but conceived him as dogmatic interests required he should be. Notwithstanding the mass of Pauline citations in Irenæus, it must not be concluded that he was penetrated with Pauline ideas. The investigation of these citations rather proves that they were employed in the interest of antignostic unity, the mystical and moral tendencies, and the eschatological inclinations of Irenæus. For these purposes Pauline ideas were cited, explained, and misunderstood. On the other hand, the citations hardly touch the specifically Pauline ideas of the plan and nature of salvation, and the measure of properly understood and genuine Pauline thoughts is very small. What Irenæus took from Paul corresponded with his own standpoint; but this was not essentially influenced by Paul. The result of all this is that we must

not suppose the letters of Paul to have been canonized by the choice of the Church, but by an accidental necessity. We may draw either one of two inferences from this: 1. That the Church knew Paul's letters to be unworthy of canonization, or, 2. That the Church wickedly refused them their rightful place in the sacred Scripture until the providence of God interfered to compel it. This book takes the former position. Space forbids the consideration of the doctrinal portion of the book.

"**Das Buch Judith**" (The Book of Judith), by Arthur S. Weissmann. Another contribution by a Jew to Jewish theological literature is here presented. It will be welcome to many who know but little of the book or its heroine. The story lacks indeed but little of being as interesting as Esther. But to the Jews at least the history of the latter is well known because of the Feast of Purim which celebrates it, while to the deeds recorded in Judith no festival is dedicated. To the Christian the Book of Esther is better known because it is among the canonical books of the Old Testament. Weissmann says that Judith is denied a place among the trustworthy historic books, not because it relates improbabilities or monstrosities, but because it makes Nebuchadnezzar reign at the time of Arpaxad, who lived at least two thousand years previously, and because of the difficulty of placing the events related in any date of Jewish history known to us. He thinks that Nebuchadnezzar was a typical name for a violent ruler, and that the events well fit into the period about B. C. 312. As to the refusal of the Synagogue to canonize the book, he thinks that several reasons conspired. But the principal reason was that Judith sprang from the tribe of Simeon, and that this tribe had for more than a thousand years been under the pressure of a curse. Jacob had cursed Simeon. Moses, before his death, blessed all the tribes of Israel except Simeon. The song of Deborah had a word of praise and encouragement for all the tribes except Simeon. And the Bible seems to heap upon this tribe all manner of reproach. The other tribes treated Simeon with such harshness that many of the tribe were obliged to leave the country to whose conquest they had contributed. If, as he supposes, the book may for a time have found a place in the canon, then he would explain its subsequent rejection and displacement on the ground that during the Maccabean period the general sentiment was against the admission of women to a share in any great or noble deed. He thinks the tendency of the book is decidedly in favor of the introduction of a higher state of morals, a deepening of religious feeling, and the selection as leaders of those only who are and who have always been above such suspicion in their lives. The author is an enthusiast in favor of the activity of woman in the realm of religious endeavor, citing Judith, Esther, Miriam, and Deborah as examples of this activity, and calling upon the Jewish women of the present and future to assist in securing to the race the precious treasures of truth, morality, and brotherly love, feeling assured that the result will not fail of success.

The Christ of the Biographers. Students of recent theology have come to take it as a matter of course that we shall have biographies of Jesus. Since the days of Strauss the attempts to write the life of Christ have been so numerous, and so much weight has been attached to these attempts, as to form a most striking characteristic of the theological thought of our times. But while these biographies can hardly fail to interest their readers there is a dubious side to the entire biographical tendency. Were the writers content to produce works giving a clear chronology of the life of Christ, and setting him in his proper historical surroundings, no fault could be found. Or were they chiefly anxious to give us a portraiture of his character drawn from the New Testament narratives, in contrast with the character given him by the development of Christian dogma, all would be well. But the writer who should do this would simply be ignored by the learned world. Two characteristics usually combine in the modern histories of Jesus. The first is a critical estimate of the sources of information. These are professedly the gospels, and in part the Acts and epistles. But it is not difficult to discover the bias of the authors of these "Lives" in the manner in which they deal with these sources. These are not allowed to speak for themselves. They are assumed to be incapable of harmonization. Wherever there is the slightest hint of contradiction in the recorded stories, the historians feel at liberty to choose between them, or to reject both. If the biographer disbelieves the miraculous he alters the record accordingly. And, in short, the sources are accepted or rejected as the biographer is suited or not suited with their contents. The excuse for all this meanwhile is the plea that the historian cannot do otherwise. He must deal with the gospels as with any other source of information. The second characteristic of the biographies of Jesus is the disposition to make him fit into the period in which he lived. According to them he was not so much the beginning of a new order as the culmination of the old. Preceding and contemporary conditions are studied in order to show how completely Christ was the product of historical forces in action and reaction upon his peculiar nature. As in the life of any individual the parentage, the climatic and topographical environments, the schools, and the views of life held by the people among whom he was brought up all combine with his special peculiarities of intellect and sensibility to produce the subject of the biography, so it was with Jesus. It is evident that written upon such principles a biography of Jesus is largely an invention of its author, and hence we do not find any considerable agreement among these writers. They attempt to rid themselves of the Christ of dogma, only to become themselves creators of a new dogma concerning him. For all this biography serves mainly to develop the Christological conceptions of its authors. In fact, one has a sense of having been deceived by the titles of these works. Professedly they are portrayals of the life of Christ. In reality they are Christologies under a more attractive name; or this, and also critical-historical studies of the gospels. With great flourish of trumpets this is announced as the recovery of the

historical Christ as opposed to the Christ of dogma; and in a way we must admit that the biographers have rendered a valuable service. The method of Christological study by accretion and ossification which distinguishes dogmatics has perhaps been forever superseded. We no longer go to dogma to learn of Christ, but to the Christ himself as portrayed in his word. But our chief gain has been in the securing of a better method, not in the results achieved by its application. For if the Christ of dogma was a being whose divinity almost excluded his humanity from our vision, the Christ of the biographers is one whose humanity almost denies the existence of his divinity. In either case the Christian must cry out, "They have taken away my Lord." The dogmatism of the historian is as evident and as injurious as that of the maker of a theological system, and as truly influences all his conclusions. The only difference between them is their presuppositions. It is therefore in the promise of the future rather than in the achievements of the past that we find satisfaction. The true historical spirit will some day be applied to the gospels. They have left many questions unanswered, and these the historian will leave unanswered. Dogma tried to fill the gaps left by the sacred narrative. Critical history is now undertaking the same task. The work of both will be rejected, and we shall be brought back to the blessed simplicity which characterized the disciples who, though they had not seen the Lord, yet believed and rejoiced in him, because of what they had heard concerning him and what they experienced of him. The Gospels give us data sufficient for a reconstruction of his person, but not sufficient for his history.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Protection of the Innocent. The Woman's International Association for the Elevation of Morals recently held an important Congress in Basel. The object of the general organization is to abolish the public houses of shame, and to create a sentiment which shall hold men to as strict a purity as is demanded of women. But a branch association is called the "Association of Friendly Females," whose special object is to afford to all girls whose duties call them to strange cities protection from their own inexperience and the wiles of the seducer. In every large city of continental Europe this society has its representatives, thereby spreading a net of love and protection over a large portion of the earth. These agents are to be found in the railroad stations of all the large cities, where they may be distinguished by a red-covered booklet containing all manner of information suited to their purposes. In many places "Homes" are established which afford hospitality to girls. In Basel about 100 girls, mostly governesses or saleswomen, are gathered together on Sunday afternoon by ladies who entertain them with song and conversation, from which the religious element is not excluded. Refreshment is also furnished free on these occasions. During the week these girls are visited in their homes or boarding houses, and helped in every possible way.

Evangelical African Association. Berlin has recently originated another organization in the interest of Africa. The more particular beneficiaries are to be the freedmen, or such children and youth as have been returned to freedom by slavedrivers in German Africa. To these more especially will be given the advantages of good schools and education. But the work of the society also includes the sending of physicians to Africa, the founding of hospitals, the Christian care of the sick, as well as all other works of mercy. The association hopes to win the masses of Germany to active sympathy and cooperation with its efforts. The cost of membership is to be but one mark annually, so that the very poorest can become identified with the work. The society will employ printed matter for the purpose of instructing the people concerning the needs of the work and the activities and achievements of the organization. The auxiliaries are to be organized territorially according to provinces. We may ridicule the tendency to organization as much as we please; but it is the only way of carrying on any good work.

Temperance in Belgium. This small nation has 150,000 places where drink is sold, and but 5,000 schools. For every 39 of the population there is one saloon, and but one school for every 1,176. If it be supposed that no children patronize these saloons, then there is one saloon for every 25 of the population. The value of the alcoholic drinks consumed during 1891 was 450,000,000 francs, or about one third the entire wage of the laborers of the country. The communal authorities of Luxemburg have had posted in all the public schools of the province statistics of which the following are a part: Of 125,000 cases of death annually, 25,000 are traceable to drink. While the population increased but 14 per cent, the consumption of alcoholic beverages increased 37, cases of insanity 45, crimes 74, suicides 80, tramps and beggars 150 per cent. This terrible increase of crime and misery is openly laid at the door of the drink habit, while the saying of Gladstone that alcoholism is a greater plague than pest, famine, cholera, and war, is quoted with approval. It is evident that the authorities who dare utter such things are not under the control of the saloon.

Female Superintendence for Female Prisons in Germany. The movement to secure this much-desired end did not spring from the authorities, but from the German Inner Mission. However, the authorities look upon it with favor. The proposition is to educate unmarried young women and widows, whose duty it shall be to labor among their unfortunate sisters in bonds, and if possible to accomplish their moral regeneration, a task which of course the State cannot accomplish. The course of study required continues six months. This ended, the candidate has to remain on probation for a given period, and then is entitled to assume the duties of her office. It would seem that immense good might result from such a plan. It certainly must increase the chances for those released to lead an upright life thereafter.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE biography of the great men of the world is never finally written. Current literature always has room for their names and deeds. The world wants to know the uttermost fact about the cradles in which they were rocked; whether, like Stanley, they sported on the playground at Rugby, or spent their boyhood years in premature work, like Dickens; up what hills of difficulty they climbed from the log cabin to the senate; whom they loved, betrothed, and wedded; with what self-poise they carried themselves in victory; how they went away from the world; and what memorials in books or institutions they left behind. Biography is therefore a perpetual instructor. Under the fellow-feeling that makes the generations kin the reader for the moment puts himself into the place of the world's great heroes, lives over again their finished lives, and learns new lessons of patience, persistence, power. The intermixture of biographical sketches with the metaphysical, sociological, and religious discussions of magazine literature is therefore timely, and is the particular feature in the latest exchanges to which attention is now directed.

Noticeable among these biographical articles is a reminiscence in the January number of the *Nineteenth Century* on the late Professor Tyndall, its author being Professor Huxley. The first meeting of the latter with Tyndall was in 1851, when he found a kindred spirit who justified the old shikaree's definition of a friend as "a man with whom you can go tiger-hunting." Of their association in those earlier years at such gatherings as the British Association in Ipswich, and of their close relation in scientific pursuits, Professor Huxley now indulges in genial remembrance. With a tourist's zeal they kept each other company on a visit to the mountains of Switzerland, Tyndall's permanent love for Alpine scenery and climbing becoming "intensified into a passion" at the time of their attempt, as told by Huxley, to climb Mont Blanc. Together they belonged to the mysterious "x" Club, in which membership was finally conditioned on the name of the candidate containing all the consonants missing from the names of the old members. "In the lack of Slavonic friends this decision put an end to the possibility of increase." In Tyndall, according to the showing of the article, were found such varied characteristics as "active veracity," unusual power of exposition and a "wealth of experimental illustration," high aims, and "a tenderly affectionate nature." Altogether, his life, of late so pathetically ended, is traced in felicitous description by his distinguished associate, who ends his sketch by saying, "We have all lost a man of rare and strong individuality; one who, by sheer force of character and intellect, without advantages of education or extraneous aid—perhaps in spite of some peculiarities of that character—made his way to a position in some ways unique, to a place in the front rank not only of scientific workers, but of writers and speakers."

Anselm of Canterbury is next noticed by the late Dr. Philip Schaff, in

the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for January. To the general reader the average mediæval theological leader is not the most attractive of characters, and the musty eleventh century is too remote to stir his particular enthusiasm. For the ecclesiastical student, however, Anselm, "the father of the schoolmen," who "fought the battle of the Hildebrandian hierarchy against State despotism in England," must ever be an important figure. Dr. Schaff's estimate of Anselm is in the superlative words that he was "one of the greatest and purest men of the mediæval Church." His doctrine of the existence of God, his theory of the atonement as set forth in his *Cur Deus Homo*, and his mysticism are among the points which Dr. Schaff notices. One could wish, after reading the article, for more than a speaking acquaintance with Anselm.

A distinguished trio, composed of Pusey, Lowell, and Ruskin, appears in the pages of the *London Quarterly Review* for January. The notice of Pusey covers such matters as his parentage and early years, his studious career at Eton and Oxford, his post-graduate work and honors, his marriage and ordination, and the gradual development of that extreme ritualistic movement with which his name will always be associated. A study of Lowell's character as set forth in his correspondence is the aim of the article on the great *littérateur*. His charming personality is well suggested in the description given of him by the parlor-maid, "He didn't leave no card, ma'am, but he had the coaxingest eyes ever you see." As to John Ruskin, the present notice is entitled "A Study in Development," and well shows the inevitable influence of childhood training upon adult years and performance. Unfortunate in being an only child, he was brought up by his mother "with a show of serene severity which, to gossips, appeared almost too Spartan." He was forced for his curiosity to touch a hot tea-kettle; he was whipped for falling down stairs; his dessert among the fruit trees was one currant; at four years his daily Bible readings began, with their molding influence on his literary style; at five "little John was a bookworm;" at six he had begun to write books; at nine he commenced "a didactic effusion in several books," called "Endosia, a Poem on the Universe;" and while yet a little boy he was paid for study at the rate of one shilling for a page of Homer, one penny for twenty lines of composition, and one penny per article for mineralogy. "It is always instructive," says the sketch, "to dwell on the childhood of a great man; but more particularly so when, as in this case, the germs of every power and every failing that maturity displays are to be observed in the boy." From which starting-point the article as it proceeds is captivating in its delineation of Ruskin the man, the scholar, the teacher of art.

The *North American Review* for February spreads a rich banquet for the satisfaction of intellectual hunger. The first article, entitled "My American Experiences," is by the President of the Swiss Republic. Coming as a young man from the University of Jena, in November, 1860, he enlisted in an Illinois regiment at the outbreak of the civil war, saw several battles, was captured at Gettysburg, and for over eighteen

soldiers suffered imprisonment at Richmond, Salisbury, and Danville. The article is one of those vivid reminiscences of the rebellion which only an old soldier could recall. In the second article, under the title, "The South Carolina Liquor Law," the Hon. B. R. Tillman, governor of the State, tells of its recent legislation on intemperance. He proves his opening assertion, that in South Carolina the prohibition sentiment is very strong, by showing that at the primaries in 1892 "prohibition" received 38,890 votes, and "no prohibition" 29,464 votes, with 20,008 voters not casting their ballots. The new law, known as the "Dispensary Act," was a substitute measure passed by the Legislature on the last night of its session. Looking to the restraint of the drink evil rather than its absolute eradication, the State has become the regulator of the traffic. In the first four months of the operation of the law, ending October 31, 1893, the net profits of the State Dispensary were $32,198, and of the Counties', $20,295. The decrease of arrests for drunkenness and disorder is another noticeable effect, there having been but 126 in September, 1893, against 230 for the same month in the previous year. The experiment will be watched with interest by sociologists. The third article, by the Right Hon. Sir John Lubbock, is on "The Income Tax in England." After tracing its history his conclusion is that, while the tax is a permanent part of the English fiscal system, it should be kept "within moderate limits." In "A Menace to Literature" Margaret Deland affirms that "journalism and literature stand to each other very much in the relation of the big boy and the little brother." The newspaper, in other words, is subversive of true art in its "miserable and silly personalities" and its cheap "symposiums." The fifth article, by the Brazilian Minister at Washington, Salvador de Mendonça, is on the "Latest Aspects of the Brazilian Rebellion." Next, Henry George writes on "How to Help the Unemployed," and, true to his shibboleth, argues for "freedom of access to land." The true way to cure scarcity of employment, in his estimate, is "to take taxes off the products and processes of employment, and to impose in their stead the tax that would end speculation in land." Following this is the inquiry by W. D. Howells, "Are We a Plutocracy?" Under "Needed Municipal Reforms" the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst discusses "Our Present Opportunity," and John W. Goff speaks trenchantly on "Juggling with the Ballot." Mgr. O'Reilly next writes on "Territorial Sovereignty and the Papacy;" the Hon. C. S. Hamlin, on "The Customs Administrative Act;" and Dr. Cyrus Edson on "The Evils of Early Marriages." Senator Roger Q. Mills ends the list of contributed articles with a paper on "The Wilson Bill," in which he defends the measure and asserts that its passage, in amended form, will be a benefit to trade and labor. His argument is not convincing.

THE *Lutheran Quarterly* for January has a long and attractive table of contents, as follows: 1. "Modern Spiritualism," by Professor L. A. Fox, D.D.; 2. "The Communion of Saints," by Professor J. W. Richard, D.D.; 3. "Pauperism and Charity," by J. C. Caldwell, D.D.; 4. "The Thrust

of Ideas," by Professor M. H. Richards, D.D.; 5. "The Church, Visible and Invisible," by Rev. J. C. F. Rupp; 6. "Christian Education," by Rev. Professor F. P. Manhart; 7. "Lutheranism in American Liberty Vindicated," by Lee M. Heilman, D.D.; 8. "The Authority of the Sunday Sabbath," by Rev. William P. Swartz; 9. "Jewish Propaganda in the Time of Christ," by Bernhard Pick, D.D. The third of these articles aims to "give a sketch of the history of the cry for help and of the response to that cry." Under a somewhat strange simile the writer of the fourth article compares ideas to "the roof with its unsuspected downward and lateral thrust which destroys that which it completes," and in a vigorous way discusses the domination of certain ideas which are nationally prevalent. The inference of the fifth article is that the Churches, invisible and visible, "are as inseparable as body and soul." The eighth article concludes with the belief that God's blessing on the Sunday Sabbath "proves its right to be held and kept as the Sabbath of God."

THE *Catholic World* for January and February has among many articles two consecutive papers entitled, "The Coming Contest, with a Retrospect," and "The Coming Contest—Have Catholics a Political Enemy?" The writer is the Rev. Alfred Young. The coming conflict is the battle between Protestantism and Romanism; the political enemy of the Romish Church is the Republican Party. The author pays his respects to the National League for the Protection of American Institutions in such choice phrases as "pharisaical" and "pharisaical hypocrite;" vents his spleen upon the various leaders in that great agency; and has altogether written two papers which, for anyone but a Roman Catholic, are a mixture seldom equaled of historical untruth, sophistry, and billingsgate.

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* for January discusses: 1. "The Testimony of God," by Robert A. Webb, D.D.; 2. "The Doctrine of Inspiration of the Westminster Divines," by B. B. Warfield, D.D., LL.D.; 3. "The Book of Jonah," by Luther Link; 4. "The Future of Roman Catholic Peoples," by Professor Emilio de Laveleye, and translated by Samuel R. Gammon. The last article is "a study in social economy." By comparison of the relative industrial conditions of Roman Catholic and Protestant countries the author proves with irresistible logic that Protestantism is the more favorable to the development of national life. Grouping on one side "France, Austria, Spain, Italy, and South America, and on the other Russia, the German empire, England, and North America, it cannot be denied that the predominance has passed to the heretics and schismatics." The place of education, morality, free institutions, religious sentiment, and clerical aid to social reforms, as contributing to national progress, is also adequately noticed in this strong, attractive, and pertinent paper.

THE *Contemporary Review* for January has: 1. "The Strike of 1893," by Emerson Bainbridge; 2. "A Living Wage," by Professor Cunning-

ham; 3. "The Future of Maritime Warfare," by Dr. H. Geffcken; 4. "Wolfe Tone," by Augustine Birrell, M.P.; 5. "The Revival of Farming," by Harold E. Moore; 6. "The Gospel State Church of the Commonwealth," by H. A. Glass; 7. "Superannuation of Elementary Teachers," by W. A. Hunter, M.P.; 8. "The Mormons. I.," by the Rev. H. R. Haweis; 9. "The Drift to Socialism," by A. Dunn-Gardner; 10. "How to Preserve the House of Lords," by Alfred Russel Wallace; 11. "Literary Conferences," by Walter Besant; 12. "The Rise and Development of Anarchism," by Karl Blind. Some of these articles, as suggested by their captions, are of more interest to English than to American readers; some are sociological and practical; some have an international application. The eighth paper, by the English clergyman who was lately a welcome visitor to our shores, contains a narration of some things he was told in conversation with such Mormon leaders as President Cannon and Bishop Clawson. Polygamy, on their testimony, has been completely abolished in Utah, though General McCook, the commanding general in Utah, assured Mr. Haweis that such is not the case.

Christian Thought for February is a memorial number in honor of its late editor, the lamented Dr. C. F. Deems. A speaking portrait of the departed Christian teacher is first introduced. This is followed by the salutation of Dr. A. H. Bradford, the new editor of the bimonthly, a sketch of Dr. Deems's career by the Rev. John B. Devins, the addresses at the funeral of Dr. Deems in the Church of the Strangers, addresses at a memorial service afterward held, and various memories of Dr. Deems and loving tributes on the part of individuals and associations. Were any evidence needed to confirm the repute which Dr. Deems won by long and influential service, it is found in the many spontaneous testimonies to his worth now grouped in the magazine which he established.

The *Edinburgh Review* for January has: 1. "Memoirs of Chancellor Pasquier;" 2. "The Economy of High Wages;" 3. "The Poetry of Rural Life;" 4. "Recent Editions of Tacitus;" 5. "Popular Literature of Modern Italy;" 6. "The Last Campaign of Montrose;" 7. "The Results of the Crusades;" 8. "Among the Hairy Ainu;" 9. "Addresses of the Late Earl of Derby;" 10. "The Progress of Angling;" 11. "The Session of 1893." The conclusion of the second article is that the future is bright with hope for the laborer. "We have outlived the theory," says the writer, "that wages must of necessity represent the minimum which will support human life; we have gone behind the somewhat vague explanation which refers them to supply and demand, and we have come more and more to see that wages stand in immediate relation to the product of labor." The assumption of the third article is that "a marked feature in English literature during the last forty years is the great increase which it exhibits in works relating to rural life and natural history"—a statement which is proven by the study of the words of Words-

worth, Scott, Tennyson, and others regarding nature. The fifth article outlines the characteristics of some of the more modern Italian novels. In the eighth article the reader makes an excursion to the territory of a minor tribe of Japan, and sees in vivid detail the barbarous, social, and religious customs of that people.

THE *Canadian Methodist Review* for January has: 1. "Prayer and the Laws of Nature," by Rev. James Henderson; 2. "Were the Sufferings of Christ Penal? I.," by Dr. M. Randles; 3. "Habakkuk—The Prophet and Prophecy," by Rev. E. A. Chown; 4. "The Nature of Christ's Atonement. V.," by Dr. William Jackson; 5. "Analytical Study of Genesis i–ix," by Chancellor Burwash, S.T.D.; 6. "The 'Invitation' System," by Rev. A. M. Phillips. The magazine is a creditable testimony to Canadian Methodist scholarship.

Haus und Herd for February devotes its pages to the new Book Concern building at Cincinnati, and accompanies its interesting description with many excellent illustrations. It is a most opportune and creditable number.——The *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren* for January contains among its articles a paper on "Romanism in the United States, the Proper Attitude Toward It," by Professor Drury, and one on "Christianity as a Social Force," by Professor Ely.——The *Biblical World* for February has among its articles "Rome in Paul's Day," "The Origin of Man and His First State of Innocence," and "The Chaldean Account of the Deluge." The second of the three is by Dr. Harper.——The *Gospel in All Lands* for February is devoted particularly to China, whose customs and needs it ably portrays.——The *Critical Review* for January notices among many new publications "The Mummy," by Budge.——The *Review of Reviews* for February leaves nothing unsaid regarding the progress of events upon the five continents. In its pages one can find the world in miniature.——In the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for January the leading article is a memoir of Hon. Levi Woodbury, LL.D., which is followed by much miscellaneous matter in which the antiquarian will delight.——Both the *Homiletic Review* and the *Treasury* for February maintain their high standard of homiletical matter for the profit of ministerial readers.——The *Preachers' Magazine* for February is another of those excellent publications in which clergymen and Bible students are concerned.——Among the most prominent articles in the *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review* for January is an instructive symposium by many writers on the late Bishop Daniel A. Payne.——The *Missionary Review* for February, in an abundance of helpful matter, has much to say on India and China.——*Christian Literature and Review of the Churches* for February, among its excellent papers, has one on "The American Churches," by Dr. A. H. Bradford, and another on "Socialism," by Marcus Dods, D.D. The magazine is of a high quality and is still improving.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Witness of the World to Christ. By the Rev. W. A. MATHEWS, M.A., Vicar of St. Lawrence, Appleby, Hon. Canon of Carlisle, and Proctor in Convocation. 12mo, pp. 240. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

We have here a volume that can be unreservedly commended and recommended. The purpose is good and the execution excellent. As to the former, it is not very clearly indicated by the title, but a prefatory chapter sufficiently explains. The author's position is that no real discord exists between science and Christianity; that the seeming contradictions between reason and revelation are neither necessary nor well founded, since both proceed from the same God, and that the witness afforded by the world of facts with which our reason can deal to the truth of Christianity is far more real than any discrepancy which may be discovered or supposed between them. It is the bringing out of this witness which he takes in hand through a series of twelve chapters, covering such topics as "Science and Theology," "Reason and Revelation," "True and False Theology," "Natural Religion," "The Supernatural," "The Need of Humanity," "The Divine Remedy," and "The Kingdom of Heaven." The general tone of the book, while substantially orthodox and conservative, is sufficiently liberal and progressive to put it in touch with modern thought and save it from the stigma of stupidity. It has the good sense to perceive the difference between essentials and nonessentials, and does not make the mistake of stickling so stubbornly for the latter as to imperil the safety of the former. It very properly suggests that the chief trouble which the modern scientific world has had with the Bible has been, not so much with what is really the book itself, as with the preconceived notions which have been read into the simple statements of revelation and the mass of traditional interpretations and misconceptions which have been interwoven with it. When these misunderstandings and perversions of revealed truth are brushed away there will be very little difficulty left. The author well says: "There may be, and indeed are, many positions of the loose theology of the day which are indefensible, and some outworks, not essential to security, may be abandoned without endangering the citadel. But the very key of the whole position is the doctrine that Christianity is based on a communication from another world not cognizable by ordinary human senses, and so far supernatural, inasmuch as it lies beyond and above the observed order of things." We will not attempt to indicate all the good things in the book. One of its most striking statements, strictly speaking, is that "Christianity is not a religion at all. To class Christianity as one of the many religions of the world, only to be distinguished as a little better and purer than others in its imaginations, is utterly to misrepresent and misunderstand it. It never professes to be a religion in the precise sense of the word." What, pray,

is then the proper sense of the word? The author discusses both the Latin *religio* and its Greek correlative *θρησκεία*, finding the root idea of the one to be obligation due, and of the other reverence to be paid; the one characterizing the Puritans of England, the other the Cavaliers. And if Christianity is not, strictly speaking, either of these, or even both of these combined, what is it? "*It is a new life, founded upon a supernatural communication; a new life, revealed as the only perfect life of earth, in communion with the unseen life of a higher and spiritual world.*" The Jews, to whom Christ and his apostles first opened their message, were already in possession of both *religio* and *θρησκεία*. They had an excellent code of morals and an admirable ritual of worship. But their conscientiousness and their reverence, their moral scruples and their worshipful sentiments, were by no means enough. They needed a new life and a divine ideal, and these were supplied in the fundamental principles of the new dispensation and the incarnation of Christ. The surrender of self is the keynote, the distinctive law of Christianity. And with that comes the power to do the right not found in a mere religion.

The Book of Joshua. By WILLIAM GARDEN BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D., New College, Edinburgh. Crown 8vo, pp. 416. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. By WALTER F. ADENEY, M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Church History, New College, London. Crown 8vo, pp. 404. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The long succession of volumes constituting "The Expositor's Bible" series, which may seem to purchasers too slow of completion, is now enriched by two worthy additions. Rejecting the "naturalistic method" of interpreting Joshua, that eminent scholar, Dr. Blaikie, recognizes "the supernatural element underlying Hebrew history," feels that this recognition is absolutely necessary in the interpretation of the Jewish record, and regards the Book of Joshua in its unfolding of the plan of the divine manifestation to Israel as possessing "an importance that cannot be exaggerated." The ancestry of Joshua himself, the successor of Moses, is traced by Dr. Blaikie back to Joseph. Following this genealogical investigation, the author discusses, with a detail that cannot be noticed, the successive incidents and developments which make up the Book of Joshua and which were stepping-stones in the onward advance of the Hebrew people. The points of resemblance between Joshua and Jesus are regarded by Dr. Blaikie as overemphasized, the one likeness in his estimate being found in the fact that Joshua gave the people *rest*. "Many persons," he remarks, "look on Joshua as a somewhat dry book, full of geographical names, as unsuggestive as they are hard and unfamiliar. Yet on every one of the places so named faith may see inscribed, as in letters from heaven, the sweet word REST. Each of these places became a home for men who had been wandering for some forty years in a waste, howling wilderness. At last they reached a spot where they did not fear the long-familiar summons to 'arise and depart.' The sickly mother, the consumptive maiden, the paralyzed old man might rest in peace, no

longer terrified at the prospect of journeys which only increased their ailments and aggravated their sufferings. The spiritual lesson of this book, then, is that in Jesus Christ there is rest for the pilgrim."

Concerning the data involved in the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, Professor Adeney has written with no less perspicuity and interest in the second volume under notice. The authorship and historic basis of these sacred books of Scripture first engage the professor's attention. The genuineness of Ezra and Nehemiah, in his judgment, cannot be doubted. Whoever the compiler, in considerable portions of the narrative "the primitive records are simply copied word for word, without the least pretense at original writing on the part of the historian. Elsewhere he has evidently kept as near as possible to the form of his materials, even when the plan of his work has necessitated some condensation or readjustment. The crudity of this procedure must be annoying to literary epicures who prefer flavor to substance; but it should be an occasion of thankfulness on the part of those of us who wish to trace the revelation of God in the life of Israel, because it shows that we are brought as nearly as possible face to face with the facts in which that revelation was clothed." Nor is the Book of Esther, in the author's estimate, aught else than historical. The claim that it is only a "fantastic romance" he waives aside as disproved by internal evidence, and assumes that the story of Esther "stands upon a historical basis fact," having been "worked up into its present literary form by a Jew of later days who was living in Persia and who was perfectly familiar with the records and traditions of the reign of Xerxes." Having thus located the historic place of these three books of Scripture, Professor Adeney next follows with a minute consideration of the events involved in their several records. In Ezra and Nehemiah the law was adopted by the citizens of Jerusalem. In Esther the Jewish nation is exalted; and even if its last pages "reek with blood," yet the book has its value as setting forth an important phase in the growth of Jewish life and thought. Of both of these volumes we are inclined to speak only commendatory words. Each is scholarly, graphic, and well fitted to take its place with the companion volumes that have preceded.

Supernatural Revelation: An Essay Concerning the Basis of the Christian Faith. Second Edition. By C. M. MEAD, D.D., Ph.D., Professor of Christian Theology in Hartford Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 469. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. Price, cloth, $1 75.

We are not surprised that this volume, though far from being of a popular character, has in a short time reached a second edition. It is eminently worthy of the widest circulation. It is thoroughly sound, sensible, wholesome, and invigorating. For clearness, simplicity, candor, and fairness to opponents it leaves nothing to be desired. It is just such a discussion of the burning questions in Christian apologetics as people ought to read. We say this, not because we agree at all points with the author's conclusions, but because we cordially admire the author's spirit. It is a model of courtesy. While standing strongly for the views commonly accounted

orthodox—the lectures which form the basis of the book were originally delivered at Princeton, in 1889—he indulges in no exaggerated ideas as to the strength of the positions he defends, impugns in no particular the honesty of his opponents, gives full weight to all objections, and expresses himself at all points with the moderation and modesty of true scholarship. In his preface he says: "In referring to the opinions of others I have sought to be fair and appreciative, and to aim at such a treatment of views divergent from my own as to promote an eventual accord rather than to intensify the disagreement." O that orthodoxy had always such champions! The main themes are: "Origin of the Theistic Belief," "Grounds of the Theistic Belief," "The Christian Revelation," "The Evidential Value of Miracles," "Proof of the Christian Miracles," "Relation of Christianity to Judaism," "Inspiration," "The Authority of the Scriptures," "The Conditions and Limits of Biblical Criticism." In illustration of the author's style and positions it may be said that he believes inspiration to be "dynamic rather than mechanical, a force moving on the whole inner and spiritual man rather than an intermittent prompter of words. In every portion there are traces of human imperfection, yet we shall not find any part destitute of the working of the spirit of inspiration." In answer to the question, "Must we not say that the Bible *contains* the word of God, rather than that it *is* the word of God?" he writes: "In an important sense this must be regarded as a correct conception. The term 'word of God' is nowhere used in the Bible as a comprehensive name of the canonical collection." The common affirmation that the Bible is a perfect and infallible rule of faith and practice he prefers to put in the following form: "The Bible is perfectly adapted to accomplish the end for which it was made, when used by one who is in sympathy with that end." He finds a large element of the symbolic and allegoric in the first chapters of Genesis. "It seems not improbable that a vivid impression of the primeval history and its moral significance could be best given in certain graphic pictures and symbolic representations, which may not literally correspond to the actual facts." On the question of specific answers to prayer without miracle he accords with the view set forth recently in these pages by Dr. James Mudge: "The universe, with all the working of its natural forces, may from eternity have been adjusted with reference to the foreknown prayers that have to be answered. In this case the natural operation of things brings about the accomplishment of the thing asked for. The answer to the prayer is as real as if effected by a supernatural and special interruption of the ordinary course of nature." We advise all our readers to procure this book. It will be especially helpful to those who have fallen into the mists and fogs of doubt, through revulsion and indignation at the false claims and overstatements and partisan spirit of many fighters for the generally accepted or traditional opinions. Dr. Mead will soothe their wounded feelings and show them that the truth is strong enough to dispense with all such defenses. His argument is vigorous, his style perspicuous, his method most winning.

orthodox—the lectures which form the basis of the book were originally delivered at Princeton, in 1889—he indulges in no exaggerated ideas as to the strength of the positions he defends, impugns in no particular the honesty of his opponents, gives full weight to all objections, and expresses himself at all points with the moderation and modesty of true scholarship. In his preface he says: "In referring to the opinions of others I have sought to be fair and appreciative, and to aim at such a treatment of views divergent from my own as to promote an eventual accord rather than to intensify the disagreement." O that orthodoxy had always such champions! The main themes are: "Origin of the Theistic Belief," "Grounds of the Theistic Belief," "The Christian Revelation," "The Evidential Value of Miracles," "Proof of the Christian Miracles," "Relation of Christianity to Judaism," "Inspiration," "The Authority of the Scriptures," "The Conditions and Limits of Biblical Criticism." In illustration of the author's style and positions it may be said that he believes inspiration to be "dynamic rather than mechanical, a force moving on the whole inner and spiritual man rather than an intermittent prompter of words. In every portion there are traces of human imperfection, yet we shall not find any part destitute of the working of the spirit of inspiration." In answer to the question, "Must we not say that the Bible *contains* the word of God, rather than that it *is* the word of God?" he writes: "In an important sense this must be regarded as a correct conception. The term 'word of God' is nowhere used in the Bible as a comprehensive name of the canonical collection." The common affirmation that the Bible is a perfect and infallible rule of faith and practice he prefers to put in the following form: "The Bible is perfectly adapted to accomplish the end for which it was made, when used by one who is in sympathy with that end." He finds a large element of the symbolic and allegoric in the first chapters of Genesis. "It seems not improbable that a vivid impression of the primeval history and its moral significance could be best given in certain graphic pictures and symbolic representations, which may not literally correspond to the actual facts." On the question of specific answers to prayer without miracle he accords with the view set forth recently in these pages by Dr. James Mudge: "The universe, with all the working of its natural forces, may from eternity have been adjusted with reference to the foreknown prayers that have to be answered. In this case the natural operation of things brings about the accomplishment of the thing asked for. The answer to the prayer is as real as if effected by a supernatural and special interruption of the ordinary course of nature." We advise all our readers to procure this book. It will be especially helpful to those who have fallen into the mists and fogs of doubt, through revulsion and indignation at the false claims and overstatements and partisan spirit of many fighters for the generally accepted or traditional opinions. Dr. Mead will soothe their wounded feelings and show them that the truth is strong enough to dispense with all such defenses. His argument is vigorous, his style perspicuous, his method most winning.

Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. By ERNEST DEWITT BURTON, Professor in the University of Chicago. 8vo, pp. 215. Chicago: University Press. Price, cloth, $1.50.

With all the helps now supplied for the study of the Greek Testament our preachers, to say nothing of the educated laymen, are clearly without excuse if they depend solely on the coarse and clumsy medium of a translation for their knowledge of the thought of God and the mind of Christ, as conveyed to us by the inspired writers. It should be fully understood by this time that the only solid basis for a comprehension of the New Testament is a thorough knowledge of its grammar, and that patient, reverent study of the letter of the word is indispensable to the fullest reception of it as spirit and life. It has been well said that reading an author in a translation is like hearing through a telephone—the words may reach the ear distinctly, but the quality of the most familiar voice is lost. Each word in the original throbs with a life of its own, glows with the fascination of a personal history, and this, of course, cannot be transferred to another tongue. There is a multitude of subtle distinctions and delicate shades of meaning which do not pass over into a strange language, no matter what pains is taken. There can be, then, no substitute for patient, loving investigation of all the peculiarities of New Testament Greek. The book under review is an excellent example of that specialization of study which is so prominent a feature of modern scholarship. It deals only with the functions of mood and tense in the New Testament Greek verb; even so closely related a theme as the voices of the verb is not mentioned. This narrowing of the scope, of course, gives greater fullness of treatment and strength of authority. Such topics as "Moods in Indirect Discourse," "Moods in Relative Clauses," "Moods in Concessive and Conditional Sentences" are particularly well discussed. In illustration of the practical value of the book, it may be noted that about one thousand three hundred and fifty passages in the New Testament are quoted and more or less fully illustrated. The more important quotations are given both in Greek and English, the latter taken from the Revised Version. In some passages the author has departed from this approved standard to call attention to what he deems "unquestionably an error of translation." We must not take space to give specimens of the work done, but must content ourselves with commending the volume (in its present improved shape an enlargement of a pamphlet issued in 1888) to all who wish to enjoy in fullest measure that quickening contact with revelation which familiarity with the original alone can give.

Selections from Early Christian Writers, Illustrative of Church History to the Time of Constantine. By HENRY MELVILL GWATKIN, M.A., Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Cambridge. 12mo, pp. 163. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Here is much value in little space. This book brings us significant materials from among the Christian origins. Not one of the selections is destitute of deep and lasting interest. The original Greek or Latin of each selection is given on one page, and an exact translation in English on the opposite page. There are three extracts from Clement of Rome,

nineteen from Eusebius, five from Justin, three from Irenæus, four from Clement of Alexandria, twelve from Tertullian, five from Origen, seven from Cyprian, four from Lactantius; also Pliny's correspondence with Trajan, Hippolytus on Montanism and on the misdeeds of Callistus, and Arnobius on the heathen before Christ. It is a collection of ancient literature worth far more than its cost to any studious minister or layman. In particular, the marvelous, pathetic, and sublime story of the behavior of the early Christians—men, women, boys, and girls—in the martyrdoms and persecutions inflicted on them, seems most impressive when read in the words of their contemporaries.

A History of the Preparation of the World for Christ. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. By Rev. DAVID R. BREED, D.D. 8vo, pp. 483. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $2.

Only less wonderful than the incarnation itself—that center about which the world's history revolves—seems the preparation made through centuries of Jewish autonomy for the coming of God's Son. Were such a volume as that of Dr. Breed, discussing the ages preliminary to the birth of Christ, put into the hands of some Brahman or Confucianist hitherto in absolute ignorance of the Christian system, he would deduce therefrom no unworthy conception of the preparatory nature of the Old Testament dispensation. The various steps in the choice of the Israelitish people, as first revealed to Abraham, and its growth under the theocracy to national greatness would impress him with a force which those from childhood familiar with the Scripture record can scarcely appreciate. Such striking facts, for instance, would dazzle his vision as the fitness of the land of the Palestine, in location, seclusion, climatic conditions, and fertility, to be the arena of the divine manifestation to the world; the suitableness of the Jewish people, by vigor, disposition, and language, to be God's medium of revelation; the necessary training of the Hebrew by the bondage of Egypt and the forty years in the wilderness; the exile of the Jews, after the loss of their own national grandeur, "to effectually cure them of all tendencies toward idolatry;" the preparing of the Eastern world for the advent in the Persian victory, which was the end of Semitic rule, and from which time the civilization of the world was to be Japhetic; and the still further preparation for Christ's coming as found in the widespread influence of Greek thought and the Roman conquests. All these considerations and more, as set forth in Dr. Breed's volume, would overwhelm the dispassionate heathen with the inevitable conclusion that there was a divine direction in the Hebraic vicissitudes of the centuries leading up to the incarnation; and he would clearly understand why, though the world had been for ages on the tiptoe of expectation, the Redeemer did not appear until the "fullness of time" had come. Nor would it be hazardous to stake the final reputation of Christianity in the estimate of our assumed heathen reader upon this specific work by Dr. Breed. It is the fruit of a master hand. No single volume could well contain more. Combining great vigor of thought with charm-

its simplicity of style, and force of argument with much beauty of diction, it arouses in the Christian reader a greater zest for Jewish history, shows him the intimate relation that his own age bears to the former dispensation, and stirs his soul with the promise of the Redeemer which, as Delitzsch has so vigorously said, "crouches at the entrance of sacred history." For all these excellencies and more we cannot too cordially recommend this volume to the notice of Scripture students.

The Gaining of Men; or, The Law of Adaptation to Environment in Missionary Enterprise. The Annual Sermon before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. By Rev. ALBERT J. LYMAN, D.D. Pamphlet, pp. 32. Published by the Board, 1 Somerset street, Boston.

A nobler or more inspiring sermon on world evangelization we have not read and do not know where to look for in current literature. Its scheme of thought is built up architecturally by a master builder like a temple, paved with marble, walled with precious stones, vocal with worship, roofed with the heavens, lit with infinite glory. The magnitude of Christianity's task, the grandeur of its undertaking, the magnificence of its history, the sufficiency of its resources, the principles of its operation, and the elements of its power are all set in orderly, beautiful, impressive, and convincing array. We would gladly put the entire discourse upon these pages if no rule obstructed and it were not already accessible in print. A single quotation is all we have room for: "Then there arose the strange menace of the crescent in the East; the Saracen captured the Holy Sepulcher, the Moor came to Spain, and Europe passed into the din and clang of those iron centuries of the crusades. Missionary activity did not cease, but it lost its spiritual tone, and also, in the same ratio, its felicity of method. We look in vain for the humane sympathy of Patrick or the intellectual freedom of Columba. Missions became politico-ecclesiastical. Force and diplomacy became the substitutes for the beautiful charm of natural adaptation, and accordingly missions relatively failed. But the meridian of history changed in Europe. God shifted in a night the hinges of his doors. The great focus and pivot of affairs was transferred from the eastern rim of Europe to the western. In 1492 Boabdil, the last of the Moorish monarchs, fled from Spain, and the cross shone in the halls of the Alhambra. In that same year the finger of God's providence made of the deep a furrow, and pointed the path before three little boats in which Columbus set forth upon his mighty voyage. Twenty-five years later Martin Luther nailed his theses to the church door in Wittenberg, and the tremendous sixteenth century came marching in like an army with banners. In the south, the classic Renaissance; in the north, the German Reformation; in the west the Titanic burst of the Elizabethan era; and as a result of all a new volume opened for the world and for Christ! Christianity discovered that the world is round, and for the first time wholly took its problem up into its hands." We advise every minister to obtain a copy of this sermon. In addition to its other values, its style is an education and a charm. It is sprinkled with sentences which are literary inventions—the inventions of a highly cultivated genius for expression.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Outlines of Economics. By RICHARD T. ELY, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy and Director of the School of Economics, History, and Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. 1894. 12mo, pp. 432. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Net, $1.25.

Professor Ely's position in the front rank of American economists makes this additional book of his especially welcome and prepares us for the breadth of treatment which marks it. A comparison of this volume with any political economy issued thirty years ago—not excepting the elaborate work of John Stuart Mill—will easily show that economic science has made great progress, and also that each country has its peculiar economic questions. An English book of equal breadth would not contain several discussions found in this and based upon tendencies and agitations sharply accentuated by our industrial and political controversies. For, though this book is "a systematic sketch of theory," the sketch is extended to embrace practical issues respecting state industry, state education, systems of taxation, public debts, regulation of industry, control of corporations, and other such matters. And in all these discussions the opinions of the author are more advanced and socialistic than might have been expected a few years ago; that is to say, "the socialists have rendered good service by calling attention to social problems, by forcing us to reflect on the condition of the less fortunate classes." But the author believes that without any departure from the institution of private property or any other radical change, but simply by extending the application of principles recognized in existing public methods, the desirable ends may be reached. The entire discussion of this large topic is a model of fairness and fullness. But as a modern college professor Dr. Ely must always be understood, not as dictating opinions, but as helping to form opinions by pointing out how the accepted economic theory may be applied to the various classified bodies of fact which demand the careful attention of economic thinkers. In questions upon which the nation is divided into hostile camps the text-book ought, of course, to recognize the arguments of both sides. This our author does in his treatment of tariffs. He makes, however, the very valuable suggestion that the importance of the tariff question is exaggerated; for, while "England is prosperous under free trade," "France and the United States are prosperous under protection." But after all the chief worth of this book is its development of economic theory more fully than is common in text-books. The bibliography of the subject given at the close will enable the reader to follow out for himself any discussion he may think incomplete; and this is especially valuable in view of the modifications of older theories based upon the thinking and theorizing of new schools, such as the Austrian, for example. The reader of this volume is to be congratulated upon having an easy and pleasant piece of work. The style is so clear and attractive that not only is there no delay in understanding the meaning of the writer, but one is enticed to go on and complete any discussion once entered upon. Not

the least of the attractions of the book are the remarks found here and there upon the things which are superior to economic interests. For example, the statement to the effect that "man is more than a wealth-getting animal. Economic interests are not his only interests, nor always compatible with his other interests. The economist by no means claims that economic considerations should always be followed. He knows full well that economic wisdom may be human folly, and that life is continually neglected in order to get a living." Horace tells us that "Homer nods;" and our author has, we feel sure, too strongly condemned "an obsolete sectarianism" in his treatment of denominational schools. Our Church has a very large and growing interest in educational work, and it has not its root in "an obsolete sectarianism."

The Seeker in the Marshes, and Other Poems. By DANIEL L. DAWSON. 12mo, pp. 158. Philadelphia: Rees, Welsh & Co. Price, cloth, $1 50.

Julian Hawthorne says: "Dawson was one of the truest, most inevitable poets of this age. His poems are intensely lyrical and of permanent worth. He had no more in common with contemporary versifiers than Whitman had; but he had a lovely, grave, masculine music which Whitman never knew. He was the poet of manhood in the deepest sense." This is not true, for the deepest in manhood is the spiritual and moral. Dawson is so far from being the poet of these that there is not much evidence that he knew of their existence. But Hawthorne truly says: "The forms and scenes of the Norse mythology, and of Greek Olympus, and of the paradises of the antique golden age tower and gleam through his verse." He seems to have been intimate with various heathen divinities of doubtful reputation; but we judge from his poetry that he did not know Christ even when he saw him. He uses his name as an expletive in erotic lines. Could he possibly do this if he were in the least acquainted with him? Dawson might easily have been the natural son of Walt Whitman—a rather prodigal son; he has the same animality, not so healthy and well-kept, more shaped by the schools and taught in music, but essentially untamed. Besides Whitman, something in his passion and his tone reminds us of Adah Isaacs Menken, who would have been a natural and congenial mate for him, both being poets after their kind. If we could select the best from this volume we might accept it, for it has vigor, brilliancy, grace, and promise; but if we are offered the whole we would rather have none. We are reminded of the words of another, asserting that real and voluntary paganism is absolutely fatal to creative literature: "The pure pagan can have no ideal. It is not that he asserts there is no God, but that he says there is no good; he knows no inward vivifying spirit to produce moral progress; therefore for him character cannot grow, it can only decay, like geraniums touched by frost. This paganism, which acknowledges matter because itself is material, and which denies soul and the supernatural, sees in man a mere organism, bound in an eternal ring of sense, a being whose deepest emotions are but animal instincts variously developed, and whose subtlest thoughts are but emanations from

an organ resembling curds; therefore it has only the human animal for its subject in art and literature, and can depict nothing in moral life but its decay. It has no clew to the growth of the living organism, acknowledging not life, but only death. Human character is to this paganism as the rapidly decomposing corpse under the knife and microscope."

Authors and Their Public in Ancient Times. By GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 12mo, pp. 310. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Mr. Putnam has undertaken a laborious but fruitful investigation of the relations of authors to their public and the development of literary property. The volume before us is a kind of preliminary study, for down to the invention of movable types and the organization of the publishing industry authors had practically no pecuniary interest in their works. It is a striking answer to the demand for better pay to the author that the great and imperishable works of antiquity brought their producers no money. It is not a sufficient answer to a claim for fair rewards, but it is probably as true now as it ever was that works of the highest order of merit are not produced to be sold in a market, and probably would be produced if there were no market in which to sell. The first man who received any emolument from literature was a sort of thief—that Hermodoros who sold copies of his notes made while listening to the lectures of Plato. In modern times the practice would be condemned, and Hermodoros seems to have incurred reproach in his own day. Our author has occasion to refer constantly to the practice of plagiarism in ancient times. The new author copied what he liked of the old author, and in this way a great deal of valuable work escaped destruction. There was no sense of proprietorship in literature; the thief's odium came to him when he claimed the merit of producing dead men's writings. In fact, this is still the brand of shame in plagiarisms. This is but one of many literary questions upon which this work sheds historical light. It would seem impossible, if we had not the proof before us, to crowd into one volume so much information about ancient book-making in all the lands which had a literature. Much of this information could be found only in rare old volumes; and it has been collated and arranged with as much judgment as diligence. A style trimmed of all superfluity, and yet not disagreeably bare and uninviting, but singularly clear and easily read, accounts in part for the abundance and richness of the matter.

The Complete Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Cambridge Edition. Crown 8vo, pp. 689. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

In this book we have for the first time a complete one-volume edition of Longfellow's poems. Only his translation of the "Divine Comedy" is wanting, and that for obvious reasons could not have been included here. Probably the least known of all his works is "Christus." Until now this has been published in a separate volume, and has thus been neglected by many to whom the familiar "Household Edition" has been a continual joy and fountain of inspiration. Yet it was this that Longfellow considered the great work of his life and by which he most de-

ured to be remembered. This work, in its three parts—"The Divine Tragedy," "The Golden Legend," and "The New England Tragedies" is incorporated in this volume with the author's other poems, and in this convenient form will tend to heighten his fame and strengthen the affection of his many admirers. But other features of this edition are also worthy of attention. A somewhat new arrangement of the poems is made, intended to be final; the translations, for instance, are collected and placed together in the latter part of the book. Bibliographical and other notes, culled from the many-volume "Riverside Edition," are scattered here and there throughout the volume. "Evangeline," "Miles Standish," and the "Children of the Lord's Supper" are printed in narrow measure, easier to the eye, if a trifle strange. There is also an introductory biographical sketch by H. E. Scudder; and an appendix at the end contains youthful poems, rescued from various sources, of interest mainly to students of Longfellow's genius, and contains as well a number of translations which the poet did not see fit to comprise in his collected works, and a chronological list of all the poems. A steel-engraved portrait, by Wilcox, forms the frontispiece, while the title-page is adorned with an etching of Cragie House, Longfellow's Cambridge home. In mechanical appearance the volume is worthy of the poet. The type is new and remarkably clear, the paper is not too heavy to accommodate nearly seven hundred pages within an inch of thickness, yet of fine texture and practically opaque, and the binding is in dice-muslin; while last, but by no means least, the book lies open easily. This attractive edition, characterized by an all-pervading neatness and daintiness, must of necessity supersede all other one-volume editions, and forms a fit setting for the works of one who wrote no single word which could cause harm to the most sensitive soul, but who has lifted many to higher thoughts, purer ideals, and holier lives.

The Private Life, and Other Stories. Pp. 232.
The Wheel of Time, and Other Stories. Pp. 220. Each 16mo, cloth, ornamental. Price, $1.25.
Essays in London and Elsewhere. Post 8vo, pp. 305. Price, cloth, $1.25.

These three volumes are from the pen of the well-known stylist, Henry James, and are published by Harper & Brothers, New York. One wonders why the two volumes of stories, issued about the same time, were not put under one cover. Henry James is a critic, and not a creator. His stories are his poorest productions. They seem like conscious experiments in style hung up on a slender clothesline of plot. They lack the stirring and passionate interest of real life. Criticism is his profession, and his ambition to become a literary authority is more likely to attain something than his attempts at story writing. Without praising Rudyard Kipling, it is fair to say that a single one of his short stories has in it enough life and energy to stock a dozen volumes like the two before us. These stories cannot hold our attention, because of their essential feebleness and because the obvious effort and art obtrude most upon our consciousness. The third book, the volume of essays, is of more

interest. It is the author at his best, and his best is fine, although it is scarcely equal to the prose of Walter Pater. The literary style of Mr. James is a feat in prose technique; but the reader's enjoyment is obstructed and his mind burdened by its unrelenting elaborateness. The way in which the essayist steadies himself through long sentences on a thread of thought, curving his periods and balancing clauses right and left with studied and anxious evenness, as if life depended on it, reminds one of Blondin walking a tightrope and poising with his pole above Niagara. We admire it wonderingly for a time, but the strain on him and us is so great as we watch him through and over, that a touch of weariness presently helps us to understand why Labouchere said that he found Henry James monotonous. Here are eleven essays on "London," "James Russell Lowell," "Frances Anne Kemble," "Gustave Flaubert," "Pierre Loti," "The Journal of the Brothers de Goncourt," "Browning in Westminster Abbey," "Henrik Ibsen," "Mrs. Humphrey Ward," "Criticism," and "An Animated Conversation"—all well worth reading to those who care about the subjects. Only one of them excites special or general interest on this side of the sea—the essay on Lowell; that, at least, is our feeling as we lay them down. Professional critics are in danger of becoming somewhat haughty and patronizing. The English attitude toward things American occasionally shows a similar temper and attitude, and Henry James is so completely Anglicized that he is more English than American. Albeit he heartily admires Lowell and liberally praises him, he scarcely conceals the feeling that to have his literary style approved by England is the most dazzling jewel in Lowell's crown, and to have charmed and captured London the greatest personal victory possible to man. Yet it is much that this Anglo-American critic consents to eulogize Lowell's style of speech and writing, with whose prose his own, proud as he is of it, cannot compare for radiancy and richness, much less for strength or for range and ripeness of culture. The citizens of the United States will thank Henry James for setting forth, so enthusiastically from his critical standpoint, with what capable wisdom and practical skill Lowell served our country as her foreign minister at the most important of all posts abroad; how thoroughly and sturdily, yet without offensiveness, he showed himself a magnificently loyal American, so that he stood at the court of the sovereign of the greatest empire on the earth as a sort of superb epitome of the greatest of republics. The essayist makes it clear that, in its impression on intellectual England, as well as on the highest and most refined social London, Lowell's term of ministerial service easily surpasses in brilliancy and in the completeness of its conceded triumph any other record of the sort since the two countries first exchanged diplomatic representatives. When Lowell was at the Court of St. James and the lion of society in the English capital, London, on a great variety of important public occasions, listened with delight to the speech of a finished master—purest English spoken with rarest grace and perfect pronunciation; as they say in Italy, *Lingua Toscana in bocca Romana*—Tuscan speech on Roman lips.

Rab and his Friends, and Other Papers. By JOHN BROWN, M.D., F.R.S.E. Artist's Edition. With numerous Illustrations. 16mo, pp. 295. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, ornamental, $1.25.

We deem it well-nigh impossible for anyone who has a human heart in him to read the writings of Dr. John Brown, of Edinburgh, and not be willing to apply to him the words, "Whom having not seen" we "love." A more humane, gently earnest, gravely playful, strong, warm, exquisitely delicate nature has seldom moved among men to charm, to counsel, and to bless. One wishes that every home might have him or one like him as its family physician. Every doctor should be as well acquainted with John Brown as he is with the works of medical authorities. Sometimes, though seldom, in literature we come upon something that makes a freshet in the reader's eyes. Certain passages from Victor Hugo have had that effect. Dickens's stories have done it for thousands. James Whitcomb Riley ran away when "Little Nell" was in the reading lesson at school, lest it should fall to him to read it; for he knew he could not without breaking down before the class and the teacher. Not a few have succumbed to Little Lord Fauntleroy. Portions of Holy Writ have broken up the great deep of the soul and melted the heart like wax. Few persons of any sensibility have been able to finish reading Dr. Brown's *Rab and his Friends* with dry lids and unblurred vision. It is one of the treasures of literature. Many stories have been told, but none to surpass that. Here in this volume are the delightful biographies of "Our Dogs"—Peter, and Toby, and Wylie, and Rab, and Wasp, and Jock, and Duchie, and Crab, and Puck, and Dick.

> He prayeth best who loveth best
> All things, both great and small;
> For the dear God who loveth us,
> He made and loveth all.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

A. Bronson Alcott. His Life and Philosophy. In Two Volumes. By F. B. SANBORN and WILLIAM T. HARRIS. 12mo, pp. (two volumes) 679. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, cloth, $3.50.

A New England rustic, a peddler of notions in Virginia and the Carolinas, a Connecticut schoolmaster following original methods, a traveler, lecturer, and transcendental philosopher—when will the world look upon such a complex character or diverse career again? The explanation of such a powerful personality as was Mr. Alcott's, arising from the humble walks of New England life and in the earlier days when scholastic advantages were at more of a premium than now, seems at least partly found in the operation of the great law of heredity. If Mr. Alcott was obscurely born and from stress of poverty could not realize his wish of graduation at Yale College, yet the blood of good and great ancestors ran in his veins—the celebrated John Alcocke, Bishop of Ely, and the pioneer Alcockes of New England in the seventeenth century, in whose line were Jonathan Trumbull, the famous governor of early Connecticut,

and John Trumbull, the painter, being among his ancestry. With such a list of progenitors and with the inspiring environment which marked the earlier New England life, it is not altogether difficult to understand the many sturdy and noble qualities that marked Mr. Alcott. However vague and visionary seem many of his theories, the reader of this biography cannot divest himself of the thought that here was no ordinary character. A student, an inquirer after truth, a fearless teacher of what he conceived to be the new truth, he was one in whose private deportment there was no flaw and in whose personal integrity his generation had the utmost confidence. We are indebted to the present biographers for so full an account of Mr. Alcott's earlier life, mental growth, and intellectual force, with the development of the philosophic system with which his name will ever be associated, that little seems remaining to be desired. If it is difficult to understand transcendentalism, even with the help of this full biography, there is consolation in the thought that Mr. Alcott's contemporaries were equally mystified, and that even so subtle a thinker as Emerson wrote of his friend, "As pure intellect, I have never seen his equal. The people with whom he talks do not ever understand him." Not the least interesting feature in this sketch of New England growth is the story of the Brook Farm experiment and its early failure. In the midst of these ethereal surroundings, as in other Concord and Boston scenes, one finds himself in the presence of the philosophers and uncovers his head to listen to the superior words of Emerson, Thoreau, Parker, Channing, Clark, and more of the New England sages. Though the distinguished coterie has long since passed from the stage, leaving in operation no effective philosophic system, the story of their search for truth is ever valuable to the student of philosophy. For which reason, in addition to the strictly biographic features of the story, the present volumes have an unusual value.

Life of Christian Daniel Rauch, of Berlin, Germany, Sculptor of the Monument of Queen Louise, Victories of Walhalla, Albert Dürer, Frederic the Great, etc. Drawn from German authorities by EDNAH D. CHENEY, author of *Gleanings in Fields of Art*, etc. 8vo, pp. 331. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price, cloth, $3.

In the hall of the Ministry of Cultus at Berlin the bust of Rauch is placed with the busts of Goethe, Beethoven, and Dürer, in the representation of poetry, music, painting, and sculpture. "A noble company," it well seems, "in which to preserve an earthly immortality," and a company of which Rauch is not the least conspicuous ornament. One could wish no higher approval of his finished work, in whatever department, than is given the German sculptor in the present biography. We cannot fail to be impressed with its predilections in favor of the character it depicts. Yet, in the lack of evidence that this enthusiasm is so excessive as to lead to misstatement of fact, the reader himself grows absorbed in the study of Rauch and his times and makes a reverent obeisance to the genius here described. Believing in art as "the expression of the highest in humanity," Rauch consecrated his powers to the securing of that "expression" with a zeal and constancy that knew no variation. He

was born to wield the chisel. There was nothing mercenary in his performance; he did not work for pay but for art's sake; his ideal was the highest; and the story of his spontaneous toil is an inspiration to better service along every line of effort. With the personality of Rauch himself the reader cannot but be charmed, under the showing of the biographer. Noble in personal appearance, endowed with great delicacy of spirit, and moving in those higher social walks where he associated with kings and queens, he was no ordinary spirit. As a history of a department of nineteenth century art the volume has also its positive value and will strongly appeal to the connoisseur. In its pages he will trace the story of a progress in Germany that cannot well be neglected and that has perhaps not been written in this exact way heretofore. In this progress Rauch was to no small degree a factor. The patience and painstaking that he gave for years to the mortuary statues of Queen Louise were evident none the less in all the three hundred and seventy-eight works which are classified in the volume as having been wrought out by his chisel. So he labored to realize his ideal, and in this labor helped to elevate yet higher German art and the world's art. Upon this side of the ocean Rauch should be better known, and if this winsome biography shall introduce to new readers one so reverenced in the Fatherland it will not have been written in vain.

A Short History of the English People. By J. R. GREEN, M.A. Illustrated Edition, edited by Mrs. J. R. GREEN and Miss KATE NORGATE. Volume III. 8vo, pp. 933–1,409. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $5.

Like the good wine which grows ever better as the feast progresses seem the successive volumes of the illustrated edition of Professor Green's *Short History*—if something already superlative is capable of improvement. The recent notice in these pages of the two preceding numbers in the series might be quoted in full, as a commendation of the present volume. In the division of the subject-matter, as originally issued by Professor Green, the book opens with the chapter on "Puritan England." "No greater moral change," says the writer, "ever passed over a nation than passed over England during the years which parted the middle of the reign of Elizabeth from the meeting of the Long Parliament. England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible." With this announcement as a starting point the chapter traces the subject of English Puritanism in successive sections whose title only may be quoted: "The Puritans, 1583–1603," "The First of the Stuarts, 1604–1623," "The King and the Parliament, 1623–1629," "New England," "The Personal Government, 1629–1640," "The Long Parliament, 1640–1642," "The Civil War, July, 1642–August, 1646," "The Army and the Parliament, 1646–1649," "The Commonwealth, 1649–1653," and "The Fall of Puritanism, 1653–1660." A transition period as is this in English history, we would linger over its dramatic events were it not that scholarship has already passed its comment upon Professor Green's method and given his work a place among the standard volumes of the age. The

second chapter in the volume is on "The Revolution." In opening the author says, "The entry of Charles the Second into Whitehall marked a deep and lasting change in the temper of the English people. With it modern England began." The sections of the chapter are severally entitled, "England and the Revolution," "The Restoration, 1660–1667," "Charles the Second, 1667–1673," and "Danby, 1673–1678." But it is the remarkable illustrations of the volume, in common with its predecessors, that give it its unusual value. Noticeable among these are the colored cuts of old London Bridge, the judges in their robes, and William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons; such portraits as the mother of Oliver Cromwell, Sir Edward Coke, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, General Monk, and others; and such miscellaneous illustrations as the front of Sir Paul Pindar's house, the trial of Strafford, and the great seal of the Commonwealth in 1651. And yet to specify is practically impossible. Words cannot do justice to the intrinsic merit of these abundant illustrations or their instructive quality. Under their showing the hands turn backward on the dial, the dead centuries seem again alive, and old prime ministers and kings long since turned to dust again speak and rule. The publication of this work, in other words, should work a revival in the study of that national history around whose stirring events the whole world revolves.

Essays, Speeches, and Memoirs of Field-Marshal Count Helmuth Von Moltke. The essays translated by CHARLES FLINT MCCLUMPHA, PH.D.; the speeches by Major C. BARTER, D.A.A.G.; and the Memoirs by MARY HERMS, with portraits drawn by the Field-Marshal in 1821-1822. In two volumes. 8vo, Vol. I, pp. 308; Vol. II, pp. 239. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $3.

Field-Marshal Count Helmuth Von Moltke as a Correspondent. Translated by MARY HERMS. 8vo, pp. 309. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

This is not the only instance in history where a warrior has turned author to good effect. Such precedents as those of Xenophon and Cæsar in ancient times, or Grant and Sheridan in more recent years, are an earnest of what a soldiery trained in the rigorous discipline of the military schools and successful in the conduct of great campaigns may accomplish in the field of letters. Certain it is that the quality of Von Moltke's performance with the pen does not detract from his illustrious fame as the great field-marshal of modern Germany. The first of the three volumes under notice contains essays on Holland and Belgium, Poland, Railway Routes, and the Eastern Question, among other subjects, that are such solid discussions of matters then uppermost in Germany as would be expected of a scholar, sociological student, keen observer, and ardent patriot. Of Von Moltke's experience in publishing his first essay, on Holland and Belgium, he jocosely writes to his mother, "All the sorrows of a young author who is spoiling for a publisher have visited me;" while now, as an illustration of the mutations brought by the years, there is no publisher in the world who is not "spoiling" to print Von Moltke. For the perservation of his speeches, in the second volume before us, the reading world must be grateful. As is well known, he was not a frequent

debater, having spoken but forty-one times in his twenty-one years as a member of the Reichstag, and having delivered but three orations while in the House of Lords. Yet if he was, according to the current phrase, "silent in eight languages," he was certainly effective in the German speech when he gave verbal expression to his views on the many pressing questions before the nation for adjustment. On the unification of Germany, postal and railway service, and such military matters as the constitution of the German army, he speaks with the authority of a statesman. In the third volume are grouped many letters of Count Von Moltke to his father, his sisters Auguste and Magdalene, his brother Fritz, Crown Prince Albert of Saxony, and others. Some of these communications are descriptive and philosophical in their nature; some are merely personal; and all are marked by solidity rather than by excessive sentiment. The long period in the life of Von Moltke extending from younger manhood to unusual old age is covered by this correspondence, the earliest date of a published letter being 1837, and the last, 1892. One cannot but think of the marvelous changes in the map and the rulership of the European continent while the great field-marshal thus wrote. With the pathos that marks an old man's utterance, and withal in hopeful Christian sentiment, he writes to his sister Magdalene at the ripe age of ninety, "The grace of God has allowed us to live through another spring, a beautiful gift for which we owe special thanks." And so, behind the warrior's mail, does the reader hear the beating of a tender heart, instinct with love toward his fellows and affection for his Maker. Soldier and statesman, he helped Germany toward her greatness by his life, and now helps others in other lands by his published papers.

A Child's History of France. Illustrated. By JOHN BONNER, Author of *A Child's History of Rome*, etc. 12mo, pp. 406. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.

A child's history need not, and should not, be childish. If the writing of such a book be a task that is successfully wrought out with difficulty, yet the result to be accomplished fully justifies such labor. The words of Mr. Bonner himself well express the belief, in this connection, that "young people will enjoy and remember histories which are mainly devoted to incident, drama, portrait, landscape, romance, and local color; and that in reading these they may wish to become acquainted with more serious works, containing expositions of political doctrine and narratives of campaigns, with maps and dates." It does not appear that Mr. Bonner has fallen behind this ideal in his actual performance. His *History of France* is so cleverly constructed, and gives such particular attention to the thrilling and often tragic facts of French history, that it has a fascination not only for childhood, but even for older readers. From Clovis, the first king of France, A. D. 481, to the establishment of the present republic after the overthrow of Napoleon III, the review rapidly sweeps through fourteen centuries of checkered history. Few could have compressed so many centuries of change and bloodshed in so small a compass while telling the story of national growth so intelligently.

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Sylvan Lyrics, and Other Verses. By WILLIAM HAMILTON HAYNE. 16mo, pp. 156. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, ornamental, $1.

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Thoughts for the Thoughtful. Selected and Edited by ADELAIDE S. SEAVERNS. 16mo, pp. 368. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.

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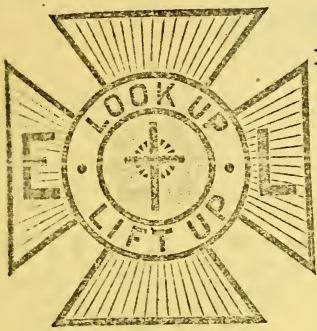

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1894.

ART. I.—CONSCIENCE.

IN metaphysical discussions we are universally misled by classifications and distinctions which originate in logical convenience and have no basis in reality. "Words are substituted for ideas, and we are lost in the mazes of logomachy." While it may be impossible to wholly abandon the use of these distinctions, there should be an honest attempt to reduce the formulæ of metaphysics to the terms of common life. We may at least endeavor at strategic points in the discussion to translate the technical phrases of metaphysics into the language of the people. Much of the confusion of thought which exists respecting conscience is due to the terms employed in its consideration—terms which are common to all treatises on mental science. These phrases are employed for purposes of classification and as aids in the process of reasoning.

The human mind possesses three faculties—the intellect, the sensibility, and the will. Such is the division of the books on mental science. The intellect is the faculty that thinks, reasons, knows. The sensibility is the faculty that feels or experiences emotions. The will is the faculty that chooses, decides, acts. The mind possesses these three faculties—no less, no more. The impression made by this classification is that the mind is divisible into three parts or departments, like the heart, lungs, and stomach of the body, each of which attends to its own particular duties without interfering with the functions of its neighbors. This impression grows out of the use of the term "faculty." But this classification is merely to help our thought,

and has no basis in reality. The mind is a unit, with no parts or compartments. It operates as a unit, and all that is meant by the classification—intellect, sensibility, will—is that the human mind is capable of the three processes implied in these terms; it can think, it can feel, it can will. And these three processes exhaust its powers. It cannot do less than these; it cannot do more. And the whole mind thinks, the whole mind feels, the whole mind wills.

Now, we are prepared to say that the operation of the mind which is called conscience must come somewhere within these limits. It must be a process of thinking, or a process of feeling, or a process of willing, or a complex operation of the mind embracing two of these, or the entire three. We shall never get clear ideas on this subject until we settle it once for all that conscience is a normal mental process, and not something extra-mental; that the human mind treats morals just as it treats mathematics, or history, or science. Conscience is called "a moral sense," "a moral feeling," "a moral faculty," "a moral nature," according to the peculiar conception of the writer; the implication being that the mind, which is competent to deal with questions in mathematics, science, and philosophy, is not competent to treat moral questions, but needs some annex, or appendage, or separate "sense," or "faculty," or "nature" for this purpose. It is just as rational to speak of a mathematical faculty or a philosophical nature. If by the use of these terms it is merely meant that the human mind is capable of treating questions in morals as it treats questions in mathematics there is no great objection to their use; but the fact that "moral sense," "moral faculty," "moral nature" are persistently employed, while "mathematical sense," "philosophical faculty," "scientific nature" are unknown terms in metaphysical discussion, implies that morals are singled out as calling for some kind of treatment outside the range of ordinary mental processes. Writers speak of education as physical, mental, and moral; as though moral training is something entirely beyond the scope of mental operations. It is just as rational to speak of man's training as physical, mental, and mathematical or historical or scientific.

A careful analysis of the operations of the mind will reveal the fact that whatever differences are apparent in our mental

operations are due to the diverse materials upon which the mind is exercised. The mental process which results in conclusions respecting mathematics, or æsthetics, or logic is entirely akin to that employed in determining questions of ethics. A beautiful piece of statuary produces an agreeable state of mind; while one that violates all the principles of æsthetic taste awakens a feeling of disgust. The close affinity of ethics and æsthetics in this regard has long been recognized. But this affinity stretches beyond æsthetics. If a man in a merely abstract calculation, which has no ethical quality, finds himself asserting that two and two make five, he feels at once a disquietude of mind as a consequence. If in going through an example he detects such a mistake he is disgusted with himself and corrects the mistake with a feeling of impatience, while a state of mental placidity is established as though a great wrong had been righted. The syllogism dominates the human mind in precisely the same fashion. If its premises are stated correctly and its conclusion is reached logically the mind is at rest. If, however, a speaker should propound the following: "Whatever has taken place in a uniform manner for ages is likely to continue so to do; the sun has risen in the east since human history began; therefore the sun is likely to rise in the west to-morrow morning," the minds of his hearers would revolt from such a conclusion and be intensely disturbed. Men have been mobbed or murdered for such an outrage on the human intellect.

When we see a good or bad action in another it awakens a feeling of pleasure or displeasure, less intense, to be sure, and more limited in scope, but akin to the emotion aroused when we make the good or bad action our own. It is no doubt true that the operation of the mind on moral questions contains certain elements, such as an impression of obligation, and of merit or demerit, which are not found in the mental processes that make use of mathematical or philosophical material; and it is likewise true that the resultant emotion is more intense. But it is also true that the mental process involving conclusions in æsthetics contains elements not found in scientific investigations; and the feeling of pleasure or pain has likewise greater intensity.

What is claimed here is that conscience is simply a normal men-

tal process, involving moral truth, just as another normal process involves mathematical truth and another philosophical truth. When a man sees the distinction between right and wrong the mental process is no more abnormal than when he decides that two and two make four rather than five. And the feeling awakened when the question is decided differs from the other in degree of intensity. The decisions relating to logic and mathematics are just as binding on the mind as those relating to morals; and the axioms of logic and mathematics are just as dominating as those of morals. The mind by its very constitution revolts against any transgression of the axioms of mathematics or morals; and by its constitution the revolt of the mind is more pronounced and intense in the case of morals than in that of mathematics. Let no one suppose that the power of conscience is hereby discredited. Could we wish the mind to decide a question of right and wrong with more energy and firmness than it decides that the whole is greater than any of its parts, or that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points? When a monstrosity in the realm of art is presented to our notice the mind pronounces against it with a vigor not far below that employed in the condemnation of a gross sin; and if we are responsible for the monstrosity the feeling of loathing is only less in degree than that awakened in the conscience by the commission of such sin.

The conclusion we reach is that conscience is an entirely normal process, wholly within the limits of the powers of the human mind. To what extent conscience exhausts the powers of the mind has always been a puzzling question, and one upon which varying judgments have been pronounced. Many see in conscience nothing more than an intellectual process in which the mind perceives the distinction between right and wrong. According to this theory feeling and willing have no connection with conscience. Others limit the scope of conscience to the powerful feeling of pleasure or pain which accompanies right or wrong actions. Thinking and willing are by this view excluded from its operation. Others find in conscience a perception of right and wrong, and an intense feeling as a result of the perception, while they put the emphasis mainly on the intellectual part of the process. Still others, recognizing the presence of both thought and feeling, place the emphasis on the

feeling; while the most of those who have written on the subject consider it a double process of thought and feeling, without special emphasis on either. We may rarely find a writer who suggests that the will may have something to do with the operation of conscience. Joseph Cook and Dr. Mark Hopkins belong to this number.

It seems clear that without a process of thought to decide whether there is right and wrong, and what is right and what wrong, there could be no choice of right or wrong and no feeling of pain or pleasure as a result of such choice. The intellectual action must lie at the basis of the entire process and become a part of it. It is equally clear that the intense feeling of pain or pleasure must follow a choice of right or wrong; so that in the process the will must act before the sensibility. That intense emotion which is most commonly known as "conscience" arises precisely because we have made a choice between right and wrong. We feel the sweet emotion of pleasure because we have chosen the right, and we experience what is known as the "stings of conscience" because we have deliberately chosen and done the wrong.

The complete operation of the mind which we call conscience is complex. All the so-called faculties or powers of the mind are involved. The mind through the intellect perceives the distinction between right and wrong; the mind through the will chooses between right and wrong; and the mind through the sensibility experiences a pleasant or an unpleasant emotion as a consequence. Or, to drop the use of the word "faculties," the proposition may be stated in briefer terms: The mind sees the distinction between right and wrong; the mind chooses between right and wrong; and the mind experiences a pleasant or an unpleasant emotion as a result of its choice. What we call conscience, then, is a complex operation, taxing every capability of the human mind; and we may define it as the operation of the mind in which it perceives the distinction between right and wrong, chooses between right and wrong, and experiences pleasure or pain as a result of its choice. The human mind is capable of this entire process in its treatment of moral questions. Even more, all this is written in its very constitution. It cannot escape from this process. It may be in doubt in a particular case as to its decision; many compli-

cated situations will arise in which the mind hesitates to decide what is right and what is wrong, just as it is unable to solve many questions in mathematics or philosophy. In such a case the operation of conscience is balked at its first stage. The mind may also stand undecided in the presence of good and evil for a time; and while this is the case the operation of conscience is halted at its second stage. But when the mind finds itself capable of determining in a particular instance what is right and what is wrong—and this will be generally the case—it is hurried on to a choice which cannot be long delayed. And when the choice is made there is no escape from the state of rest or disquietude.

The thing we call conscience is simply the mind operating on moral questions just as it operates on mathematical or historical questions, and with results entirely analogous. The operations of the intellect are followed by a choice of the will, and this is succeeded by a movement in the sensibility which is either restful or disturbing. A man reads the narrative of a great battle. (1) The intellect grasps all the facts. (2) He soon takes sides. He chooses between the contending armies. The will makes its decision. (3) Then, if the side he prefers is triumphant a feeling of intense satisfaction ensues; but if the other army is victorious his soul is filled with disgust. This is something more than an illustration of the operations of conscience; it is a mental process of the same nature, the only difference lying in the materials upon which the mind is exercised.

If this view of conscience be correct it readily explains why men differ so largely in their estimates of right and wrong. Their consciences differ just as their judgments differ; for their consciences are but their judgments applied to moral questions, so far as the intellectual part of the process is concerned. It explains how Paul could live "in all good conscience" while persecuting the Church of God, and pleads for charity toward those wrong-headed men who conscientiously do a great deal of mischief and lead us sometimes to think that the only man who is worse than a man with a conscience is a man who is without one.

If conscience is a normal mental process what is known as a "seared" conscience must be developed in harmony with the laws of the mind. The apostle Paul by the use of the word

"seared" has been popularly supposed to refer to a hardened conscience which has lost its sensitiveness. More recent authorities seem to regard this as a misinterpretation. He speaks rather of a conscience "branded," as criminals were branded that they might be commonly known as bad men, and leaves the impression that the men he was condemning were of this character. Whatever interpretation we may put on the apostle's word there is such a thing as a hardened, callous conscience, which results from a perversion of the mental powers. As a man may destroy the normal action of the stomach by abuse, in like manner, to a certain extent, he may pervert the powers of his mind. And this is true, in varying degree, of every faculty or power of the mind. By always arguing on the wrong side and indulging in sophistries a man may deaden his keen and quick perception of right and wrong. Those who, like Belial, persist in attempts to "make the worse appear the better reason" will reach a mental condition in which the worse may appear the better reason. When a man sets his heart on something wrong he may persist until the intellect, under the domination of the will, fails to give a clear response. It seems evident, however, that this process of intellectual perversion can be only limited in extent, or all power of correct thought would vanish in a condition of insanity.

The will, likewise, may be debased and weakened until it no longer rules as a sovereign in the human breast. By persistently doing wrong when he might do right a man finally loses the power to do right when he may desire so to do. But the perversion here is only partial. The power to act may be destroyed, but the power to will or wish may remain. "For to will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not."

The most marked perversion of the mental powers seems to be possible in the sensibility. A man may suppress his feelings until they will almost wholly disappear. Natural affection has often been almost totally stamped out of the human soul. Emotions of joy, fellow-feeling, indignation, and even sorrow have met the same fate. And the powerful emotion which is so prominent a part of conscience is no exception. The feeling of pain or remorse may especially be suppressed, until ordinarily it gives the wicked man very little trouble.

There is evidence, however, that this perversion or suppression of the mental powers is only partial and temporary. A man may live for years in a stupid mental condition, without clear thought on moral questions, the will helpless in the presence of evil, and the feelings unmoved; when, under a powerful impulse, the fogs are cleared away from the intellect, the will is strengthened for its task, and the emotions awake to new life and vigor. It seems logical that all moral reform and spiritual regeneration must be based upon the fact that the perversion of the mental powers is only partial. If a man could reach a condition in which all correct mental processes were impossible there would seem to be nothing to build upon; it would be like reforming or converting an idiot or a lunatic. It seems clear, however, that men may reach a condition of mental debasement so extreme that nothing but an impulse from the divine Spirit can awaken to correct mental action. It is the divine purpose in saving a fallen man to renew, revive, and reconstruct the original spirit, rather than to set it aside and create an entirely new being.

Henry Graham

Art. II.—TWICE ON MARS' HILL.

"Ethics gives to history its rational goal, and all morality has the perfect shaping of universal history as its ultimate end."—*Wuttke's Christian Ethics*, vol. i, p. 17.

I. With Cleanthes—Hymn to Zeus.

Three centuries before St. Paul reached Athens a sluggish-headed boxer, named Cleanthes, overheard a lecture of Zeno, the founder of stoicism. He became a regular attendant at the new school of the porch. A meager livelihood was earned by working at night in kneading dough and in carrying water; but he was charged with idleness, taken before the court on Mars' Hill, and his story heard. Suspicion gave way to sympathy, and he was offered ten minæ. He refused the gift. His prime trait was endurance. He may have been dull, for he was called "the ass." Nevertheless he won general esteem, and on the death of his teacher became the head of the school. He toiled with his own hands for a living. He chose death, not death him. An ulcer gave him much trouble, and he was urged to fast for a season. At the expiration of the time he declined to eat; for he said he was halfway to death, and there was no need of his twice taking the journey. Zeno compared his mind to a hard tablet, on which writing was difficult, yet when done was permanent. Cleanthes must have been not less receptive, and more creative, than some have thought. Zeno's apparent dualism of matter and force he transformed into the sublime pantheism of his hymn. Zeno caught the practical spirit of the philosophy of his age. Cleanthes gave it a mystical coloring.

This "poetical Heraclitean mystic" furnished germinal ideas that came to fruition in later days. He suggested that the cause of the ceaseless "flux" of the universe was to be found in the idea of *tension*. The notion had not been unfamiliar to Zeno and the cynics, but it had been limited to the field of ethics. Cleanthes simply extended the soul, lifting it out of ethical limitations, to account for the different destinies of particular things, and so found a cause for the flux of all things. His dullness was plainly that of a great dreamer. Yet the Stoic philosophy was essentially ethical. The porch was a school of

conduct. Every premise eyed this conclusion, every addition was secondary. While the philosophy of stoicism has been compared to Corinthian brass, the product of the "fusion of many dissimilar materials," * it made a consistent effort to discover the science of life in a theory of virtue and its art in the practice of virtue. The progress that was made may be seen from a hasty survey of the march of ethics from early days to those of the poetic water-carrier.

The deficient ethics of Pythagoras made the body a prison for the soul, from which the soul needed release to gain a pure and pious state. The demand of Heraclitus was that the soul, a "fiery vapor," should be freed from all grosser elements. The theory of the Sophists held that man's practical relation to the external world is one of sense-qualification, and that, owing to the countless diversities of sensation, there can be no objective determination for conduct. Even the advance of Socrates, who endeavored to correct the error of the Sophists and to set up the "principle of universal objective spirit" in place of individual caprice, got no farther than the maxim that virtue is wisdom; and while he laid the first stone of a scientific theory of morals it was only the first stone.† In Aristotle, whose nature-study colored his theory, ethics is bound up with physics; and he contended that the "idea of the good" was of little aid for practical morality. He opposed Socrates and taught that we become virtuous only by the practice of virtue. The lofty view-point of Aristotle's empirical ethics enables us to understand the advantages derived therefrom by the Stoics, and also the reason for their failure. Their ethics they raised on a foundation of physics. Universal nature furnished the law of individual action. "Follow nature" is the moral maxim of stoicism. Yet a man could not be virtuous unless he were wholly virtuous. Thus stoicism furnished in its ethical theory a practical and pathetic illustration of one of the picturesque mythological stories of its birthland—the story of Tantalus, before whose parched lips the cooling wave advanced only to ebb away.

The day when Cleanthes seized the thought of the omnipotent, righteous, immanent lawgiver was for paganism like the

* Art. "Stoic Philosophy," McClintock & Strong's *Cyclopædia.*
† Schwegler, *History of Philosophy*, p. 52.

day for Israel when the prophet saw "the Lord sitting upon a throne;" like the day, too, for the "Holy Catholic Church" when John saw in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks "one like unto the Son of man." Stoicism never surpassed the lofty idea of divine sovereignty—albeit pantheistic—contained in the hymn of Cleanthes; and St. Paul on Mars' Hill was forced to go back over three centuries to find a mind in touch with his conception of the fatherhood of God.* This hymn is conceded to be the noblest approach to a Christian hymn that heathenism has produced. In the version which follows the effort of the author has been to translate line for line:†

Of immortals most glorious, many-namèd Jove,
Thou almighty Creator, thou Ruler above,
To thee hail! since all mortals may call thee by name;
For thine offspring we are, thy true image we claim.
And alone of earth's creatures thy voice we repeat.
I will hymn thee, and sing of thy power, as 'tis meet:
The great cosmos that rolls around earth owns the hand
Through whose potent direction its forces expand.
Thy invincible arm wields such servants of fire
That their double-tongued flames, ever glowing with ire,
Cause all nature to quake when they burst through the cloud;
Thine omnipotent arm sways the universe bowed.
While thy spirit is mingling with souls great and small,
Evermore, highest lord, thou art throned above all.
There is nothing, O God, that is done without thee.
Round the pole thou art active, on land and on sea
All's thy work, save when wicked men strive to do wrong;
To restrain their excesses of folly thou'rt strong.
In confusion lives order, th' unlovely shows fair;
Thou dost harmonize all, good from evil prepare,
For one law, ever during, the universe bands,
Though bad mortals may shun and resist its demands.
What a wretched ambition, still seeking the prize,
When the infinite law fails to charm ears and eyes!
Let them heed its just sway, life and virtue are won;
But they stray far from good, seeking each one his own.
Some for glory ambitious mix strife with their toil;
Some with avarice burn, and their fellows despoil;
Others yield to sloth's charms and to dissolute joys.
Gracious Jove, robed in clouds, in the storm's loudest noise

* Paul quotes *verbatim* from Aratus, a fellow-countryman from Soli, in Cicilia: Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. The passage of the hymn, fourth line, was quite likely in his mind: Ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν.

† The critical student may compare with this the free poetic version of Sir C. A. Elton, in *Christianity and Greek Philosophy*, p. 452.

Hailed as king! save from perilous errors mankind.
Then grant vision, O Father, to souls that are blind;
May they see that thy law in strict justice rules all.
When thus honored with truth in true honor men call
On the God whom all mortals should ever adore
For his wonderful works; never higher men soar,
Nor the gods, than when praising thy law and its power.

The ethical postulates in the hymn are two:

1. Its Doctrine of God. While the hymn has won credit for its doubtful monotheism it has not escaped the charge of teaching a "lofty pantheism." The Σεῦ πολυώνυμε of Cleanthes and the "Jehovah, Jove, or Lord" of Pope may be more nearly related in philosophic speculation than has been believed. At any rate, whatever of exceptional character, dubious at best, the hymn may possess as a statement of faith in one independent Creator, it remains indubitable that stoicism developed pantheism. The porch had long before St. Paul's day abolished the feeble dualism of Greek thought and swung to pantheistic theories of the universe. Even Plato's effort at a scientific system failed. He sunk the individual in the mass. In his theology he was pantheistic, in morals fatalistic, in politics socialistic, and in philosophy he reached an extreme idealism. Zeno's effort to sever the preceding identification of God with nature resulted in making God only a "finer air;" and the distinction could not be satisfactorily made out. God is the "chain of unalterable sequences in the procession of phenomena." "Zeno's seeming dualism of God (or force) and formless matter he [Cleanthes] was able to transform into the lofty pantheism which breathes in every line of the famous hymn to Zeus." * Yet the Stoics, in abolishing dualism, fell into the opposite error, and made God the world's soul and the world God's body. So all is bound up in God, and all returns to God.

Stoicism shared with all developments of paganism the evils of having no proper starting-point in infinite spirit. The logical result of this was felt by serious minds at the period when Paul entered the agora of Athens with his new doctrines of Jesus and the resurrection. The objective basis of law was not personal; and, stirred by a nameless unrest, men were crying, "Back to the leaders!" They thought that there had been

* Art. "Stoics," *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

a doctrine of God held by the founders which had been overlooked or misstated and needed reexamination or reinforcement. Not so. They had all the truth possessed by the ancients; but it fell far short of the revelation of the preacher on Mars' Hill. Under the highest light the patient water-carrier ever threw upon the great questions of duty, Greece sank from a higher to a lower moral level. The great reason was a lack of knowledge concerning the true God. Deity, to Aristotle, was a power, not a person. "Even Plato never inquired about the personality of God." * The light-hearted, versatile, crafty Greek came to be the *Græculus esuriens* of the Latin poet's irony; art was debased, immorality prevailed, and Athens sank to shameless and nameless vices. Greece proved it true that clear conceptions of God must precede pure living. Stoicism never overcame the bad consequences of its first theological principles.

2. Its Doctrine of Man. The tendency of the efforts of the Sophists, of Socrates, and of his followers ripened in the speculations of the Stoics. These were thoroughgoing in intention, at least, to discover a way in which men might be helped to lead better lives. In the older Stoics there breathed a Semitic spirit of righteous endeavor. The origin of stoicism is full of interest to the philosophic student of history. It arose in times of political degeneracy. The Macedonian conquest ended in the centralization of power. Then came foreign triumphs, and in their train rioted greed, corruption, lack of honorable restraint, sensuality. The State grew by nourishing a growing selfishness. It could not be reformed. Yet men thought that private life might be purified, and they began the search for individual perfection. In the middle Stoics the confidence of attaining perfection passed away. The wise man became rarer than the phœnix. Still other modifications followed. Yet the seriousness of the early founders never entirely left the school, even when later teachers moved forward from the original ethical rigor to a languid philanthropy and a lukewarm piety.

The original teaching of stoicism is reflected in the last lines of the hymn of Cleanthes—man living under law. It is not so much mankind as the personal unit. In its theory

* Pressensé, *Ancient World and Christianity*, p. 38.

of the one man, the ethical unit, stoicism developed the positive side of ethical teaching as compared with epicureanism. In practice the Stoic was indifferent to public affairs, and the spectacle of the world's advancement had no fascination for his eyes. He was evermore thrown back into himself. His notion of the individual has in some details put all modern ethics in his debt. Individuality was not irrational license. Zeno had made the ethical end to be harmony with one's self. Cleanthes was "the first to define it as conformity to nature." * The Stoic rivaled the saintly mystic in the stress he put upon inwardness, for evermore intention outvalues performance. Reason is higher than brute force, than the animal in man. The rational course is one which conforms to the laws of life. Cleanthes followed his master in his notion of harmony, but went a step further toward the conception of morality as obedience to an objective law. In the maxim that a virtuous man can have no enemy, the splendid thought of the universal soul as the ethical burning-point of all law shines out to the lasting honor of the school. As mind is above matter, "right reason" in the universal soul is the source of all external harmony. The technical name for this infallible reason is *διάθεσις*, "disposition or regulation," and from this flows all consistency. Human law is the recognition of obligation to the encompassing law of the universe. Justice is not, then, something ordained by convention, now of use, then to be cast out upon the ash-heaps. The one man must recognize the society of rational beings, of which he is a rational member, and so live for the good of others. The brotherhood of man was a distinctive dogma of stoicism. In all the relations of life thought is above pleasure. Virtue is the only good, to be sought for its own sake, and no regard is to be paid to any feeling of happiness.

But in all this the pendulum swung far past the point of rest. There was no such thing as "sin," declared by the apostle as dreadful in God's eyes. There was no such thing as free will; a mere voluntary submission to fixed law was called freedom. In the emphasis put upon intention license was given for grossest sins, in which it was said that the body was, but the mind was not, implicated. The founder of the school himself was far from controlling his animal passions, and indulged the

* Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, vol. i, p. 198.

degrading vice of pederasty. Diogenes Laertius, his biographer, praises Zeno for being but little addicted to it.* The true idea of sin not being known, morality was conceived as, not a struggle, but a development which a man might secure by getting in harmony with nature. It is interesting to note the survival of this notion in the stoicism of Dr. Samuel Johnson, which he puts into the mouth of Imlac: "The way to be happy is to live according to nature, in obedience to that universal and unalterable law with which every heart is originally impressed." There was lacking, however, as the direct result of a pantheistic starting-point, any real sense of obligation. The moral idea came to be "more an object for artistic enjoyment than for actual realization." The Stoic failed to see how there could be any separateness of personality and not at the same time self-centering personality. Hence, man was regarded as able to supply the springs of moral power within. Then, when the pendulum of philosophy swung to pantheism, fate came to the front. "*Fata nos ducunt*" was the cheerless dictum. As only the wise man can attain perfection, stoicism taught an "aristocracy of ethics," and true morality was restricted to the few.

As to the future there was much uncertainty. Cleanthes gave immortality to all, Chrysippus to a few noble souls. Seneca wavered; Aurelius indulged a vague aspiration. Thus, since no personal God superintended human affairs, since free will was only a name, since hope had no eye for the rewards of personal immortality, and since fatalism rendered the pursuit of happiness an illusion, the Stoic ideal was one of passionless unselfishness; "the martyr's ecstasy of hope had no place in his dying hour." † The leaders alone could expect posthumous fame. Out of this theory of virtue there grew a sort of pride that held all mercy and tenderness in contempt and favored no disposition to mingle with the actual world. The sage was never to repent of anything. He never needed forgiveness; so he never granted it. ‡ As reason is all, the body is naught. Suicide is the easiest "way out," and the sage is most heroic when he bids life a willful farewell. "The time of his departure" he held in his own hand. Many a Stoic was loyal to his theory, as testify the deaths of Zeno, Cleanthes, Cato, and Seneca.

* Lecky, *European Morals*, vol. ii, p. 294.
† *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 173.
‡ Wuttke, *Christian Ethics*, vol. i, p. 36.

Notwithstanding all this, stoicism, even in its imperfect efforts, bettered a bad age. It ascended the throne of the Cæsars in the creed and life of Marcus Aurelius. And, though eminent Stoics may have been wanting in later days, the breath of the early earnestness had not left the body of the national life. It had its poets—Manilius, Lucan, Persius. It affected Roman morals through the writings of Cicero, of Seneca, of Epictetus, and of Aurelius. The Roman conception of general and systematic law was the empire's chief debt to stoicism. It has affected all modern jurisprudence. "To this day, when the 'state of nature' is proclaimed or the dogma is alleged that 'all men are born free and equal' Stoic fantasies are revived, without their origin, their import, their applications, or their restrictions being suspected."* Stoicism has survived the early days of Christianity. It would be an interesting study to discover how much Christian theology has been affected by it—for example, in the necessarian doctrine of divine sovereignty. From the law based upon Stoic physics, by which the unit, though claiming to be self-poised, was supposed to be absorbed by and into the universal, it is but a step to the Calvinistic doctrine of divine sovereignty, in which a tendency has been noticed to physical as well as ethical necessarianism; and it is only one more step to materialism.† Its reappearance to-day, in its "counterpart in the scientific fantasies of Huxley and in the cosmical reveries of Helmholtz and his fraternity," suggests the existence of social and intellectual conditions such as caused Athens, at a crisis in her moral history, to extend such cordial welcome to the founder of the Stoic school.

II. With St. Paul—Sermon on the "Unknown God."

The hymn of Cleanthes and the sermon of Paul mark the highest conceptions of the ethical purpose of man, the one from the view-point of natural religion, the other from that of revealed religion. As the non-Christian philosophy of to-day is in some features attempting a revival of Stoic ethics, a contrast will not be unpractical nor unprofitable.

When St. Paul walked into the agora, or "market," at Athens he encountered "certain philosophers of the Epicureans, and

* Dr. G. F. Holmes, art. "Stoics," McClintock & Strong's *Cyclopædia.*
† Dr. W. F. Warren.

of the Stoics." The "garden" of the former was not far distant, and the "porch" of the latter bordered upon the northern side of the agora. Paul's daily discussions with these philosophers ended with the sermon on Mars' Hill. Looking down from the hill St. Paul saw on the "painted porch," which gave its name to the school of Cleanthes, the frescoes of old heroic days, especially of the battle of Marathon. In that conflict a few fought against many; so in like manner the apostle confronted the multitude on the hill. The Greeks won at Marathon; so here did the missionary. And as the painted wall preserved the glory of the former, so for all time the lettered page has kept the more enduring fame of the man who "fought the good fight of faith." The judges now are the ages.

While it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the feeling of fellowship that may have existed between Christianity and stoicism, no one can read the sermon of the apostle without a suspicion, at least, of the sympathetic recognition by the sermon of its kinship with the hymn. In their local origin they were alike. Stoicism was not pure Greek, but the firstfruits of the free interaction between Greek and Eastern thought after Alexander. Cleanthes was one of the few exceptions to the non-Greek citizenship of every eminent Stoic. Christianity, too, came from the East. St. Paul quoted from a fellow-countryman. The cosmopolitanism of the hymn was set forth in the "one law, everduring," and its greatest triumph was won at Rome, when stoicism expressed itself in a national ethical habit of thought and life. The cosmopolitanism of Christianity outran the limits of legal bonds and encompassed the world with its doctrine of "grace." Stoicism lacked sympathy, yet it enlarged the range of human fellowship and held to a sense of universal humanity. It "converted friendship from an indulgence to a duty." It did in some measure check demoralization, and by its propædeutic relation to Christianity made way for its rapid spread. St. Paul's feeling found expression in his courteous introduction, wherein, far from charging his hearers with being "too superstitious," he bridged the chasm of prejudice by commending them for their carefulness in religion; and in his quotations from their poet he made common cause in claiming divine parentage for all men.

Lack of space forbids an extended exegetical analysis of either

the hymn or the sermon, nor is it needed. Deeper study of the sermon commends De Wette's approval of it as a "model of apologetic style of discourse." The logical movement is as simple as it is strong. The apostle, after his conciliatory opening, declares his purpose to teach them the true God. He announces him as the world's Creator (verse 24), as independent (verse 25), as Creator of mankind in one great fellowship, despite their wide diffusion (verse 26), declares it man's duty to seek him (verse 27), then, following the immortal line from the hymn (verse 28), describes him as a spiritual God (verse 29), states his forbearance, and urges men to repentance now, for Christ's resurrection makes certain a day of judgment. Here clamor silenced the preacher. "Jesus and the resurrection" were stumbling-blocks to Greek thought. To change the figure, they were the twin stars of the new faith, and their fixed radiance, far outshining the mythic benignity and splendor of the "Twin Brothers," has been the guide of gospel heralds to all forms of vagrant paganisms.

The ethical postulates of the sermon are *three:*

1. Its Doctrine of God. The sun of truth was at meridian on Mars' Hill. The degree of difference between the ethical positions of Cleanthes and of Paul is not to be discovered by contrasting passages taken from the New Testament and from the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius.* The difference is not that between two schools of philosophy. "The ethics of paganism were part of a philosophy. The ethics of Christianity were part of a religion." * The only sufficient basis of morals Paul preached in his doctrine of a personal, independent Creator of worlds and of men; loving man, yet holding him responsible for his conduct; demanding spiritual worship, hence not to be imaged in stone; getting in touch with men by means of his Son, the world's only Redeemer; at once holy, yet patient toward unholy men; separate from men, yet seeking entrance into contrite hearts. "Only where the moral idea has its absolutely perfect reality, in the personal holy God, has morality a firm basis, true contents, and an unconditional goal." † The advance of the sermon beyond the hymn shows the folly and failure of the natural theology of the present day, which draws from the common soul of man its only confirmation of

* Lecky, *European Morals*, vol. ii, p. 1. † Wuttke, *Christian Ethics*, vol. ii, p. 80.

truth. The "absolute religion" finds the spring of progress in humanity. The "spontaneous gospel" puts aside the historic revelation. It affects to be constructive and progressive, when, in fact, it is destructive and retrogressive. "It is carrying men afresh to paganism." * It has been well said that "the distinctive feature of Christianity is that henceforth the law (legacy from Judaism) is not contemplated apart from the personality of God;"† not only so, but the revelation of the divine personality is that of one compassionate. The Father evermore sees the wayward son "a long way off" and goes out to meet him. If Cleanthes's hymn, not unlike Judaism, emphasized *law*, Paul's sermon exalted *grace*. Thus the restraint of law becomes the constraint of love. "Ancient philosophy never opened the mine of happiness which lay in this principle. It was a discovery, like that of a new scientific principle, when it was made; and Christianity made it." ‡

2. Its Doctrine of Man. Man is like God. In origin we are his "offspring," in destiny his "sons." Man's personality is in the mind of the apostle, yet he does not stop there. Personality sets apart man as capable of communion with God. But under present conditions this personality, having intelligence, conscience, will, is, though a free agent, subject to sin, is capable of holy living, needs to repent, faces the day of judgment, and is heir to an immortal destiny. Such is man in St. Paul's mind. The chasm is too great between the Stoic anthropology and that of St. Paul to demand more than the preceding generalizations. How great it is will appear more clearly in the consideration of the third postulate of the sermon.

3. Its Doctrine of Christ. The previous emphasis of the difference between the two greatest ethical systems of history is here multiplied many fold. The crowning point of unlikeness is here unveiled. A difference of degree sets the sermon above the song, in the superiority of its theology and anthropology. In its Christology the sermon is as far above the song as brightest day is beyond darkest night. There are no common terms of comparison. The Judaic postulates concerning God and man lifted the preacher far away from those of the poet; but the real, the immeasurable difference is not felt till

* Hardwick, *Christ and Other Masters*, p. 18. † *Lux Mundi*, p. 405.
‡ Mozley, *University Sermons*, vol. ix, quoted in *Lux Mundi*.

the doctrine of the God-man is reached. In him the "ideal sage" of stoicism, dreamed of, but never met, was revealed. The best that Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus could do was to look back to the stonecutter moralist of Athens. "Socrates sat for the portrait of the Stoic sage; the Stoics strove earnestly to build up their inner man after the pattern of the virtuous wise man, whose lineaments they borrowed from the transfigured and lofty form of Socrates." * Stoicism pointed with a palsied hope the path where a victory might be won, but did not win it, could not win it. The philosophy was too subjective; the human personality was too self-centered; the goal was too far removed or an utter impossibility. The touchstone of a true science and a true art of morals is Jesus Christ. He is the full measure of the gap between the two systems. He is, first, the *pattern*, and, secondly, the *power* of the ideal life.

1.) The Pattern. Stoicism sought "a subjective criterion of truth that may assure the determination of true and false ideas;" † but the outcome of the endless debates in the porch was scarcely more than a philosophic game of battledoor and shuttlecock. The objective, historical, personal, peerless Christ is the world's criterion—he and none other. No pardon need here be asked for introducing at length the famous passage of Mr. Lecky:

> It was reserved for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character, which throughout all the changes of eighteen centuries has inspired the hearts of men with an impassioned love; has shown itself capable of acting on all ages, nations, temperaments, and conditions; has been not only the highest pattern of virtue but the strongest incentive to its practice; and has exercised so deep an influence that it may be truly said that the simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate and to soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers and all the exhortations of moralists. This has indeed been the well-spring of whatever is best and purest in the Christian life. Amid all the sins and failings, amid all the priestcraft and persecution and fanaticism that have defaced the Church, it has preserved in the character and example of its Founder an enduring principle of regeneration. ‡

History repeats itself. The old-time hunger is the present day hunger. Men yearn for personal sympathy. What we

* Noack, in Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy*, vol. i, p. 187.
† Albert Schwegler, *Handbook of the History of Philosophy*, p. 124.
‡ *European Morals*, vol. ii, p. 8.

call the evidential system of Christianity had little place in the overthrow of Roman paganism,* and the present tendency to acknowledge the supremacy of a Christocentric theology and anthropology is repeating the earliest experience of the Church and will, beyond doubt, gauge the rate of progress of truth and morality in days to come. The loving sympathy of the everyday life of Jesus had no counterpart in the rigor of stoicism. We emphasize this feature of virtue's Pattern because it affords the chief contrast to the coldness of Stoic righteousness. The true cosmopolite was not Aurelius, when he said, "An Antonine, my country is Rome; as a man, it is the world," but Jesus, when he said, "I am the good Shepherd," and invited all who labored and were heavy laden to come to him for rest. Stoicism may have presented cases of unselfishness, but theory, and not practice, had the right of way. The emotions were suppressed; in building up their colossal egotism the Stoics inserted no heart and, declaring pain no evil, seldom bestirred themselves to rid their fellows' homes of want, of weakness, or of death. While they professed to popularize philosophy they failed to reach common men. Their standard was unattainable. They lacked a passionate enthusiasm.

Christ's tender sympathy was capable of boundless reaches of endurance. It is told of Epictetus that he warned his master that his leg would be broken if he kept on beating him, and then, when further cruelty broke it, said calmly, "There, I told you so." This was heroic, and Celsus quoted it against the early Christians: "Did your leader, under suffering, ever say anything so noble?" To this Origen made the fine reply, "He did what was still nobler—he kept silence." The passion of Jesus was never fury, the calm of Jesus was never lethargy. In youth he talked to doctors of the law with becoming dignity; in manhood he condescended to the prattle of children; in his holiness there was no asceticism, nothing forbidding; in the lighter social relations there was an exquisite discrimination between frivolity and cheerfulness; in his holy life there was an element of passion, "which differentiates it from philosophic conceptions of virtue as a tranquil balanced state."† The pupil learned well from his Master. St. Paul was not less exacting of self than

* *European Morals*, vol. ii, p. 385. † *Lux Mundi*, p. 415.

Cleanthes, but his virtue was characterized by an abandon of love to his Lord, utterly foreign to any adherent of an ethical system whenever the majestic center is not a personification of love. The bland arrogance of Stoic virtue-pride was unknown in all his "boasting," for his fiery propagandism sought only the exaltation of the cross of Christ. He daily illustrated the saying, as true as incisive, "No heart is pure that is not passionate; no virtue is safe that is not enthusiastic." * It has been noticed that the arena of ethics has seldom seen such failures, flowing from "unrelaxing virtue . . . united with so little enthusiasm," † as those in which Stoic energy attempted a display of its prowess. In the struggle to spread truth and to purify life Christianity showed an enthusiasm unknown to the ethics of paganism. The school of Christ has what Dr. Chalmers called its distinctively "aggressive attitude." The idea of duty is not necessarily aggressive. The world was won because St. Paul and his followers were "constrained by love." In the strong arms of this love were laid the want and weakness and woe of all men. The philanthropy of the Stoic came far short of the "charity" of the saint. While no fault is found with the fractional successes of partial power, all honor is due to the results of full surrender to a full revelation. "There is no sin in the magnanimous pride of the heathen; there is more humanity in the quick sympathy of the Christian." ‡ The strange contrast between the self-denying asceticism of the early Christians and their tender sympathy with all forms of suffering has been framed in such thoughtfulness by Professor Seeley that it would be a loss not to refer to it:

> In the times of the Roman emperors, there appeared a sect which distinguished itself by the assiduous attention which it bestowed upon the bodily wants of mankind. This sect set the first example of a homely practical philanthropy, occupying itself with the relief of ordinary human sufferings, dispensing food and clothing to the destitute and starving. At the same period there appeared a sect which was remarkable for the contempt in which it held human suffering. . . . These two sects appeared to run into contrary extremes. The one seemed to carry their regard for the body to the borders of effeminacy; the other pushed stoical apathy almost to madness. Yet these two sects were one and the same—the Christian Church. §

* *Ecce Homo*, p. 14.
† Lecky, *European Morals*, vol. i, p. 284.
‡ Blackie, *Four Phases of Morals*.
§ *Ecce Homo*, p. 130.

2.) The Power. The man is the *pattern*—the God is the *power*. Cleanthes's hymn knows no release from the "strength of sin." No idea of redemption clothes the stately rhythm of its lines with a softer beauty. The deity of Jesus Christ, his atonement, his resurrection, were, indeed, a revelation to the Areopagites. Herein is the chasm widest between the philosopher and the preacher. Paul proclaims Christianity as "something vastly greater than a system of morals. It is a divine way of salvation, that is, of deliverance from sin, as well as from its effects." The barrier, sin, which Cleanthes could not overleap, was removed by the cross of Christ. The pattern and the power were henceforth within the reach of wayfaring men. The aristocratic spirit of Stoic morals had no echo in St. Paul's invitations to all—Jew, Greek, bond, free, male, female—to become new creatures in Christ Jesus.

The moral renovation of society begins with the regeneration of the individual. No effort that teaches men how to live without God can reform society or assure good rule or bring peace to stormy souls. The divine Christ alone is equal to the huge task now inviting all the powers of our civilization. He alone sanctifies all the relations of life.

We dare not lose sight of this, especially in view of the growth of a desire on the part of some to put God out of their thoughts. Atheism is barbarism. The latest illustration of this is seen in the revival by Professor Felix Adler of the Stoic views of the beneficial effects of suicide, and even of compulsory death. He advocates judicial methods of putting an end to the lives of those who, from pain, want, or other ills, are a burden to society. It is but one step from the separation of morals from religion to the collapse of a social order that has no sanction for its commandments, no safety from the inroads of evil powers. Professor Adler's proposition is the sword of Brennus, the chief of the Gauls, cast with barbarian ruthlessness into the scales wherein the troubled modern state is weighing out a ransom for her peace. He says, as the Gaul to the Roman tribune, who complained of unfairness, "*Væ victis!*"—"To the wall with the weakest."

The student of comparative ethics is warned in time. He does well to realize, with Cousin, that "Christianity is a discipline of life; stoicism was nothing better than an apprenticeship

for death." As a philosophy it failed to conquer skepticism. As an ethics it failed to conquer sin. In practice it took refuge in suicide, where its vaunted heroism before the sword's edge revealed its cowardice for further conflict. With no light adequate for life the philosopher plunged into death's deeper gloom. The saint, with the torch of a rational faith held out far ahead, is yet willing to suffer on and on. The Stoic's pride would not let him live on in pain. The saint's patience would not allow him to drop the cross to gain an easier crown.

With the court on Mars' Hill we vote our sympathy for the self-denying student. But, coming to the same court three centuries later, we vow allegiance with the self-sacrificing saint to the world's only Lord and Saviour, its true ethical head. Once on Mars' Hill the judgment was in money—Cleanthes received ten minæ. Again on Mars' Hill the judgment was in souls—"Certain men clave unto him and believed."

R. S. Stevenson

Art. III.—DANTE ALIGHIERI AND THE "NEW LIFE."

Among the cities of the Old World famous for their beauty none have won such universal admiration as Florence, the city of flowers, situated in the heart of Tuscany, on the banks of the river Arno. It may be that one's first impressions are disappointing, especially if he arrives in the city at the close of some hot summer day, after a long journey in the cars from Bologna or Genoa. From the window of his cab he sees narrow, treeless streets, hot and dusty sidewalks, and the Arno itself, shrunk by summer's heat, lays half bare its sandy channel. But let him wait until the cool of evening comes, and then take his first walk along the banks of the river, across the Ponte Vecchio, one of the oldest and most picturesque bridges in Florence, and up through the Via dei Bardi, dear to all lovers of *Romola*, until he reaches at last the Piazzale Michelangelo, with its statue of David, towering over the city below. The sun is setting behind the distant Pisan Mountains, and the west is bright with that peculiar, soft glow found only in Italian skies. The shades of night are beginning to fall, and the long rows of lights along the bank of the Arno wind and twist like glittering serpents until they are lost to sight amid the heavy foliage which forms a dark background against the city itself. Back of him the moon is rising above the round shoulders of that hill over which, six centuries ago, the shepherd-boy Giotto was led by Cimabue, who had found him in the fields and was now bringing him to Florence to make a great painter of him. Down at the observer's feet the city is lying in the half darkness. He sees the graceful tower that crowns the massive Palazzo Vecchio, the dome of the cathedral, and the roofs and spires of numberless houses and churches. As he stands there leaning against the stone parapet and listening to the voices of the children at play below, voices mingled with the strains of music from some public garden, his heart must indeed be "as dry as summer's dust" if it does not thrill with joy at such a scene.

But beauty is not the only claim that Florence has to the love and reverence of mankind. The memory of the past follows one here at every step. No city built by the hand of

man has exerted so mighty an influence on that form of civilization which finds its expression in the arts of painting, architecture, and sculpture. Stand on the banks of the Arno and look down the long, narrow square of the Uffizi, surrounded by open porticoes and bounded at the upper end by the Palace of the Signoria and the statues at its foot. The pillars of the colonnades are adorned with the statues of the great Florentine sculptors, painters, poets, historians; and no other city in the world could gather together such a galaxy of great men. Read some of the names on the pedestals as you walk slowly toward the sunny square of the Signoria — Giotto, Fra Angelico, Michael Angelo, Macchiavelli, Savonarola, and, greatest of all, Dante Alighieri. Even to-day the city is full of reminiscences of the great poet. In the square of the cathedral you can see the old Church of St. John—"*il mio bel San Giovanni*," Dante calls it—which was the chief church of Florence in his day, for the Duomo had not yet been built. Near by Giotto's tower they still show a stone where the poet is said to have sat and watched the building of the tower; "*Sasso di Dante*" is the inscription upon it. As one walks along the narrow street of San Martino his eyes rest by chance on a tall, narrow stone building, and the words over the door, "*Casa di Dante*," tell you that this was the birthplace of the poet. Not far off is the church where the poet was married to Gemma Donati, while a few streets away is the site of the palace of Folco Portinari, the father of Beatrice.

Dante Alighieri was born in dark and troublous times. The year after his birth, 1266, is memorable as the date of the battle of Benevento, where Charles of Anjou conquered Manfred and destroyed forever the power of the Hohenstaufens. It may not be out of place here to say a word or two concerning the history of the times; some general idea of them is indispensable to a clear conception of the life and works of Dante. The story of the ruin of the Roman empire and of the invasion of barbarians from the North is well known. Out of the materials that survived the wreck of empires the remnants of the Italian people, together with the Lombards, Goths, and Vandals, formed a new order of society. Toward the ninth century cities began to rebuild their walls. Industry, arts, agriculture, which had lain dormant for so many years, began to give signs

of awakening life. With the growth of the cities came hostility between them and the nobles. The latter had lived for the most part in mountain fortresses until the prosperity of the towns allured them thither.

There were two rival powers in Italy during the Middle Ages who claimed sovereignty over all—the German emperors, who since the days of Charlemagne claimed to be the heirs of the old Roman empire, and the pope. Until the election of Pope Gregory VII, in the eleventh century, no one had questioned the supremacy of the German emperor. This pontiff, who was a man of boundless ambition, and who changed the whole spirit of popedom, claimed the right of investing the German bishops, a right hitherto remaining in the hands of the emperor. There is no need of reviewing the oft-told story of the ruthless war waged by Hildebrand against Henry IV—how he hurled the anathemas of the Church and set son against father, and how he crowned his haughty arrogance by that famous scene at Canossa, where the ruler of the western world stood three days in the snow outside the castle walls, until it might please his holiness, the bishop of souls, to grant him his presence. Suffice it to say that from this struggle over the investiture of bishops arose those endless wars between Guelfs and Ghibellines. Every city in Italy was divided into two parties—the Guelfs, who espoused the cause of the pope, and the Ghibellines, who sided with the emperor. Owing to this constant state of warfare houses were built like fortresses, with thick walls, high, narrow windows, and doors of massive oak. In times of conflict chains were drawn across the streets, barricades thrown up, and murder and pillage ran riot.

The political complexion of various cities changed from time to time as the parties rose or fell. At times the Guelfs had the upper hand and drove out the Ghibellines; and then the rôles were changed, and the Guelfs were exiled in their turn. These different parties after a time lost their original significance as partisans of pope or emperor, and often expressed only private quarrels. Great families were at feud with each other. Thus, in Florence, the terrible disorders of the Whites and Blacks—the *Bianchi* and the *Neri*—which finally engulfed Dante in ruin, had their origin in a private quarrel. The principal families of the city at this time were the Buon-

delmonti and Amidei, the Uberti and Donati. A half century before Dante's birth one of the Buondelmonti, who was a Guelf, had been engaged to a daughter of the Amidei, a Ghibelline family. Urged by a widow of the house of Donati, however, he broke his engagement and married the daughter of the widow, who belonged to the same political party as himself. The Amidei, deeply insulted, lay in wait for the young Buondelmonti and slew him on the Ponte Vecchio, at the foot of the statue of Mars. The whole city was immediately thrown into a state of warfare; family was arrayed against family, and fierce encounters took place in the streets. Hardly a day passed without swords being drawn, the tocsin sounding, and bloody brawls taking place in the streets. This party hatred became so fierce that once, after the battle of Monte Aperto, in 1260, when the river Arbia ran red with blood, the victorious Ghibellines seriously considered the advisability of razing Florence to the ground and building a new city at Empoli, a small town on the road from Florence to Pisa. It was Farinata degli Uberti, one of the most distinguished warriors and eloquent orators of his time, who successfully opposed this plan.

But in spite of war and bloodshed, of constant change of government and magistrates, the city grew greater and richer. It was the money center of Europe, commerce flourished, and art in its noblest expression had its cradle there. At the time Dante was born the appearance of the city was not the same as it is now. The Duomo, Giotto's tower, the Palazzo Vecchio, and the Church of Santa Croce had not yet been built; but before he died all this noble cluster of buildings had been begun. Life was gay and brilliant. The contado was cultivated by active peasants; the city possessed thick walls, strong towers, and streets flagged with stones. Old Giovanni Villani, in his chronicle of Florence, dwells upon the luxury and display of the citizens.

Biographers often claim that the family of Dante was a noble one. It is even claimed that he traced his descent from one of the patrician families of Rome. We cannot trace his ancestry further than the twelfth century—to that Cacciaguida whom the poet meets in the heaven of Mars and who foretells to him his future woes. The family of his mother, Donna Bella,

of the various events of the battle." About 1292 Dante married Gemma, the daughter of Manetto de' Donati. By this marriage he had seven children. He is utterly silent concerning his family, wife, parents, brothers, children. We have no reason, however, for believing otherwise than that Gemma was virtuous and that his domestic life was happy. Perhaps she was "the gentle lady" who comforted the poet on the death of Beatrice, of which we shall speak later. She did not share his exile, nor was this possible at first, on account of the tender age of her children.

The Florentines, under the leadership of Giano della Bella, had passed laws to the effect that no noble or grandee should be eligible to the office of prior, the highest in the gift of the city. Every aspirant for office must enroll himself in one of the guilds or professions. Dante at the age of thirty was enrolled in the guild of physicians and apothecaries, and in 1300 he was elected one of the *priori*. The office lasted only two months; yet, as he himself says in a letter quoted by Leonardo Bruni, "All my woes and misfortunes had their cause and beginning in the unlucky election of my priorship." It was at this time that Pope Boniface VIII sent Cardinal d'Acquasparta to pacify Florence. On being opposed by Dante and his colleagues the pope in anger sent to France for Charles of Valois and bestowed on him the title of Pacificator of Italy. Charles entered Florence on the 1st of November, 1301, and treated it as a vanquished city. Houses were destroyed, goods were confiscated, and many citizens were banished. Among the latter was Dante, charged with being a forger and bribe-taker. On the 27th of January, 1302, he was condemned to pay a fine of five thousand florins. If the sum was not paid in three days his goods were to be confiscated and destroyed; if it was paid he was still to be exiled two years from Tuscany. About forty days later he was charged, first, with not having obeyed the summons, and, secondly, with not having paid the fine. Therefore he was condemned to be burnt alive if ever he came within the jurisdiction of Florence. Years after, in 1311 and in 1315, his name was mentioned as that of a rebel and outlaw. Villani, the most trustworthy of all ancient authorities, says the only cause of his banishment was that he favored the White party, although nominally a Guelf. From this time on

Dante separated himself from his family traditions and became a Ghibelline and a supporter of the German emperor.

This exile must have been a terrible blow to Dante. He was yet young, eager for honor and fame, and loved his native city with passionate devotion. And now at one fell stroke he was cut off from home and family, his property confiscated, and he himself, driven into ignominious banishment, forced to become a wanderer and a beggar on the face of the earth. No wonder that at first he devoted all his energies to endeavoring to reenter Florence. The supreme desire of his life for three years was to return to the city where his family and friends were and where he had passed his youth. But he soon became weary of the companions among whom fate had cast his lot—fierce, scheming, unprincipled, the great family of bitter and disappointed partisans. He left them and, to use his own language, made a party for himself. His ancestor, Cacciaguida, in the nineteenth canto of the "Paradiso," while foretelling to him the trials of his exile, says, "Thou shalt prove how salt is the taste of others' bread, and how hard it is to descend and climb another's stairs; but that which most of all will weigh heavy on thy soul will be the evil and foolish companions whom thou shalt fall in with in this valley of exile." During these three years he is said to have written a letter to his fellow-citizens, full of pathetic pleading and beginning with the words, "*O populo mi, quid feci tibi?*"—"O my people, what have I done unto you?" But neither tears nor entreaties, threats nor open warfare, could unlock the gates of the city to him who was destined to be the glory, not only of Florence, but of all Italy. He seems finally to have accepted his exile as inevitable and, like the strong man he was, adapted his work to his life. Once only, years after, did a gleam of hope light up the dark path of the lonely wanderer. In 1308 Henry of Luxembourg ascended the throne of the empire, and in 1310 entered Italy, which had been neglected by her rulers for over fifty years. Dante, once more hoping to return to Florence, wrote a letter full of fierce reproach to the Florentines, and another letter to Henry, urging him to hurry on his work of regenerating Italy. Henry besieged Florence for one month, then went on to Pisa, but died in 1313. After his death Italy, like a ship without a pilot, was tossed about on the waves of political disaster, and not until long centuries later,

in the year 1870, did the poet's dream of a united Italy find its realization.

The whole period of the exile is so obscured by myth and fiction that it is difficult to separate the true from the false. Almost every city in Italy claims the honor of his presence, and Belgium and France, and even England, are said to have been visited by him. The poet's movements during this period are shrouded in obscurity; yet from time to time the mist rolls away, and we catch a glimpse of the wanderer climbing some mountain pass, wending his way through plain and valley, or, like a lost soul from the spirit world, threading the crowded streets of some great city. Legend has been busy with the poet's life, and has woven many a beautiful story of these days of exile. It is said that at the close of a long summer's day a stranger, weary and travel-stained, knocked at the door of the monastery of Santa Croce, near Spezia, which is situated on the hills which look out over the blue waters of the Mediterranean, just above the spot where, long years afterward, the body of Shelley was washed ashore. When asked what he desired the only response the stranger made was, "*Pace, pace*"—"Peace, peace." But, leaving aside tradition, we know that Dante spent some time in the University of Bologna, where he studied hard and his eyes became weak, so that the "stars were dimmed with a kind of whiteness." We know that he visited also Padua, where he lived in the street of St. Laurence and must have met Giotto, who was at that time engaged on the frescoes in the Church of the Madonna dell' Arena.

It was in the beautiful city of Verona, with its old palaces, marble-faced churches, lofty towers, and picturesque old bridge, that Dante found his first refuge in the palace of Can Grande della Scala. There are few places in Italy, or indeed in the world, where so many periods of the past are illustrated by the present as in Verona. First we may see the Roman city, of the time of Pliny and Catullus. Then the scene changes, and we see the half-barbaric splendor of the Verona of the *Nibelungenlied* and of Theodoric the Goth—Diedrich von Bern, as the old German legends call him. Still again a change, and we see the streets of the mediæval city, where the followers of the Montagues and Capulets engaged in their fierce brawls. The story of Romeo and Juliet is said to have occurred in

Verona in 1302, a few years before Dante's arrival; and we love to think that the poet who has immortalized the touching story of Francesca da Rimini's love and death knew that other story of love unto death which forms the subject of Shakespeare's tragedy. Dante was heartily welcomed by the head of the noble Ghibelline family of the Scaligers, and lived probably a number of years with him. He is said to have owned property at Gargnano, near Verona, where he wrote the "Purgatory." His daughter married into the Veronese family of Serego, the descendants of which are still living. We can almost see the sad and melancholy figure of the poet as he moved silently among the brilliant courtiers of the court of Can Grande, looking so stern and grim that the women in the streets whispered to each other, "*Ecco l' uomo che è stato nell' inferno*"—"Behold the man who has been in hell."

It was during these years of trial and sorrow that his conversion took place. Hitherto he had rejoiced in the pride of intellect, had recognized only human reason, and had sought for earthly happiness and honor. He says himself that pride and envy had been his special sins. But now that all earthly happiness failed him and the star of hope had set forever he turned to thoughts of the eternal world and became a humble seeker after divine wisdom and illuminating grace. Converted and shuddering at the horrors of eternal perdition which he had escaped, he wrote the "Divine Comedy," to warn others of the inevitable consequences of their sins and to lead them up the steep heights of purgatory to the life with God on high.

In the year 1316 Florence announced that all exiles would be allowed to return, but on humiliating conditions. These conditions were, first, that they should pay a certain sum of money; second, that they should wear paper miters on their heads as a sign of infamy and march to the Church of St. John, and there make an offering for their crimes. Many yielded, and Dante's friends urged him to yield likewise. But the poet, preferring his own dignity to self-abasement, even with return to Florence, wrote the following letter full of noble independence and indignation:

> Is this, then, the glorious recall by which Dante Alighieri is restored to his country, after having borne exile well-nigh fifteen years? Is this the reward of innocence patent to everyone, of sweat and incessant toil

spent in study? Far from a man, the familiar friend of philosophy, be the reckless humility of a heart of dirt, that would allow him, like certain Cioli and other infamous persons, to make an offering of himself, as if he were a caitiff! Far be it from a man, the preacher of justice, that after having suffered wrongs he should pay his money to those who have inflicted those wrongs, as if they were his benefactors! This is not the way for me to return to my country, my father; but if any other way can be discovered, by you or by anyone else, which does not touch the fame of Dante and his honor, that I will accept with alacrity. But if by no such way Florence is to be entered, then Florence I shall never enter. And what then? Can I not see the mirrors of the sun and the stars everywhere? Can I not contemplate the sweetest truths anywhere under heaven, rather than render myself inglorious, yea, most ignominious, to the people and the commonwealth of Florence? And bread, I trust, will not fail me.

Long before the inroads of the barbarians had driven the inhabitants of Padua and the neighboring cities to seek refuge among the lagunes of the northern Adriatic, and so to found the city of Venice, another city had been built on the shores of the Adriatic, where the waters of the Po mingled with the salt waves of the sea around its very walls. This city was Ravenna, and was chosen by the emperor Augustus for one of his two naval stations. But to-day the sea has receded and left the city four miles inland, while a forest of pines occupies the site where Roman fleets once lay at anchor. In this strange, weird old city Dante Alighieri found his last refuge and final resting place. Here in the palace of Guido Novello da Polenta, the ruins of which can still be seen, he found a permanent home and kind friends and protectors. From time to time he made journeys and visits to neighboring towns and villages. We are told that he would spend whole days in the vast forest of pines, brooding over Florence and her civil wars and meditating cantos of his poem. It was a familiar sight to the people of Ravenna, that figure slightly bent, with gait gentle and grave, always clad in becoming garments, and with face melancholy and thoughtful. But it was only after long years, when Florence had vainly begged for the ashes of him she had martyred, that they knew what an honor had been bestowed on their city when the "divine poet" came to live and die in their midst. In the year 1321 the republic of Venice was at war with the lord of Polenta, and Dante was sent thither to sue for peace. On his return he fell seriously

ill, and died September 14, 1321. When the modern traveler arrives in Ravenna, before visiting the mosaics of San Vitale or the tomb of Galla Placidia, he inquires the way to Dante's tomb. The inscription on it, in barbarous Latin, is said to have been composed by the poet himself. The last two lines breathe a bitter melancholy:

> Hic claudor Dantes, patriis extorris ab oris,
> Quem genuit parvi Florentia mater amoris—

"Here lie I, Dante, an exile from my native land, born of Florence, a mother of little love." The monument is poor and unworthy; and yet this fact is forgotten in the presence of the mortal remains of him whose life was made so bitter and sad by hate and injustice, and who, in the words of another, "has built himself an eternal dwelling, a monument more durable than bronze or marble, a vast city peopled with his creations and filled with his glory."

I have purposely said nothing yet of Dante's relations with Beatrice Portinari, but have reserved the whole subject for discussion in connection with the "New Life." Leaving one side several scientific treatises in Latin, nearly all Dante's literary activity is recorded in the trilogy composed of the "*Vita Nuova*," or the "New Life," the "*Convito*," or the "Feast," and the "Divine Comedy." In studying these works we can trace three distinct phases in the development of the character and genius of the author. In the "New Life" we see a young man full of enthusiastic devotion to poetry and study, filled with a pure, idealized love for a noble woman, and led by this love to confiding faith in God and love and charity for all the world. Toward the end of this book we catch a glimpse of a change in his mind and ideas, which forms a transition toward the second period, represented by the "Feast." This is a fragment of a larger work, to have been completed in fifteen parts, of which only four were written. It is a sort of commentary on the poet's philosophical and lyrical poems, and is an encyclopedic disquisition on the philosophy and science of the times. Here we see Dante full of passionate love for science, struggling with doubts, and relying on human reason as the sole means of obtaining happiness and fame. We no longer find the simple faith and peace of early days, but struggles and conflicts with

temptations and grief. Human knowledge absorbs him, and he looks down on the common herd of ignorant people "who wander like blind creatures." The third and last period shows us the poet, crushed by sorrow and chastened by suffering, returning to his God for peace and comfort and, having reached a haven of quiet and safety himself, sending out a warning cry to the world to save them from their sin and folly. In the present article we shall discuss only the first of this trilogy.

The "New Life" is one of the strangest books in all literature. It is the story of a young man's love for a girl, told in quaint, naïve style, full of affectation, yet tender and touching. The love that fills its pages is utterly free from passion and desire, unlike that love

> That leaves a heart high-sorrowful and cloyed,
> A burning forehead, and a parching tongue.

It is the love of the age of chivalry, of the "courts of love" in Toulouse, the love that drove the troubadour Geoffrey Rudel over land and sea, until he had found the lady whom he had seen only in his dreams. The book itself is a small one, occupying in Fraticelli's edition only sixty-seven pages. It is broken up into forty-three short chapters, and consists of mingled prose and verse—a *chante-fable*, as the old French would have called it. It opens with the first meeting of Dante and Beatrice when both were about nine years old, and ends with the death of Beatrice, in 1290. It can roughly be divided into three parts, the first containing the description of Beatrice's charms and influence, with a series of little events and thoughts suggested by them; the second part deals with the spiritual virtues of Beatrice, her death, and Dante's grief; while the last part is occupied with an episode which has produced an endless amount of discussion—that of a gentle lady who caused him to lose for a time the memory of Beatrice. The book closes with the poet's repentance for this brief desertion, and the resolution to devote his life to sounding the praise of her who had been to him the symbol of all that is good and holy.

Dante before his eighteenth year had written a number of lyrical poems celebrating the beauty of Beatrice. At her death, wishing to raise a monument to her, he gathered together the various poems he had written in her honor during her life.

At the beginning of each poem he writes an introduction in prose, explaining how the idea of the poem came into his mind; and then at the end he places a commentary in quaint, scholastic language. The events described are half historical, half mystical. The book is altogether subjective; it deals with feelings alone and introduces us to a strange, ideal world. We see vague figures move across the stage, we catch glimpses of weddings, funerals, churches, social gatherings, but all seen through a dim, vaporous twilight, like a picture by Burne-Jones or Dante Gabriel Rossetti. It resembles real life as moonlight resembles sunlight or "as water is to wine." In spite of the artificial surroundings, the affectation, the quaint conceits, and pedantic commentaries, it all moves us deeply. We feel that the sentiment is genuine and the love noble and true. We know that the man who wrote this simple story of love fought with the bravest at Campaldino; that he spent his whole life in exile rather than submit to dishonor. We know, too, that he was a man of wide knowledge, a leader of men, an uncompromising foe to tyranny, as well as a tender lover. It is the thought of all this that invests the "New Life" with such matchless interest.

It is hard for us of the nineteenth century to realize the strange joy with which the people of the Middle Ages welcomed the return of spring. We must first try to conceive the discomforts of the long winter, passed within the walls of some gloomy castle, with rush mats in place of carpets on the floor, and no glass in the windows; while the great hall, in spite of its immense fireplaces in which whole trunks of trees could be laid, was so cold that furs and cloaks had to be worn indoors to keep from freezing. When spring appeared, however, a new life came into being. With the budding of the flowers and the singing of the birds a thrill of joy ran through the mediæval world. The songs of German minnesinger and French troubadour are full of the praise of spring; and almost all old romances begin with April or May, Easter or Pentecost. Thus, the reader will remember, *Reineke Fuchs* opens at "*Pfingsten, das liebliche Fest*," and Chaucer's pilgrims set out for Canterbury

> Whan that Aprillē with his schowrēs swoote
> The drought of Marche had perced to the roote.

Springtime at Florence is full of radiant loveliness. The fields and gardens about the city are covered with flowers of every kind and color, and they are brought into the city and offered for sale, piled up in great masses against the old stone palaces. The air is soft and clear, and the sky is of that *dolce color d'oriental zaffiro*, that sweet color of oriental sapphire, that Dante speaks of in the "Purgatory." No wonder, then, that the return of spring was celebrated at Florence by special festivities in the days of old.

It was at one of these spring festivals that Dante first met Beatrice. Dante, in the opening paragraphs of the "New Life," describes the scene in quaint, mystic, and scholastic language, in which you will note the rôle played by the figure nine:

> In that part of the book of my memory, before which little can be read, a chapter is found which is entitled "*Incipit Vita Nova*," under which heading I find written the words which it is my purpose to copy in this book. Nine times already after my birth the heaven of light had returned to the same point in its orbit when there first appeared before my eyes the glorious lady of my mind, called Beatrice by many who did not know what to call her. She had been in this life so long only that in her time the starry heaven had turned toward the east the twelfth part of one degree, so that almost at the beginning of her ninth year she appeared to me, and I saw her at the end of my ninth year. She appeared to me clothed in modest and becoming crimson, adorned in a manner suited to her youthful age. At that moment, I say truly, the spirit of my life who dwells in the most secret chamber of my heart began to tremble so strongly that it appeared in the least pulsations, and trembling it said these words: "*Ecce deus fortior me, qui veniens dominabitur mihi*" ["Behold a god stronger than I, who coming shall rule over me"]. From henceforth, I say, love ruled over my soul, which had been so quickly espoused to him, and began to take over me such control and lordship by the power which my imagination gave to him, that I was forced to do completely all his pleasure.

From the time of his first meeting Beatrice was all in all to him. Like every lover from the dawn of time, he sought all opportunities of seeing her. He tells us that her love made his heart noble and gay and full of holy charity. It impelled him to love his neighbors and to forgive those who offended him. She became the symbol of all that is good on earth and lifted his soul to the love of the highest good, which is God. It has been argued that Beatrice is only an allegory; but it seems to me impossible to harmonize this theory with all the personal

details which we have of her. She is a woman of flesh and blood, modest, gentle, dignified, and grave:

> A creature not too bright or good,
> For human nature's daily food.

We see her walking through the streets of Florence, kneeling before the altar at church, smiling and making merry at parties, and weeping at funerals. The figure is dim, it is true, half real, half ideal; but there is too much passion, tenderness, and unconscious truth in the poet's language to leave us in any doubt as to her existence. When next he speaks of her nine years had again passed away. This time he sees her in the street, dressed in pure white and in company with two ladies both older than herself. Dante stood by timidly and she spoke to him. This simple salutation filled him with unutterable bliss; he calls it ineffable courtesy, worthy of reward in the eternal world. He was intoxicated with sweetness, and turned away to brood in solitude over his happiness. How true and natural it all seems through the mist of intervening years—love

> Old and yet ever new, and simple and beautiful always.

I have no time to tell of all the visions and dreams, the doubts and fears, the alternations of hope and despair. In order to get sight of her he haunted the streets and churches. They show you to-day in the court of the Palazzo Salviati, which occupies the site of Folco Portinari's house, the *nicchia di Dante*, where the poet is supposed to have waited and watched for Beatrice. He tried to conceal the real state of affairs by feigning love for another; and so successful was he that Beatrice, whether from jealousy or other reasons we know not, refused to speak to him any more. This filled him with inexpressible grief. We have already seen in the opening passage of the "New Life" the strange mingling of mysticism, personification, and scholastic use of Latin. Let me now quote the passage describing Dante's grief as a piece of simple and tender pathos:

> Now, returning to my subject, I say that after my bliss had been denied me so great a grief came upon me that I left all people and went aside to a solitary place to bathe the earth with my tears; and when this weeping had somewhat relieved me I went into my own room, where I could lament without being heard. And there I called upon my lady of courtesy for

mercy, and, saying, "Love, help thy faithful one," I fell asleep in tears, like a little beaten child.

It came to pass sometime after this that he saw Beatrice at a wedding, and so strong an emotion came over him that all present saw it and laughed at him. He grew pale and faint; he trembled, and the very stones cried out, "Die, die!" Though he says nothing definite about it many have supposed this was Beatrice's own wedding; hence the strong feelings of the poet. She had been affianced in early youth to Simone de' Bardi, whom she afterward married. This may account for the fact that Dante seems never to have deemed it possible for him to marry her. And yet, after all, it is not necessary to seek such an explanation, for we know that the love of chivalry was something different from conjugal affection. Indeed, in the fantastic ideas of the age love could not exist in marriage.

No very definite information of actual events can be gathered from the "New Life." The poet speaks obscurely and by way of allusion. He wrote for ladies and lovers; it was the deeper spiritual phases of love he sought to describe, and the events of everyday life were of no great importance to him. The visions he sees, the thoughts that sway his mind, the tears and sighs, the longing to see his lady, and his purpose to speak her praise—these are the theme of his book. Thus in the beautiful sonnet beginning,

Tanto gentile e tanto onesta pare
La mia donna,

he gives no details of her beauty, the color of her eyes or hair, whether she is tall or slender, but only the effect of her beauty on the passers-by when she appears in the street. I venture to translate this sonnet, which, in addition to its intrinsic beauty, reveals the ideal of Dante's love:

So gentle and so modest doth my lady seem when she salutes others that every tongue trembles and becomes mute and eyes dare not look upon her. She goes her way, hearing herself praised, yet benignly clothed upon with humility; and she seems something come from heaven down to earth to show forth a miracle. So pleasing is she to those who see her that down through the eyes she sends a sweetness into the heart, which he who has not experienced it cannot understand. And from her lips a spirit soft and full of love seems to move, which goes whispering to the soul, "Sigh."

And yet here and there we do get a glimpse of actual events. We are told that the father of Beatrice dies, and that he was a good man. But this is told in a line or two, while whole pages are devoted to the grief of the daughter and Dante's sympathetic sorrow.

At one time Dante fell grievously sick and was in sore pain. Then there came to him those solemn thoughts of life and death which come at some time or another to all men—of the short, bird-like flight across the lighted chamber of life, and then the unknown dark hereafter. As he pondered on the frailty of human life, with startling suddenness a dread presentiment fell upon him. He said to himself, "It needs must be that Beatrice shall die." In a horrible vision strange ladies came to him and said, "Thou too shalt die;" and hideous faces cried out, "Thou art dead." Then as the fever-trance proceeded he saw women with disheveled hair, the sun grew dark, birds fell from the air, and a pale-faced, hoarse-voiced man cried out, "Dead is thy lady." He was then taken into a room where she was lying so sweetly and quietly that she seemed to say, "Lo, I am in peace." This dark presentiment which had haunted his fever-troubled brain finally came true. A poem which he had started breaks off in the middle and is followed by these words from the Book of Lamentations: "How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! how is she become as a widow, she that was great among the nations!" Beatrice was dead.

It is very characteristic of the book that in the first few pages after this event, instead of giving expression to his sorrow, the poet goes into a discussion of the symbolic number nine. Beatrice, whom he had met in her ninth year, died on the ninth day of the ninth month, in the ninth decade of the century. But after this there is no lack of feeling or weeping. His grief was so bitter that purple rims were about his eyes. He grew wan and pale and longed to die. The only consolation he could find was in writing poems in praise of her who had gone from him forever. One day he saw some pilgrims passing through Florence on their way to Rome, and as he thought what a calamity had come upon the city he felt moved to address a sonnet to these people who seemed unconscious of the sorrow in the midst of which they were passing:

O pilgrims, who go thinking of absent things, do ye come from lands so far as your appearance seems to show? For ye weep not when ye pass through the midst of the dolorous city, like people who seem not to understand its heaviness. If you will wait and hear, surely, my heart tells me, you will depart afterward in tears. Florence has lost its Beatrice, and the words that man can speak of her have power to make others weep.

The episode of a certain gentle lady whom he saw looking compassionately upon him from a window, and whom he took pleasure in seeing and thinking of, comes in like a discordant note to mar the lyric purity of these last pages of grief. Some have conjectured that this was Gemma Donati, whom he afterward married; others see in her only the symbol of philosophy. Whoever she was, wife or symbol or passing fancy, this interlude in his mourning lasted but a short time. In a vision he saw Beatrice in the same crimson dress she had worn at their first meeting; and as the memories of a life-time rushed over him her love entered his breast once more, there to set up its everlasting rest. And then, after the final sonnet of the book, exalted by the consciousness of his own genius, he exclaims in words of prophetic beauty:

After this sonnet a wonderful vision appeared to me, in which I saw things which made me resolve to speak no more of this blessed one until I might more worthily treat of her. And to come to that I study as much as I can, as she knows truly. So that, if it be the pleasure of Him through whom all things live that my life be spared for some years, I hope to say of her that which never yet has been spoken of any woman. And then may it please Him who is Sire of courtesy that my soul may be able to go to see the glory of its lady, that is of that blessed Beatrice, who gloriously beholds the face of Him *qui est per omnia saecula benedictus.*

With the death of Beatrice and Dante's despairing grief the "New Life" ends. The days of childhood and youth are past. The man is about to enter on that stormy and troublous career the story of which, with its bitter sense of injustice and its sorrow almost unto death, together with a new hope and love, this time, however, the love of God, is told in that "poem of the earth and air," the "Divine Comedy."

L. Oscar Kuhns.

Art. IV.—THE RECENT CRITICAL ATTACK ON GALATIANS.

Although the main trunk of the Tübingen hypothesis has for years shown increasing signs of deep decay, its branches have but recently dropped the ripest fruits of the tree. Amid the general ruin which the theory attempted to inflict on the New Testament, five books at least remained unharmed. Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians represented the Pauline theology, and were admitted to have been written by Paul; while the Apocalypse, written by John, was the sole representative of the theology of the primitive apostles. All the other New Testament writings were held to be post-apostolic and exhibited more or less fully the tendency toward a reconciliation between the adherents of Paulinism and Petrinism, the two belligerent camps into which it was supposed that early Christianity was divided prior to their union in the old Catholic Church. This long-continued strife it was, according to the theory, which determined the form and suggested the contents of all early Christian literature.

When, from within the Tübingen school itself, Ritschl demonstrated that it was only in the very earliest period of Paul's activity that any serious difference of opinion existed between the Pauline and the primitive apostolic views of the relation of the Christian convert to the Mosaic law, there was no longer any foundation for the Tübingen theory. Within the decreasing number of those who were still controlled in their theological opinions by the fundamental principles of the Tübingenites there sprang up a disposition to relax somewhat of the severity with which Baur had applied his hypothesis, and to admit the Pauline origin of some of the minor epistles, while in the newer critical school there arose practical unanimity in favor of the restoration to the canon of the majority of the books of the New Testament. With the Apocalypse, indeed, it did not fare so well; and what was regarded by the Tübingen school as one of the unquestionable monuments of the apostolic age has quite recently even fallen into the disfavor of being attributed to a Jewish rather than a Christian origin. But with very few exceptions, among whom Bruno Bauer was the most distin-

guished, there was no disposition to subject the four principal Pauline letters to a critical investigation. It was universally admitted without question that they were the genuine productions of Paul's pen.

The attack upon the genuineness of these epistles was opened in 1878 by the Dutch theologian Allard Pierson, in a work on *The Sermon on the Mount, and other Synoptic Fragments.** His assault was directed toward Galatians. He questioned whether the genuineness of this epistle is so axiomatic that criticism must admit it without doubt, and declared that the Paul of that epistle was an incredible personality and that Galatians, as we have it, is certainly no monument of the earliest Christianity. Pierson was followed, in 1882, by his Amsterdam colleague, Professor A. D. Loman, in a series of investigations whose object was to demonstrate the spuriousness of all four of the principal Pauline epistles. In 1886 Pierson again appeared in the field, supported by his colleague Naber, the philologist, against all four of the principal Pauline epistles, in their united work entitled *Verisimilia* (Amsterdam, 1886). In 1888 the Bernese theologian, Rudolf Steck,† came out in an elaborate work against the genuineness of the four principal epistles, directing his arguments chiefly, however, against Galatians, but, contrary to most of the critics, giving large credence to the accounts of Paul in the Acts of the Apostles. His work was before the public but a few months when Professor van Manen, of Leyden, took up the cudgel against his arguments, although he supported his conclusions, with some exceptions in which he criticises Steck as too conservative. He thinks it an error to allow the Acts any historical trustworthiness or even to regard Paul as an historical reality. Having thus denied the historical value of all professed New Testament utterances relative to Paul and primitive Christianity, he thinks he is now on the sure road to a correct understanding of the course of events in the first fifty or sixty years after Christ.‡ In less than a year after these remarkable conclusions of Van Manen another Dutch theologian, Daniel Völter, of Amsterdam, had published a work §

* *De Bergrede, en andere synoptische Fragmenten.* Amsterdam, 1878.

† *Der Galaterbrief nach seiner Echtheit untersucht nebst kritischen Bemerkungen zu den paulinischen Hauptbriefen.* Berlin, 1888.

‡ See *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1889, Nos. 27, 28.

§ *Die Komposition der paulinischen Hauptbriefe. I. Der Römer und Galaterbrief.* Tübingen, 1890.

in which he denied altogether the genuineness of Galatians, and, while ascribing a germ of Romans to Paul, made its present form the result of the work of numerous redactors.

Thus a considerable literature in the interest of this most radical criticism has sprung up within very recent years. It will be observed that outside of Steck in Switzerland all the supporters of the new view are Hollanders. In Germany it has met with general opposition. The conservatives have largely ignored it; the newer critical school, the Ritschlians, and the few lone adherents of the Tübingen theory have discredited and demolished it. Nor has it gained universal credence even in its native land. Kuyper, among the conservatives, and Holsten, one of the wheel horses of the Tübingen school, have strenuously opposed it, not to mention others. The movement has attracted wider attention than the similar utterances of Bruno Bauer in 1850, because the times are more ripe for such views and because they are expressed with none of the bitterness apparent in Bauer's works and with an appearance of scholarly calm unknown to that iconoclast. In the main, too, the present criticism holds, contrary to Bruno Bauer, to the historicity of the person of Jesus Christ, and is thus less offensive. But in many respects it merely reforges the arguments of its scornful predecessor.

As briefly as possible we shall now take up the arguments of Steck against the genuineness of Galatians and weigh them, confining ourselves to Steck, because he has developed the arguments more fully than any other, and to Galatians, because this is acknowledged to be the key to the situation.*

Steck finds his first real difficulty in the fact that the commentators and critics are not able to agree upon the circumstances under which the epistle was written. It is to him uncertain whether the readers were the inhabitants of the old mountainous Galatia or of the territories of Laconia and Pisidia, which belonged to the Roman province of Galatia. He is in doubt as

* Those desiring to find a fuller refutation of Steck are referred to Johannes Gloël, *Die Jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefes*; Völter, *Die Komposition der paulinischen Hauptbriefe*; Van Manen, in the *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1889, Nos. 27, 28; and to articles by Holsten in the *Prot. Kirchenzeitung*, 1889, Nos. 15, 16, 17, 20, 22, 26; A. Kappeller, in the *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz*, 1889, I Heft; Hilgenfeld, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xxxii, 1889, I Heft; Schm(iedel) in *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1888, No. 50; Holtzmann, *Theolog. Jahresbericht*, 8 Band, 1 Abtheilung; and Weiffenbach, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1889, No. 11.

to the time when, and the place from which, the letter was written and what was the nature of the error which the apostle felt called upon to oppose.* It must be admitted that in some cases a knowledge of the object and circumstances under which a writing is produced might determine its authorship with greater certainty. But at the most our inability to discover these things would but leave us in doubt. It could not have the effect of forbidding a supposed authorship. And here we have a first instance of what so often occurs in Steck's criticism, namely, a disposition to make the most of a difficulty. For in reality there is practical unanimity with regard to the circumstances under which Galatians was written.

The next argument, and one upon which Steck places more reliance, is that Galatians betrays a literary dependence upon other New Testament writings, especially Romans and the two Corinthian letters. The inequalities of style and the gaps in the train of thought suggest that many of the passages are brought from a foreign source and woven into the epistle, notwithstanding that they do not fit the purpose of the writer. Especially does this appear in the principal part of the letter (chaps. iii, 1–iv, 7), where the thoughts are borrowed from Romans. It is impossible that the author of Romans should be the author of Galatians, especially as the latter exhibits a far more advanced Paulinism than the former. The law is less prized in Galatians than in Romans, and heathenism is placed upon an essential equality with Judaism, whereas in Romans Judaism is declared to have the advantage. Galatians has therefore advanced farther from Judaism than has Romans, and hence could not have preceded the latter in time of composition.†

Let us consider these item by item. And first, it is very easy to assert literary dependence between two documents, but it is equally precarious to depend upon an argument drawn from that source. In many cases such dependence can be as well explained on the supposition that an author's powers of expression and thought are limited. That Galatians and Romans treat of the same general subjects is universally conceded. Steck argues that in Romans we find in full what is produced in Galatians only in outline. It is incredible to him that the outline should have been made prior to the elaborated

* *Der Galaterbrief*, etc., pp. 24–50. † *Ibid.*, pp. 50–78.

discussion. But in reality it is as proper to suppose that thoughts which the apostle had been accustomed to employ in public address were written out, in one case merely in outline, and in the other in detail, as that there is any dependence between these two letters. Thoughts which are well connected in the mind of the author often appear disconnected to a reader of an outline. Hence the supposition of the later origin of Galatians and its literary dependence upon Romans is unnecessary.

When we come to the particular portions of Galatians which are declared to be borrowed from Romans we find Steck misunderstanding Paul's meaning, or else making a mere similarity of thought or expression into a direct citation. In fact, excepting where Galatians and Romans both quote the same Old Testament passage, the language of the two epistles is never identical. An example is the supposed connection between Gal. iii, 13, and Rom. iii, 25. Steck declares that the former is a reproduction in another form of the thought of the latter. That the two passages have some elements of thought in common may be admitted. But how does that prove that one is borrowed from the other? It is by no means uncommon for great authors to reproduce the same thought in different form, or even in the same form, in different works. If this could prove that Galatians is dependent upon Romans it would be easy to prove that any work of any author is dependent upon all the works on the same subject by the same author. The recurrence of the same thoughts in a series of works attributed to a given writer is not evidence that these are dependent upon each other, but that they are all the product of one mind. In illustration we mention the writings of Luther, Wesley, Calvin, and Schleiermacher among theologians; and Ruskin, Emerson, and Matthew Arnold among literary men. The fact that commentators cannot agree upon an interpretation does not, as Steck thinks, prove Gal. iii, 13, to be borrowed and inserted where it has no proper connection; for upon that principle sad havoc would be made of many a sentence in the writings even of our most perspicuous authors.

Our space will not allow us to follow all the passages in which Steck asserts points of contact between Galatians and Romans. We must content ourselves with his mention of the relation between Gal. v, 17, and Rom. vii. According to

him the verse in Galatians is a brief summary of the whole discussion in Rom. vii. So certain is he of this that he declares it impossible for anyone to doubt the dependence of Galatians upon Romans after a comparison of these two passages. Assuming the identity of thought in the two passages, he asks how one can understand their deep and hidden truth without the necessary investigation of *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα*, the effect of the *ἐντολή*, and the law in the members and the law of the mind, as it is found in the seventh of Romans, but which is missing in Galatians. That it should all be clear to the Galatians by means of Paul's oral instructions to them cannot, he thinks, help us here, since in Galatians only the thought of the struggle between flesh and Spirit is suitable, while the other, that on account of this inner strife man cannot do what he will, has its place only in Romans. The exhortation which precedes (verse 16) ascribes to the *πνεῦμα* the power to overcome the flesh; while in verse 17 it is declared that we cannot do what we will. "Spirit" is here used in the pregnant sense of the Spirit of the new life, while in Rom. vii *πνεῦμα* is not used at all, but *ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος* and *νόμος τοῦ νοός μου*. All the more unfortunate is it that in Gal. v, 17, *πνεῦμα* is taken simply as the synonym for the *ἔσω ἄνθρωπος* of Rom. vii.

If we could admit all this we should be compelled to call the author of Galatians a plagiarist, a forger, and a bungler. But the train of thought in Gal. v, 13–18, is both clear and self-consistent. The fact that *πνεῦμα* means, in the Galatian passage, the Spirit of the new life, the power by which the flesh and its lusts can be overcome, while in Rom. vii the struggle is between the individual and his own lusts, should have suggested to Steck that the ideas are not the same; and hence the necessity of seeking for a possible self-explanation of the Galatian passage. In Rom. vii the struggle is not only carried on between forces different from those involved in Galatians, but in the former the evil triumphs, while in the latter it is overcome. But that there is nothing inconsistent between Romans and Galatians is evident as soon as it is remembered that Rom. viii furnishes the *πνεῦμα* of Gal. v, 16, so that the Galatian passage is a summary of Rom. vii and viii, and not of vii alone. The only real difficulty is found in the apparent contradiction between verse 17 and verse 16.

"Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfill the lust of the flesh," does seem to be contradicted by the statement that the Spirit and the flesh "are contrary the one to the other; so that ye cannot do the things that ye would." But we must remember that what is given in detail in Rom. vii and viii is given with all possible brevity in Galatians. Paul trusted to their memory of his oral utterances for the necessary aid in getting his full meaning. The same Holy Spirit which has given *us* Galatians has given us Romans, so that *we* can compare scripture with scripture, as they compared scripture with oral utterance. There is, therefore, no contradiction; and this may be seen without reference to Romans at all. Verse 17 affirms two principles at work within man. These two struggle for the mastery. When the Spirit moves us to virtue the flesh checks us in the execution of our purpose, and when the flesh controls our choice the Spirit hinders us from performing our volition. The result is that we cannot do the things that we will, whether they be good or bad. Here the "inner man" of Rom. vii is not mentioned except by implication. There he is very prominent and very active; here he sinks out of sight and is passive, while Spirit and flesh struggle for the mastery within him. So that verses 16 and 17 do not use the word πνεῦμα in two different senses; and both verses teach the utter contrariety of the two principles, Spirit and flesh. Galatians emphasizes one phase of the struggle and Romans another. They are not contradictory, and both are true to experience; and in both cases the result is that when we do finally come to walk in the Spirit we do not fulfill the lusts of the flesh. There is enough similarity to prove their common source; there is enough difference to show that one is not a confused reflection of the other. Steck has himself made this the decisive point in his argument for the dependence of Galatians upon Romans. An unbiased verdict must declare that no proof is here found of the supposed later origin of Galatians.

We turn now to the assertion that the Paulinism of Galatians is of a more advanced type than is found in the other principal letters. According to Steck, Romans teaches that the law was once, but is not now, the will of God; while in Galatians the promise is represented as coming directly from God in contradistinction from the law, which was given by the hand

of angels. This gives the law less dignity than the promise, whereas in Romans both have the dignity of being God's will. But it is a violent interpretation of the significance of the law in Galatians, to say the least, when Steck regards it as lowered in dignity by being "ordained by angels." Surely it is not here said that God did not give the law, but merely how he gave it. In Acts vii, 53, Stephen seems to regard the fact that angels were employed in bestowing the law upon men an enhancement of their wickedness in not obeying it. And in Heb. ii, 2, it is not the word of angels as compared with the word of God which is meant, but the law given by angels compared (verse 3) with the word spoken by our Lord. The mediation of angels in giving the law does not then degrade the law, but in the only decisive passage (Acts vii, 53) elevates its dignity. But in Hebrews, Galatians, and Romans alike the law is declared to be inferior to the Gospel. In Galatians and Romans the law is only temporary in its purpose, and, as transitory, it had its place, the only difference being that in Romans the effects of the law in human history and personal experience are more fully described and its function vindicated. To say, as Steck says, that from the Galatian conception of the law to that of Marcion is but a step, is to betray an utter misconception of the dignity which is ascribed to the law in Galatians. Marcion denies that God the Good gave the law; Galatians says of it *διαταγεὶς δὶ ἀγγέλων* (being enjoined by means of angels, or, ordained through angels). Galatians teaches not that the law came *from*, but *through*, angels. Marcion taught that the law came *from* an inferior God. One maintains and the other degrades the dignity of the law. That Steck should make the comparison shows how little of soberness there is in his criticism, and how anxious he was to support the late origin of Galatians. In his zeal he overstepped the bounds of investigation and entered the sphere of the advocate. The Galatian conception of the law does not differ materially from that of Romans, and scarcely in form. The Pauline idea of the law is no more advanced in the one than in the other; although the danger of the Galatians from the preachers of legal righteousness prompted him to show them more clearly the impossibility of salvation through law.

But Steck affirms that, while in Romans Judaism is declared

to be superior to heathenism, in Galatians they are placed upon an equality. This is supposed to be proved by the argumentation of Gal. iv, 1–11. In verse 3 the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου are interpreted as powers worshiped by the Galatians when they were yet heathen. In verse 9 they are represented as returning to these στοιχεῖα in beginning again to observe Jewish times and seasons. Thus the observance of Jewish festivals and the worship of heathen deities would be identified with each other, and Judaism and heathenism be placed upon an equal footing in comparison with the Gospel. But it is not necessary to interpret στοιχεῖα as Steck does. Alford * takes the word to mean letters or symbols of the alphabet, and translates στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, *elementary lessons of outward things*, following Conybeare's note.† This is an allowable interpretation, even though στοιχεῖα originally had a peculiarly heathen reference. So that the word, both in verses 3 and 9, would signify the things necessary to an immature state of religious life, such as the enactments of the law mentioned in verse 10.

But even though στοιχεῖα were used in verse 3 in its technical sense and the Judaistic festivals of verse 10 were referred to by the same word in verse 9, yet it would not follow that the apostle used the word for the purpose of equalizing the Jews and Gentiles before God. In comparison with the Gospel heathen practices and Jewish customs were both στοιχεῖα. The question of how the Gentiles came to their religious condition, as well as how the Jews came to theirs, is not mentioned here. Elsewhere in the epistle the author assumes the divine authority and origin of the law (iii, 8, 10, 13; iv, 27, 30; v, 14). If it suited his purpose better not to remind the Galatians of the origin of their religious faith and practices, as he did the Romans, it must not be held as a departure from the standpoint of Romans. But when he is quoting his rebuke to Peter he distinctly intimates the religious superiority of those who are "Jews by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles." So that the meager comparison of Judaism and heathenism in this epistle does not tend to equalize them, but asserts the superiority of the former. Hence the attempt to prove a more advanced Paulinism in Galatians than in Romans fails at this point also.

* Commentary, *in loco*.

† Conybeare and Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. ii, p. 143.

A careful scrutiny of the two epistles reveals indeed striking resemblances and differences. The only question is as to their significance. Thus far certainly nothing has been discovered which would necessitate or even suggest a separate author for each epistle and the dependence of Galatians upon Romans. The real origin of the theory was in the comparison of Galatians with what the ordinary processes of evolution would lead us to expect. The epistle is the most uncompromising expression of the ideas of Paul to be found in the New Testament. To the mind of an evolutionist this could only have come into existence after a long period during which the antagonism between Paulinism and Petrinism had gradually developed. Such was the theory which guided both Loman and Pierson* in their investigations. And the same view is held by Steck, who says that the strict systematic development of the doctrine of justification by faith found in the principal Pauline letters is hardly the work of one who lived so early as Paul, and that the attitude which Paul took toward the law was rather a practical and broad-minded sympathy with all classes than a principle so sharply defined as in the principal letters.† He regards the production of the Pauline literature of the New Testament as the result of the process which developed itself during the cementing of the union between heathen and Jewish Christianity.‡ Given this preconceived theory, it is easy to find support for it in the epistles by the methods Steck employs. But why should the views of Galatians not be the very earliest expression of the Pauline school? How many years was it from the time Luther had his eyes opened until he had nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the *Schlosskirche* in Wittenberg, burned the pope's bull, and withstood the Diet of Worms? Perhaps in fifteen or eighteen hundred years from now some one who is determined to make his facts bend to his evolutionary theory will insist that these bold and decisive acts were not possible at the beginning of the Reformation, and that it was not Luther himself, but some of his successors who performed them, much later than we have been accustomed to suppose. There are some men who reach the extreme position by a single bound, and who only after the lapse of time see any possibility of modi-

* See Völter, *Die Komposition der paulinischen Hauptbriefe*, p. 2.
† *Der Galaterbrief*, etc., p. 370. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

tication. Apply this law of some minds to Paul, and we could explain the epistles attributed to him as scientifically as by the contrary theory. But, denying, as we do, the great divergence of view attributed by Steck to the different Pauline epistles, we explain what divergence there is simply on the supposition that the purpose for which he wrote molded the form in which he put the truth. The emergency which called for the Epistle to the Galatians did not admit of time for much elaboration nor such a mental state as would cause him to mix the healing oil with his utterances.

We must pass over the arguments by which Steck professes to show that Galatians is dependent upon Acts. They are the old ones by which it has been attempted to show that the Acts is an unhistorical work compared with Galatians. The difference is that the supposed disharmony between Galatians and Acts is turned by Steck to the advantage of the latter instead of the former. They are as ineffective in the use he makes of them as in the hands of the rejecters of Acts. The disharmony does not exist; but the two books mutually supplement each other. It will not be necessary to produce the proof of this assertion here. All our readers are familiar with it, or have the resources needful close at hand. We may also pass by his attempt to show a literary dependence of Romans and First and Second Corinthians upon the synoptic Gospels and their consequent origin at a period later than that in which Paul lived. Steck does not claim that Galatians is involved in this dependence, and he utterly fails to make it out for the three epistles mentioned. But his arguments upon the citations from the Old Testament in the Pauline epistles and upon the supposed references in them to apocryphal literature must be noticed. Steck undertakes to show* that of the eighty-four Old Testament passages cited in the Pauline letters only four betray any knowledge of the Hebrew original. He then attempts to prove that these four places can be better explained by other means, and that there is therefore nothing in all these citations which would suggest any knowledge of the Hebrew Old Testament. Of the eighty-four passages eighty are exact or free reproductions of the Septuagint. The conclusion is that Paul is not the author of the epistles in question, since he

* *Der Galaterbrief*, etc., pp. 211–224.

would in some way inevitably have exhibited his acquaintance with the Hebrew Bible.

It is no doubt desirable that some theory should be held by which the problems connected with citations from the Old Testament in the New may be explained. But it is wholly unnecessary to choose the theory advanced by Steck. Strange as it may seem that eighty passages should be from the Septuagint and four from the Hebrew, it cannot warrant Steck's inferences. The real difficulty lies, not in the fact that eighty follow the Greek and four the Hebrew, but that eighty follow the Septuagint, while the other four do not. Steck endeavors to make it appear that the author follows the Greek because he does not know Hebrew; and hence he is compelled to search in other Greek translations for the four which seem to be from the Hebrew. Finding them in the Greek, he leaps to the conclusion that the author cited them from the Greek. But if the author had several Greek translations before him it would still be strange that eighty citations should be from the Septuagint and the others not. It would appear that he should have quoted more from these other Greek versions or nothing. But as a matter of fact there is this strange suggestion of uniformity without the realization of it; and it is no more wonderful that the author, supposing him to be Paul, should, in four instances, have forsaken the Septuagint for the Hebrew than that another should have forsaken the Septuagint for other Greek translations. Given a sufficient motive for departing from the Septuagint, and a Hebrew, like Paul, would naturally go to the Hebrew original. By far the simpler explanation unquestionably is to suppose Paul the author who made these citations. The circuitous route which Steck is obliged to travel in order to deprive Paul of their authorship speaks strongly against his hypothesis. Should it be said that Paul as a Hebrew would necessarily betray his native tongue by some turn of language in these epistles, it may be answered that there are thousands of people in America whose spoken and written English and German are equally excellent. Born a Hebrew, but brought up in Tarsus, Paul would be equally familiar from childhood with both Hebrew and Greek. Writing to Greeks, he would naturally cite the Old Testament in the current Septuagint unless for some reason it did not suit him, under which circumstances it would be most

natural to make his own translation directly from the Hebrew. Only a critic who had a case to make out would have left the simple and natural explanation for one so far-fetched and improbable as Steck's.

With regard to the references to noncanonical writings Steck undertakes to prove distinct connection of Galatians with the *Ascension of Moses* and the works of Philo and Seneca.* But he confesses that there are at the most but two discoverable parallels between the principal Pauline letters and the *Ascension*, and that these are only possible, not actually demonstrable. Unwilling to forfeit the argument, however, he calls attention to the fact that we have of this apocryphal book only the first part, and that not in perfect condition; and suggests that if we had the entire work we might find other parallels, and appeals to Syncellus and Photius of the ninth century to prove that Paul actually did use the *Ascension* in the composition of his letters. But the distance between the time when Steck supposes Galatians to have been written and the ninth century is so great that we cannot trust the assertions of Syncellus and Photius. And even if we were convinced that the author of Galatians did, as Syncellus affirms, quote most of Gal. vi, 15, from the *Ascension*, yet would that not prove the late origin of our epistle, since it is quite probable that the book was written early enough for Paul to have been acquainted with it, which Steck himself admits as a possibility.

Philo is also supposed to have furnished forms of expression, thoughts, and symbols for Galatians,† though not in large numbers. Galatians makes a point on the singular number of σπέρμα (iii, 16), and Philo on the singular of τέκνον. Gal. iv, 9, finds a parallel in *De Cherubim*, 32; and in the same work Philo contrasts Sarah and Hagar as types of the higher and lower in intellect and education (comp. Gal. iv, 21–31). But Steck himself feels the weakness of his position. He admits that it is at least partly true that between Galatians and Philo there exists a profound difference as to thought and expression, even where they employ the same words. He even says that the largest and most valuable part in the principal Pauline epistles is peculiar to them; that these epistles are far deeper and more religious than Philo; that they lead us out of the fog

* *Der Galaterbrief*, etc., pp. 224-265. † *Ibid.*, p. 246.

of philosophical ideas to the firm foundation of religious fact which the person of Christ and the evolution of the Christian communion furnish; that the distinction between the Pauline and Philonean systems is, in a word, the same as that between the Christ of John and the Logos of Philo. Nevertheless he thinks all these concessions do not exclude the possibility that the writings of Philo influenced the thinking and writing of the author of Galatians. The general character of the points of similarity forbids, however, any such influence in a degree worth mentioning. The only point demanding consideration is whether, admitting the dependence supposed, Paul could have known and read the writings of Philo. The possibility of this Steck admits, but thinks it not probable. In fact, it is highly probable. For Paul was not only brought up in Tarsus, the learned city, where Philo's writings would doubtless be discussed, but sat at the feet of Gamaliel, to whom the writings of Philo would probably be known, and above all was an intimate friend of the eloquent Apollos of Alexandria, who unquestionably knew the writings of Philo. It is wholly unnecessary, therefore, to place the composition of Galatians later than the date usually assigned to it in order to account for the influence of Philo upon our epistle.

The relation between the Pauline writings and the writings of Seneca has been so often discussed that we shall try to spare our readers as much as possible from repetition. Steck has no desire to deprive the New Testament of any of its honor, and willingly confesses and even emphasizes its superiority to the writings of Seneca.* He is concerned chiefly to prove that the principal Pauline epistles are directly influenced by Seneca's philosophical writings, that he may thus demonstrate the lateness of their origin. After citing a number of parallels between the epistles and Seneca he reaches the conclusion that either the epistles were dependent upon Seneca or Seneca upon the epistles. In his judgment the dependence was on the part of the epistles. In attempting to prove that Seneca was not influenced by Paul he uses an argument which, if valid, would make it possible for the historic Paul to have used the writings of Seneca. He calls attention to the fact that Seneca died A. D. 65, and then adds that his writings were, in part at least, composed decades earlier.

* *Der Galaterbrief*, etc., p. 258.

This would indeed make it impossible for Seneca, in his earlier writings, to have employed the Pauline epistles. But it would have allowed room for Paul to become acquainted with some of the earlier writings of Seneca. On this supposition it is unnecessary to date the principal epistles later than is usually done. Thus, while if a relation of dependence is demonstrated, it proves Paul to have been the dependent one, the argument defeats the principal contention of Steck, namely, that the historic Paul could not have written the Pauline epistles because he and Seneca were in part contemporaries.

It is, however, highly improbable that Paul was influenced by Seneca; and Steck admits that Seneca's numerous points of contact with Christian doctrine would alone be no ground for the supposition of a nearer relationship, since the philosophy of the period, especially so far as it belonged to the development of Platonism, had reached a monotheistic theology, an anthropology which knew and employed the contrast between flesh and spirit, and an eschatology which contemplated the punishment of the bad and the rewarding of the good, all of which resembles Christianity.* Thus, all these things are confessed to be independent of Christianity; and of course he does not deny that they are original as well with Christianity as with Platonism. Where ideas are similar, forms of expression and illustrations are likely to be similar. The argument leads inevitably to the conclusion that neither Paul nor Seneca influenced each other, but that both were influenced by the surroundings in which they were brought up. This merely admits that heathen Seneca had some light, while it also admits that inspired Paul infused into his writings a personality produced by his environments. But, above all, it clearly makes unnecessary a late date for the origin of the principal Pauline letters, including Galatians.

We may pass by the groundless hypothesis that Christianity had a twofold origin, one in Judaism and the other in heathen philosophy.† It is more important that we notice what Steck has to say in proof of the theory that the early part of the second century furnished the conditions in which Galatians might have been written. He cites from the "Dialogue with Tryphon," of Justin Martyr (about A. D. 147), to show that there

* *Der Galaterbrief*, etc., pp. 250, 251. † *Ibid.*, p. 373.

were in Justin's time extreme parties in the Church who made the observance or nonobservance of the Jewish law essential to salvation.* But this by no means proves that a "conflict against Judaism as passionate as that exhibited in Galatians" was possible in Justin's time; for while Galatians recognizes the incompatibility of the legal with the gracious method of salvation, it goes further by an impassioned appeal to its readers not to fall from grace, as though there was imminent danger of so appalling a calamity. Galatians turns upon an active propaganda of Judaizers. Justin Martyr quietly relates the existence of a strong prejudice between the two extreme parties. Steck also quotes from the Ignatian epistles to show that the opposition continued even after 150 A. D.† These, indeed, exhibit a more or less active propaganda on the part of the Judaizers, but with none of the evidence of danger betrayed in Galatians. Steck seems to feel this, for he accuses Galatians of fighting imaginary rather than real perils of the Church. And as so often, so here, Steck displays a strange blindness to the significance of his own concessions, for he admits that even the comparatively mild expostulations of the Ignatian letters against Judaizing tendencies represent the existence of extremes which touched only a small portion of the Church, whereas the great body of believers were no longer troubled thereby. This is in direct opposition to Galatians, in which the extreme Judaizers are represented as jeopardizing the welfare of the great body of its readers, who were in serious danger of falling from grace. The situation, therefore, during the first half of the second century was not the same as that depicted in Galatians. The most that could be inferred from the utterances of Justin and the Ignatian letters is that the dispute had not yet altogether died out. But the danger was no longer the Judaizing of entire congregations, but only of individuals. And this corresponds to the well-known fact that before the middle of the second century there were numerous firmly established congregations of Gentile Christians, who could only be affected as the Protestant Church is to-day affected by Roman Catholicism, namely, by the occasional defection of an individual, while the main body itself is in no danger of conversion to the other.

We have now examined the principal arguments of Steck

* *Der Galaterbrief*, etc., p. 381. † *Ibid.*, pp. 381, 382.

and found them individually weak. Together they are as weak as they are when considered apart. Steck has honeycombed his entire work by his concessions, necessarily made if he did not wish to appear in a ridiculous light before the theological world. But his arguments against Galatians are so similar to those usually employed against the minor Pauline epistles that he is as justifiable as his critical *confrères*, and more consistent. If their own logic applied uniformly to the New Testament is not pleasing to them perhaps they will come after a while to see that it should not be applied at all. Such a reaction is needed, and we shall be surprised if criticism be not sobered by the recent excesses of some of its devotees. This may not be the place to moralize; but we cannot refrain from calling attention to the fact that the entire process of internal criticism is so controlled by the subjectivity of those who practice it that almost anything can be suggested, and anything suggested proved to the satisfaction of many. Steck has simply given himself up to the method a little more fully than most others. With scarcely an exception the critic starts out with well-defined ends in view, and his microscope is applied for the purpose of discovering supports for his hypotheses. By skillful manipulation these are found, or manufactured out of material little suited naturally to the purpose. The simple, straightforward utterances of the New Testament are made to bear references which their single-minded authors never dreamed of. Only when some one ventures, like Steck, to carry out the method to its logical conclusions is our attention strongly directed to the precarious character of all the results of internal criticism; and our revulsion extends not only to the attempt to rob us of the four letters which have hitherto passed as unassailable, but also to the effort of the newer critical school which rolls doubts of the genuineness of some of the minor epistles under its tongue as sweet morsels. The extreme frozen region reached by the van demands that the whole procession of adventurous explorers shall come to a dead halt.

Charles W. Rishell.

Art. V.—THE PREEMINENCE OF FAITH.

The preeminence of faith in all religion is shown by the fact that its very name is given to religion itself. This chief characteristic not only colors religion, but stands for it, as, for example, the Mohammedan *faith*—the Mohammedan *religion;* the Christian *faith*—the Christian *religion.* This synonymous use is not a careless nomenclature; for from the baldest, rudest naturalism to the most ethereal idealism, as well as from the vagaries of highly wrought mythologies to the sacred supernaturalism of Christianity, one element obtains, which is admittedly faith. This world-wideness of faith places it among the great characteristics of the human race, and thus relieves Christianity of any necessity for defending it as a plan peculiarly its own, arbitrarily decreed by its great Author. The rationale of faith, then, is not distinctively a Christian problem; it is a religious problem. Further, it is a problem for psychologic and philosophic investigation.

In Christianity its place is of supreme importance. With hope and love it constitutes the trinity of permanent graces. Next to God, revealed in Jesus Christ, and the impartation of the divine life to men it is the chief theme of all the Bible. It is not merely an integral part; it is, rather, a pervasive element. The totality of all the Scripture teachings is called "the faith:" "I have kept the faith." It stands as the very first requisite for right approach to God: "Without faith it is impossible to please him;" "He that cometh to God must believe." Its principle underlies the progressive salvation, the deepening similarity to Christ; "From faith to faith;" "Purifying their hearts by faith." Its intensity and scope are the measure of our obligation to Christian service: "For I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith;" "Whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith." Faith is the weapon which we may wield and always triumph: "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." Faith characterizes the whole plan of God's redemption for man, whether

expressed in the Old or New Testament. Even the apparently wholly sensible, that is, visible, tangible, or audible, revelations of the very earliest days had a distinct element of faith about them. The roll of the heroes of faith begins with Abel. The first declaration in Genesis and the last in Revelation are objects of faith, since "through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God," and since "Even so, come, Lord Jesus," is a believing prayer based upon the accepted promise. The Bible is a revelation which is apprehended largely by faith.

Faith, to the thought of many suggests a well-meant but credulous effort of the mind to arrive at certainty with reference to the things supernatural. Its beneficial results are viewed as unreal or are declared to be the reflex action of noble aspirations. Even Christians at times give encouragement to those asserting its inferiority. We sing, "Till faith to sight improve," thereby giving the impression that the divinely appointed way of faith is a deprivation. "We walk by faith, not by sight," is quoted as a calamity rather than God's chosen method of a holy life. Often we seek for a sign—some cross like Constantine's, flashing in starry brilliancy across the heavens; some warning like that of Belshazzar's banquet, burning its threatenings before our very eyes; or a bodily Jesus coming through closed doors. The penitent seeks to hear a loud voice; the saint longs for a prostrating, overshadowing sense of God's presence. But God speaks not now through them, for he "hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." The Spirit takes the things of Christ and shows them unto us. They are "spiritually discerned." Is this a disparagement of the Christian's privilege in Christ Jesus? We think not. Several considerations lead to this conviction:

I. Faith is the method taught by Christianity of apprehending divine truth. To others than Christians it would seem a begging of the question to prove by the Bible the superiority of faith, for the authority of the Bible is the disputed point. To show the preeminence of faith by the very book that inculcates it would be arguing in a circle. But we are viewing it from the Christian standpoint. We believe that the importance of Christian faith is minimized too much. Let us, rather, exalt it as a keener insight into the things of God than has

been granted hitherto. The trend of revelation is away from the merely objective symbol—the visible, tangible, but none the less real—to that which speaks to the inner, if not to the outer, sense. Christianity is the fragrant blossom from the bitter bud of Judaism. The pedagogue has led us to the school of Christ, who has no visible temple on Mount Zion, where in special power and burning flame his presence is attested. No hanging veil now hides the "holiest of all." No ark enshrines the tables of the law, the manna, and Aaron's rod. All is changed, and how greatly changed! If sight be the higher method of divine revelation, then Christianity is a retrogression. It surely is not an advance upon Judaism. But we know it is the "better covenant." The vision of the supernatural now granted to the humblest Christian far excels the revelation granted to priests and kings in olden times. This side Calvary and the empty garden tomb the light shines with surpassing glow. Jesus said: "Verily I say unto you, That many prophets and righteous men have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them." This is the final earthly stage of the redemptive plan; Christianity is not the forerunner of another revelation, as Judaism was, its predecessor. Even supposing to be true the theory of a millennial age, when Christ shall in person literally have his capital at Jerusalem and actually occupy the throne of David, that would not be the coming of another dispensation, but rather a method of bringing to speedy and triumphant close the gospel age.

Faith, then, is the plan for the reception of the fullest and latest revelation of God this side the New Jerusalem. Eternal life is already begun in and for those who receive Christ, even "them that believe on his name." "In the unity of the faith" we come unto a perfect or full-grown manhood, "unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." The power that aids us to see the atoning Lamb, the abundant pardon, the satisfying grace, the wide open gates of the everlasting kingdom is none other than faith.

II. That power of the soul whose exercise is of the largest educational value is surely supreme. This claim we make for faith. That is educational which guides, develops, interprets. Let us examine faith in these three particulars:

1. *As a guiding power.* Much of our knowledge comes, and thus the soul is educated, because of the guiding work performed by the physical senses and the various mental powers. In the dark we employ our senses to enable us to walk unharmed. So the man of science projects his reason and propounds a theory. Then he marshals his facts, and the theory proves true or false as they furnish ground for a sufficient explanation or not. This pioneer work of pushing farther and farther away the frontier line of human knowledge by advancing cautiously, with hypothesis, experiment, and exploration, is largely useful in the culture of the soul. This method obtains in the operations of faith. Discerning from evidence, inferring from reasonable indications, accepting with a confiding intuition, faith ventures, grasps, accepts, rests. The illimitable continents of grace await the believing Columbus. The infinite nature of God invites reverential discovery.

2. *As a developing power.* Not the ingathering of information, but the development thereby of the soul's powers—that is education. The knowledge of some facts diminishes rather than enlarges the man. An incapacity, moral and intellectual, precludes the placing of certain facts in their proper relations; and unrelated facts lie in the mind not unlike undigested food upon the stomach. There is also a moral quality in education. Faith, by the grandeur of its subjects of contemplation, the scope of its investigations, and the purity of its atmosphere, most of all enlarges man. "With all the fullness of God" is its maximum measure. Development, to be worthy the name, must be refinement. Education is thus intensive as well as extensive. This soul refinement is in exact proportion to its independence of the purely objective—the physical. The kindergarten is for children only. The boy uses his fingers in counting to steady his mind lest it lose balance. The man puts away childish things and lifts his thoughts to the abstruse calculations. Instead of finding pleasure in the rattling drum of his boyhood he delights in the exquisite harmonies of higher melody. In worship man leaves the principles and goes on to perfection; and his progress is marked by increasing spirituality, or refinement. Of all themes that will refine those apprehended only by faith are the richest. Hence faith is the soul's greatest developer.

3. *As an interpreter.* Without this function of the mental powers knowledge would be a chaos instead of a beautiful order. Reason interprtes the sensations. It makes us see men as men walking, not men as trees walking. It gives satisfaction. A recent writer has said: "God wants two men for every truth: one to find it, the other to set it. Pickaxes cannot cut diamonds." Reason does much of this work of setting. Science needs to know that its work ends with the ascertainment of facts. Their interpretation waits for the philosopher. In the same manner faith finds the germs of divine truth; reason sets them—hence theology. Faith also interprets. The otherwise inscrutable ways of Providence are plain to faith. The man of faith, too, can give grander and far more truthful meaning to many of nature's teachings, because he sees clearly nature's God. A satisfaction comes therefrom, not fancied, but real, springing, not from credulity, but founded in soberness. It is "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding." Faith, then, excels the other faculties of the soul. Bishop Simpson's marvelous eloquence in comparing faith and reason was in no degree extravagant.

III. The superiority of faith appears also in its effect on character. Trust, patience, fidelity, humility, and hope are virtues cultivated by faith. We match "a life of faith upon the Son of God" with any other possible to men.

IV. To ask that divine facts and truths be apprehended by the physical senses, or by other of the mental powers besides faith, is only to multiply difficulties. Their perception through faith is easier of understanding. Could there be granted to each disciple of Jesus all over the earth a view of his blessed Lord in bodily form—could prayer literally materialize the Saviour before our eyes and we hear his voice and feel his touch? Such myriad incarnations are unthinkable. But may not reason have the vision of God? This would be to demand that the Creator be more explicable than his creation, for reason does not pretend to explain nature, only to describe and classify her workings. But cannot hope in its soaring flight reach God? Though there may be "full assurance of hope," though its message may be "big with immortality," "an anchor of the soul," still it can never, from its very nature, reach certainty. "Hope that is seen is not hope." Intuition can-

not fathom God. Supposing that we knew divine truths by this method, as we immediately receive axiomatic truth, then all necessity for Christian instruction were at once gone, for no amount of teaching can make such truth the clearer. Faith, then, seems the only way; or, rather, the other methods fail, and faith must assume the work. How grandly it does it let a redeemed world declare.

V. The soul with its faculties is not like a quiver full of arrows, such as reason, memory, hope, and faith. It is, rather, a unit. When reason is used it is the soul that reasons. When memory is in service the soul remembers. When faith is exercised the soul believes. Further, one power of the soul helps another, and no power can be properly in use without the aid of all the rest. Faith and sight are placed over against the other, much to the disparagement of the former. Is the disparagement real? Whatever knowledge comes through the two is alike subject to the approval of the invisible mind. Sight seems to have its reports accepted more readily than does faith, simply because there are more of them and the mind, therefore, understands them more readily. That sight helps faith, none can deny. What is true of sight is also true of every other perceptive power. They all help faith. Gideon's faith was greatly quickened by the moistened fleece. Thomas had his doubts vanish as he saw the nail-pierced hands. Mary believed in the resurrection as the blessed Lord spoke so sweetly her own name.

On the other hand, it is also true that faith helps sight. It is not necessary to enter upon the philosophy of perception to prove that one mental power aids another. It is so true that it may be used as an illustration. The tree across the way is not apprehended as such by the eye alone. The optical sensation is interpreted by the thinking self within as a tree. In like manner faith helps hearing, reason, and hope. Jesus was in the glare of public life for several years. Men saw him, heard him, talked with him; but comparatively few knew him as he really was. It would, perhaps, be harder to have faith in the Christ of Palestine, seen as a man among men, than to have faith in the Christ of the Bible and of the ages as the Spirit reveals him to us. It was true then that, though a miracle worker, he was classed among men as one of them. To-day,

when the marvelous so soon becomes the commonplace, when the unexpected scarcely surprises, the bodily Christ would not inspire the faith among men that the ascended Jesus does. Surely it was expedient that he go away.

Again, to believe that this man, weary, worn, limited, was God, that the Nazarene was the King of kings, was very difficult for those who saw him then. It could not now be done unaided. "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." The two men in the Bible who had the clearest revelations through sight are yet mentioned as conspicuous examples of faith. Moses, who had the high honor of talking with God face to face, as friend with friend, is in the list of the heroes of faith whose names are recorded in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews. Paul, who received by direct revelation such sublime truths and saw such holy scenes that they could not even be mentioned, insists most of all upon faith, and is himself an illustration of its mighty power. Faith seems not only to interpret, but also to actualize sight. Faith, then, is not an underling. It has its own powers and its own province. Some things, some truths, it alone can perceive, if they are to be perceived at all. The ear is for the reception of melody, not for the perception of a landscape. Imagination is for the poet, not particularly for the mathematician. So things divine are for faith, not reason, not sight, not hope. Herein is the meaning of the definition of faith given in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."

VI. Is not the very fact that faith is convinced the best evidence of truth? What is the evidence that the sun is ninety-two million miles distant from the earth? We cannot traverse it with our measuring rods. There would not be time if we could begin the journey. How, then, have we any proof of the fact? It accords with our reasoning. Reason is the evidence for all such facts. So as to the nature of God and the truth of his word. We cannot fathom the one nor prove the other altogether. Our faith accepts them. That is the only way they could come to us. We believe; that is our evidence. "Faith is the evidence of things not seen."

As a faculty of the soul we see, then, the meaning of the expressions, "the gift of God," and "as God hath dealt to

every man the measure of faith." God endows men with faith as he does with other powers of the soul, and also with varying degrees of faith. All have not the same strength of faith, as they have not of reason. Lest anyone excuse himself on the ground of small faith equipment, it should be remembered that Christ taught the marvelous power of small faith. We have not exhausted the mountain-moving abilities yet, and that is only the mustard-seed faith. God undoubtedly gives peculiarities of reasoning powers to some. It may be that he does similarly with faith. Hence the faith to be healed may be indicative of gracious endowment—not surely, or always, of sublimest trust. The faith to work miracles is also a case in point. We do not believe that the Church is answerable because she does not to-day perform physical miracles as in primitive times. Faith as strong as that is exercised for other and possibly "greater things than these." Faith for contingencies, such as the conversion of children or friends, the claiming of a hundred souls for one revival, is to be coveted, if by that we mean a surer confidence in God's ability to do those things; but, from the nature of the case, it cannot be given so long as human wills oppose. No trust in God can surely claim the absolutely certain conversion of a now impenitent sinner.

Faith needs the aid of memory, reason, hope, and intuition. Reason cannot stand alone, though seemingly the most independent of all. Where would the mathematician be if he did not remember the multiplication table? Even in the flight of poetic fancy the scope of vision must be within reason, else extravagant vagaries ensue. So with faith. While it deals largely with the future it scorns not the aid of the past. Our utmost power of confidence comes only as we remember all the way that the Lord our God hath led us. Jesus Christ, we humbly believe, will be glorious in his dealings with us forever, because we remember what he was yesterday and reflect upon what he is to-day.

Frederick N. Upham.

Art. VI.—THE OPPORTUNITIES AND PERILS OF THE EPWORTH LEAGUE.

The Epworth League is an organization implying on the part of its members the deepest religious experience and calling for all the Christian activities in which the young people of Methodism may properly engage. Terms, by their very use, limit and circumscribe the ideas they are intended to represent and describe. The name of the young people's society whose opportunities and perils it is here a privilege briefly to discuss is no exception to the rule. The organization is the growth of more than twenty years; the appellative is an apt fancy quickly seized upon as a compromise among diverse names, all in the minds of their proposers expressive of the same idea. If the name seems narrow and denominational it is wholly because one cannot express the growth of twenty years and what is still enlarging in a single term. If its fractional relation to the denominational unit is ill defined by the words "Epworth League" it is the fault of the term, just as the inability to express one third in decimal form is the fault of our series of notation. The name is but an attempt to picture externally an organization which makes its appeal to the spirit and addresses itself to the hidden seats of character and service.

To have done with the disagreeable part of the subject as soon as possible, let us first consider the perils to which the organization is subjected:

1. There is the danger, common to all organizations, that it will cramp life. To separate a part of the Church and restrict it by a constitution and by-laws is, in the minds of many, like adding a wheel or pulley to already complicated machinery. It may be feared that it will dwarf energy and render some power ineffective. Just as increased friction is inseparable from the thought of a channel to conduct water to a mill wheel and loss of energy is associated with running an electrical current over the wire of a circuit, so the Church, in maintaining the Epworth League, must take into account the probability of friction and, here and there, dwarfed powers and unapplied energy. The discriminating mind will at once concede this danger, but will consider it better to liberate a part of the potential energy in a

mill pond by a race than lose it all. Better a diminished electrical energy than no current whatever; so, better the organization of the Methodist young people as a corps or division in the Church than that they remain unused or be divided up into guerrilla bands, each fighting for its own purposes. How near the Church was to this later alternative may better be left unwritten.

2. More real is the peril that the young people may esteem their organization equal or superior to the Church and become impatient of authority. Insubordination is the common sin of new recruits. It is the special failing of youth on the verge of manhood to esteem lightly the advice of age and experience and become inflamed with the ardor of its own opinions. Every parent, as he bends over the face of his babe in the cradle, must face the possibility of a thankless child and of some day having his heartstrings torn by a rebellious or disobedient son. Nature has provided the surest guarantee against this in parental and filial affection; and the Methodist Church is protected in the same way. The members of the Epworth League are her children. They were cradled in her arms and protected by her love; and better a thousand times the filial affection these young people feel than outside admonitions that they should be loyal to their Church.

3. A third source of danger is found in the tendency to rely merely upon numbers. Beyond doubt the disposition to add chapters and to increase them in size by large multipliers in order to exhibit a large membership has been immoderately encouraged. A growing chapter roll is a welcome sight; but so far as that may indicate the Epworth League is only a mere machine. If the League be not a living, glowing organism in every church, with power to communicate spiritual and intellectual life, and be not attended by transformations both in character and opinion, it were better abolished. The only conclusive evidence that the League is a living, spiritual organism must be the communication of its life to others; and the test of its usefulness and permanency will not be the increase or decrease of the chapter roll, but the sum total of enlargement and quickening brought to individuals and churches in the wide circle of Methodism.

4. It is scarcely becoming to point to the disciplinary pro-

vision forbidding collections except for league purposes as a source of weakness; but modest opinion must be allowed so frank a statement. The danger is here twofold: first, through this prohibition, that the opportunity to educate a whole Methodist generation along lines of larger benevolence and more generous stewardship will be allowed to go unimproved, save as it is attended to by the older generation with less generous views in this regard; secondly, that the prohibition will leave the Epworth League treasury a prey to minor demands. In spite of the disciplinary clause continual attempts, many of them successful, are made to secure financial support for objects worthy enough in themselves, but in comparison to the great organized philanthropies of the Church petty and unimportant. Either consequence earnest men can but deplore.

The indifference of some pastors and the consequent estrangement of their young people; the drawing of a line of demarcation between the older and younger members of the Church; a lessened attendance at the regular midweek prayer meeting, occasioned by the establishment of a young people's prayer meeting; the frittering away of energy in mere hurrah; narrowness and exclusiveness—these are all additional and real perils, but the less dangerous because of the warnings continually uttered against them.

By its numbers, spirit, and religious inheritance the Epworth League is fitted for great enterprises. There are eighty chapters which average over four hundred members each; there are five hundred with an average of three hundred members each, the entire eleven thousand two hundred chapters having at a very conservative estimate sixty each. In addition there are two thousand Junior Leagues, with an average membership of forty each. The whole forms a glorious company of youth and young manhood seven hundred and fifty thousand strong, young, and therefore near to those celestial fountains of existence whence inspiration floods the heart and hope illumines the brain—youth, like the morning, clear, fresh, radiant, the dewdrops on its grasses and leaves transfigured by the rising sun into diamonds; a large segment of a great Church, with five generations of Christian ancestry behind them, dedicated to Christ from their birth hour, and, therefore, the very chivalry of Methodism. Opportunities are

all about them. The Church has a right to expect great things from them.

1. The revival opportunity must claim precedence over all. Methodism has always been a Church of revivals. You can trace all over the country the preachers who organized the Methodist Church at the Christmas Conference by the revival fires they kindled. Everywhere they heralded both God's love and the judgment; and, under the might of the Holy Spirit which breathed through their lips, men fell before them convicted of sin and rose up justified. These preachers exercised every form of ministerial office. They were at the same time apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, and evangelists. The people cooperated with them. So it must continue to the end. No church order can legitimately interfere with the exercise of any ministerial duty. The preacher dare neglect neither his executive nor his evangelistic function. Nor may the people abdicate the privilege and duty of cooperation with their pastor by employing some one in their stead. That the pastor act as an evangelist and the people cooperate with him is a condition absolutely essential to a revival. When this exists it nullifies the laws of custom and conventional propriety. It leaves the preacher untrammeled by ultrajudicious officials and fosters in the congregation prayer, faith, hope, and love. What love prevails when these graces meet! What blessedness would come to the Church were the revival conditions prevailing everywhere! A revival is the beginning of a comprehensive Christian fellowship, the end of irrelative distinctions; and in a revival scruples are no longer magnified into principles of conduct. There is no sure remedy for indifference, formalism, and legalism save the revival. If there are preachers who do not long for a revival they are inconsequential. Yearning for souls is the secret of all pulpit success. It gives the power to utter words of beauty which touch the heart and the inexpressible charm which wins the fancy of open-minded hearers.

The other element, cooperation on the part of the congregation, it is the glorious opportunity of the Epworth League to furnish. It holds potentially within itself songs which sweeten and soften, the visitation so necessary, the testimonies which thrill and burn, and the prayers which smite through the soul and move to penitence. Its members, fresh from the altars

where they found Jesus and caught whispers of his forgiving love, constitute the spiritual aristocracy of mankind. Their youth is their strength. They have the power of doing. Their intelligence and widening experience are conjoined with force. The joyous fullness of their youth magnetizes. Their vivid insight discerns the only path of duty amid a thousand diverging ways. Their nearness to God, their purity of heart, which mirrors forth the beauty of their Lord, and their hopeful purpose point to them as copartners in a revival which shall shake to its foundations the kingdom of darkness. The significance of organization can have no better illustration than in this revival opportunity. Revivals in detached communities lose much of their force because of the narrow bounds in which they are felt. Revivals, like prohibition, should be by States or nations. This organization has the opportunity of kindling a revival in thousands of detached communities and of bringing them so close to one another that they will flow together, coalesce, and stir the nation to its religious awakening.

2. There is plainly an opportunity of attaching many more loyally to Methodism. To some this will scarcely seem to rise to the height of a great opportunity. Those, however, who know well the spirit of the Church, the minuteness and flexibility of its organization, its simplicity, the broad charity of its theology, its high-toned morality, and its rapid extension will recognize the importance of the opportunity. "Methodism," says Luke Tyerman, "is the greatest fact in the history of the Church of Christ." At any rate, it was an innovation on all previous reforms in the Church. It broke with the customs of the times in two particulars: it opposed the tendency of most religionists to assert the majesty of God at the expense of his love; and it advocated the emancipation of conscience from the burden of legalism. These positions it has maintained ever since. Either would have made it deservedly conspicuous in religious progress; both conjoined make the movement epochal.

Methodism, like Christianity in general, proposes no easy service. In recent years there has been a tendency to drift away from the Church, some being won by the less serious tone and others by the more rigid social exclusiveness found elsewhere. The Epworth League has made this outward

current thoughtful by setting before its members the highest New Testament standard of experience and life. This standard is in direct opposition to social exclusiveness, and directs the path of conduct midway between asceticism and license. In addition, the Epworth League has furnished for itself a means for social intercourse and a channel for the courtesies and amenities which so beautify life. It has also enlarged the knowledge of the history, doctrines, and present work of the great Church of which it forms a part. To know Methodism is to love it; and the very name and department work of the Epworth League bind its members more closely to the Church. A lessened drifting away from the Church is already noticed; and if it remain true to its high standard the Epworth League will prove a magnetic pole toward which the thoughtful, charitable, strong natures of the next decade will gravitate.

3. The educational opportunity. The opportunity is unparalleled for increasing general intelligence by general reading, thereby inspiring our youth to seek a higher education and promoting Bible study. With all our appliances education is a difficult matter and the average of intelligence extremely low. Even with common schools, Sunday schools, sermons, lectures, books, and daily papers in almost endless editions the work is imperfectly done. "Give me a fulcrum," said Archimedes, "and I will lift the world." But where is the lever long enough or the fulcrum stout enough on which to lift the whole generation intellectually? It is a hard task to interpenetrate a whole mass with a single idea; how much more to mellow and ripen the thought of an age by idea after idea, as ray by ray the sun mellows and ripens an apple! To an educator any company of people, however small, affords a chance for diffusing intelligence. What an unparalleled educational opportunity, then, is here presented in this company of seven hundred and fifty thousand compacted and loyal Methodists, waiting to be directed and led! Here is a gateway to the brain kingdom and an avenue to the seats of imperial intelligence. It is all-important to the Church not only to guard these approaches, a sleepless sentinel against impure literature, but also to utilize them for the commerce of Christian ideas. Suppose that this entire membership of the Epworth League, having a taste for good reading, could next year be added to the class and

prayer meetings, the social gatherings, and the Sunday schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church. They would bring a revival worth having. With good reading comes an enlarged vocabulary and the power of expression; therefore interesting and stimulating recitals of Christian experience would follow. There would be an end at once to much of the vapid nonsense which passes for "testimony." The Sunday schools would be full of intelligent teachers. The prayer service would be a "holy waiting," rather than a caricature upon the "social means of grace" which in some places passes for a prayer meeting. The social life of the Church would be strangely modified. These new members of the Church, with their taste for good reading, would have no social limitations upon them. You could not exhaust their conversational possibilities in a brief chat, nor satisfy their wholesome tastes with anything less than real wit and entertainment. Some new poem whose measure pleased, an article in a late magazine, or an old book which helped to form the taste or direct thought or educate to critical acumen would be the sure basis of a charming conversation. With such young people clownish pageants and full-dress gymnastics would not pass for amusements. There would result a practical and glorious revolution.

The Epworth League can and should be used to persuade fifty thousand additional Methodist young people to attend our Methodist colleges in the next five years. This opportunity is altogether distinct from that before the Chautauqua movement. The latter comes with its ameliorating culture to a great host who could not go to college; but here is an agency with which to bring the neighboring college within the field of vision of every young member of the Church. Before the fires of youth are burned out, while the heart is still saying, "I will find a way or make one," the value of a college training, the ease with which it can be obtained, and the institutions where the college course can be most advantageously pursued should all be pointed out and dwelt upon. The alumni of our various colleges have no fairer field for rendering genuine assistance to their *alma maters* than in recommending persistently and enthusiastically the colleges of their love to the district conventions of the Epworth League. The Epworth League and the Methodist college have a common aim—that of promoting intelligent and

vital piety. The time is fast coming when there will be an Epworth League college day in every State, and when the spiritual department of the Epworth League will be the peculiar form of religious organization in every Methodist college.

There is nothing to hinder the Epworth League from becoming a great school where the Bible shall be studied, not by fugitive passages, but connectedly, inductively, and reverently. The Epworth League conventions on many districts are already great training classes for Bible workers; and no field for projecting new methods in Bible study is more inviting. Here is an opportunity to direct a whole generation of a great Church. It is to be hoped that they may come to the Bible rejecting all traditional interpretation and read it for themselves. It is their right so to do. This opportunity is prophetic of great changes. It will clear away much theological *débris*. Faith will then become an actual entrance into fellowship with the life of Christ; the atonement, a sure motive for oneness with Christ, instead of a legal mystery outside of human use; the Gospel, always good news; conversion, a process of repenting, turning, pardon, and enlargement; sanctification, a life of sacrifice, with a consecration that is renewed every hour.

4. The social crisis presents even a greater opportunity. The requirements of Christianity will soon well-nigh reverse the whole order of Church procedure. The old methods have been wonderfully successful, are still so in many places, and are not in discredit anywhere. Neither are those who employ them. But the Church must adjust itself to new conditions. Only pleasure boats use the old methods of sail and oar propulsion. Commerce has betaken itself to the screw steamer. With or without the consent of the Church emphasis has been transferred from theology to sociology, from the first great commandment to the second, which is "like unto it." Coincident with the decay of what is called doctrinal preaching has come the international agitation of labor questions, a growing consciousness of oppression and wrong among the masses, and a threatening restlessness occasioned by it. The inevitable alienation of classes in our great manufacturing centers, the extortions of the strong, the greed of landlords, the horrors of tenement houses, imperfect sanitation, polluted water supplies, inequalities of police administration, legalized dram shops,

poverty, and vice have made "our neighbor," and not God alone, the theme of the pulpit. The Church is saying less and less about mercy and charity every year, and beginning to direct its thunders more against injustice. Hitherto it has devoted itself almost exclusively to the ranks of intelligence, culture, and orderly society. It has brought in its own children, baptized them, and won those whom easy love has suggested. Henceforth its efforts must be devoted to the outcast and to those who daily pay the penalty of their sin. It must discern in the publicans and sinners—"that outer fringe of society that has fallen away from its true order and is dragged along, a shame and a clog, hated and hating, redeemable by no force it knows"—the special field of Christly service. The great churches which the new generation is to build will not be located in the elegant suburbs, but in the downtown sections. There the Church must undertake and provide hospitals, medical dispensaries, kindergartens, night schools, employment bureaus, reading rooms, gymnasia, bath rooms, Chinese schools—every form of applied Christianity. And this the Church must do, not to protect itself in its luxurious appointments from undesirable members, but to save itself from dissolution. It must be influenced by that tender and melting and most persuasive of all arguments—"for Jesus' sake." Is it not then a providence that the Methodist Church has at this juncture a whole generation of young people organized and obedient? In the whole history of the Christian Church there can be found no greater opportunity than that before the Epworth League—the opportunity to lead the Methodist Church, born in the streets of London and in the highways and hedges of old England, back to the masses from whom it is now slowly becoming alienated, that it may resume its leadership over that mighty throng who yearn in their misery for a Redeemer, and whose sin renders the statement of the doctrine of depravity unnecessary. These opportunities improved will be sufficient reason for the existence of the Epworth League.

Edwin A. Schell

Art. VII.—SUBJECTIVE CONDITIONS ESSENTIAL TO THE HIGHEST POWER IN PREACHING.

The chief vocation of the Christian minister is preaching. He has other duties that are auxiliary and supplemental to it, and for which he must have adequate furniture; but his office as a preacher outranks them all. The pulpit is his throne. The Gospel has no power of self-proclamation. It needs a suitable agent and a fitting mode. Man is the accredited agent, and preaching the instrument of his power. By preaching he must engage the attention of men, instruct their understanding, convince their judgments, arouse their feelings, quicken their consciences, and direct their volitions. By it he must awaken men to a sense of their responsibility to God, and also to a sense of their moral insolvency. By it he must draw men out of a world of sin and selfishness to a penitential confession to God of their personal guilt and of their absolute dependence upon divine mercy. And by it men are to be guided, nurtured, and trained for a holy and useful life and for a final residence with God in heaven.

The power of preaching is the power of public speech. This power was an art of great repute in the pagan world when the Christ began his mission. He instantly converted it. His example was followed by the apostles. They did not aim to attract men by gorgeous vestments or stately ceremonials. They looked men in the face and preached to them Jesus and the resurrection. The flaming miracle of the cloven tongue was at once a symbol and a prophecy. It placed a divine seal and emphasis upon the art of speech, and notified the Church that this was the instrument chosen of God for the propagation of divine truth. Infinite wisdom must needs choose the best means for reaching the hearts of men; therefore this must be the best. The successors of Jesus, like him, were great preachers. The people had the law and the prophets, but these were not sufficient. A living voice was needed to state, interpret, and enforce them.

Christianity has always possessed the power of public speech. It has used it to an unprecedented degree. The prosperity or decline of the Church may be measured by the use, abuse, or

disuse of it. It is the exponent of the courage and sympathy of the Church. A higher degree of valor is required to speak than to write to men. It is also true that the way to the human heart is shorter by a sermon than by a book. Preaching is indispensable to evangelism. The work of the preacher is in part ministerial, but it is primarily and preeminently missionary. He must seek men. The lost sheep is seldom found by a pamphlet. The Bible alone will not accomplish the conversion of the world. This is to a phenomenal extent an age of letters and reading. It is sometimes asserted that the tripod of the editor is the modern pulpit, that the rhythmic clatter of the printing press takes the place of oratory. But it may be affirmed that literature, whether it be book, pamphlet, magazine, or current journal, can never be a substitute for the human tongue nor supersede the preacher. It is by the foolishness of preaching that men are yet to be saved.

The highest power in preaching is only attained when the heart of the hearer is profoundly impressed. It is undoubtedly true that the heart can only be deeply impressed through the aid of the reasoning faculties; but there may be rational processes that in no measurable degree touch the moral sense of men. The preaching that so reveals sin as that men feel its degradation, that so discloses the sovereignty of God that men stand in awe of the great white throne, that so unfolds the love of God that with the shame of transgression there springs up the hope of mercy, that so defines moral obligation as to make men feel that true reverence for God is only realized in genuine, abiding, self-sacrificing devotion to the welfare of man, and that so addresses the human will as to make it pliable to moral truth and persuasion—this is the summit of all preaching.

But as a matter of fact and observation we find that all preachers are not equally successful. Some have natural ability and trained powers. They use the same words and preach the same doctrines as other men, they are blameless in their behavior, they frequently secure attentive auditors, yet they achieve but little. The apparent results are meager and superficial. They are rarely the center of any deep religious movement. Few are turned from sin to holiness by them. Others, as with the touch of a wizard, pierce through the mantle of thick-woven prejudices, subdue the pride of the most self-

willed, disperse all foes to the word of God, and, laying hold of trembling sinners, lead captive to the cross the old and young, the sage and savage, the river pirate and the devotee of fashion. The effect of their preaching cannot be explained by any of the formulas laid down in books of logic, rhetoric, or homiletics. They are sometimes men of erudition; but their success is not due to their learning. They are occasionally of very slender acquirements; but the effect of their speech is more than the surprise excited by one "whose father and mother we know." They are in some instances orators, from whose lips the truth flows out like beaten oil; but others are plain men, of homely speech, ignoring all the pleasing refinements of oratory; yet a virtue proceeds from them that is not in what they say or in the manner of saying it. Sinners are startled, reflection is promoted, and many are moved to decisive action.

The antiquated legend of the preacher who, on learning that one soul had been led to Jesus in a ministry of thirty years, proposed to invest thirty years more to accomplish the same result has wrought more mischief than good. It ought to be shrouded and buried. If it was ever true it was an impeachment of the credentials of the man who plumed himself with so much vanity on such a scant return. Not that one soul is not of infinite value; but to assume that the word of God can be faithfully declared by a man called of God to proclaim it, during such an extended period, in a populous neighborhood, and to a people who evince no external animosity to it, with no wider result is incredible. Inasmuch as seed is assured to the sower, and bread to the eater, "so," saith the Lord, "shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please."

Are there spiritual laws that account for such a disparity in the fruit of men's labors? Or must we settle down to the conclusion that by the sovereign act of God men are made to differ in their effectiveness? The last alternative would be a complacent way of throwing off all personal responsibility. But would it be rational? Would it be scriptural? There are questions that affect the moral character and status of the preacher and must be considered before we dismiss to a divine tribunal the solution of this problem. Is it not imperative that we should ask whether the Gospel is modified in its power over

the mind or conscience by the personality of the agent employed to declare it? May it not be true that the force of divine truth is increased or diminished by the moral or mental state of the preacher? It may be said that truth is truth, no matter who utters it, or even if it be rolled from the cylinder of a phonograph. And some may say, "Is not divine truth the power of God, whether it issue from holy or profane lips? Can the preacher add out of his own resources to the natural power of the truth, to its vividness, to its dynamic influence, to its illuminating force?" If so, then there is a human as well as a divine element in preaching. This also adds immensely to the responsibility of the sacred office. Of what infinite delinquency a man is guilty who puts in peril the life of the soul—not his own soul only, but the souls of others—and withholds from men the propulsive or the attractive power of a surcharged personality?

Whether the degree of spiritual life in the pulpit necessarily determines the state of the Church and of society may not be susceptible of demonstration; but history points to the existence of such a process. For two centuries succeeding the dawn of the Christian era the men who preached the word held the truth with a reverent and earnest faith. They believed implicitly and spoke with a directness that was simply the natural and spontaneous outflow of the Christ life. This life was the evidence to them that they were born again. Their preaching was chiefly the corroboration of the doctrine of Christ, as it existed in their own consciousness, and pious exhortation to others to adopt and enjoy it. The pulpit was filled with a passion for souls, and the truth was made authentic to the skeptic and to the inquirer by the unconscious art with which it was urged upon them. But soon, like the spread of infected air, devitalizing theories spread among the leaders and preachers of the Church. They were less concerned about their spiritual union with Christ, and more anxious about theories, ceremonies, sacraments, dignities, relics, and external forms. They became dogmatists, ecclesiastics, ritualists, polemists, allegorists, speculators, dreamers, parrot-like followers of other men's notions.

There were, however, two notable exceptions. John Chrysostom, the "golden-mouthed," was preeminently a preacher.

He lost himself in solitude for his cause. He aimed to move the conscience of men and succeeded, for his own was powerful and sensitive. It was said of him, "He breathed upon all duties the life and the moving power of the person and work of Christ." He united voice, language, passion, taste, art, piety, and motive in his dauntless enforcement of divine truth. He had a deep, broad, strong, spiritual nature. He was scholarly, lucid, majestic, tropical. He knew the mind of man and how to deal with it so as to secure a prompt response. He was a master in the use of the human voice. But the supreme force behind all these, and endowing them with a holy utility, was manhood in the image of God. He gave forth not only light but heat. He poured his own feelings into his utterances. He left the Church a legacy of a thousand sermons; but one discourse as it fell from his burning lips wrought more effect upon the souls of men than all his published sermons. There was also Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, who was more Protestant than Romanist. It is said of him that "there was an emphatic impulse which he gave to instruction in truth and to impression through it, as opposed to the arts of the mere orator." An intense moral earnestness and deep spiritual insight enabled him to search the hidden man of the heart as from his own self-knowledge. In the fourth book of his manual, entitled *De Doctrina Christiana*, he shows that the personality and earnestness of the preacher are the true secrets of his greatest power.

If these two consecrated men had been supported by colaborers equally devout, direct, sincere, and spiritual Martin Luther would not have been a religious necessity. Great names in the Church preceded these, and many rose to eminence in the ecclesiastical firmament after their translation; but in none of them was there the same unadulterated love of God and of human souls. Gregory the Great observed that "the sermon has most effect when given by the person whose it is." And of the Venerable Bede it is noted that "his genuine sincerity and piety were so apparent as to add greatly to the force of what he said." But he was never a great preacher. He preached mainly to priests, seldom to the people. In the Eastern Church preaching so lost its importance that for a thousand years no great name has appeared stirring the hearts of the masses. That Church has become a mere sacerdotal system. The czar

is the censor of the pulpit as of the press. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty;" but Russia is without the Spirit of God. She has altars, but no pulpits. If the ministry of the Greek Church were in spiritual union with Christ and filled with an unaffected love of the people the truth would blaze, like long-pent-up fires, from a thousand sacred forums, and revivals of religion would be as common and as extensive as the grain harvests of our great West.

The Reformation was a revival of preaching. Luther was a preacher. He wrote, "It was a fire within me. Woe is unto me if I preach not." Even before his discovery of the doctrine of justification by faith he broke in upon the moral and spiritual torpidity of his hearers with the force of a mountain wind; but when he realized salvation by faith his power was multiplied a thousand fold. Townsmen and students alike heard him with intense eagerness. Twenty-five thousand souls in the market place hung upon his words as dying men listen to words of hope. More than the novelty of his doctrine or the force of his style of address impressed them. It was the man—a man who believed in justification from sin, with a clear intellectual perception of that glorious truth, and the rapturous consciousness that it was a fact in his own experience.

John Wesley was but a mediocre preacher for years, and his name would probably never have arrested any but an antiquarian eye in the history of his times if it had not been for that memorable visit he paid on the 24th of May, 1738, to the Moravian Society meeting in Aldersgate Street, where he felt his "heart strangely warmed" with a sense of the forgiveness of sins. He thereafter preached the bliss he felt. He became an outdoor preacher in 1739 by virtue of the expansive power of the love of God and men abiding in him. He could not be kept from the people. He had made no new discovery; he was but the incarnation of the three glorious truths that every man may be saved from all sin, now, and may know it. He was controlled by the conviction that God could, would, and did save from sin. Like the light that leaps from the seacoast tower, no matter from which side of his intellect the truth broke forth it was a flash from the same burning lamp. John Wesley's warm heart was like a great hearthstone, from which radiated a cheerful Gospel wherever he went. The men who

gathered about him put back of the truths they preached the same clear, controlling consciousness of salvation.

John Knox, of Scotland, and Jonathan Edwards, of New England, were each endowed with a strong sense of the sovereignty of God. They were leavened with it, and felt themselves to be vicegerents of the justice of God against sin. They preached as deputies of the God of holiness. They are by some styled morbid preachers, carrying self-inspection to an extreme. Men preach what they are, as well as what they think and believe. The late Charles H. Spurgeon was a bright and shining modern exemplification of the vital relation of personality to the influence of the truth.

Who that heard our great Simpson can ever forget him as, filled with his theme, he expanded his broad chest and drew his form up to its full height. He was then the personification of the truth. Eye, voice, gesture, attitude—all these, subjected to ever-changing modifications, made the word of God irresistible. No one thought of the preacher. Indeed, all volitional thought was suspended. The preacher did all the thinking. There was but one determining brain, and that was in the pulpit. His soul was so full and active that every obstruction was swept before its rush, until through every heart in the audience his message had an unimpeded course. He seemed then like an archangel with orders fresh from the throne of the Saviour of the world.

The history of Christianity is the history of the rise or decline of preaching. Whether it be mysticism, Arianism, pietism, asceticism, theism, materialism, ecclesiasticism, saint worship, Mariolatry, ceremonialism, rationalism, illuminism, or salvation by faith which has predominated among the people, the cause of such predominance may be found in the hearts of the preachers. What, then, are the conditions of power in preaching?

I. The preacher must dwell in Christ, and Christ in him. This requirement has all the authority of an axiom. Every sermon he preaches is an announcement of his personal relations to Christ. He stands before his fellow-men always with Christ's mantle upon him. Other men may be content to allow their position to be a matter of deduction, or they may by certain public subscriptions of their allegiance affirm in a formal way once for all their Christian character; but his confession of Christ in-

heres in every function of his office. He need wear no distinctive garb to keep his office fresh in the thought of the people. The currency of his official title will do that. It is the standard by which he is always measured and judged. A merchant does not lose standing in the marts of trade nor an artisan the esteem of the workshop by the absence of any zeal for the person and mission of Christ. But a preacher cannot be indifferent to the cause of Christ without attracting public attention and inviting common contempt. An engine-driver on the rail, a clerk in the bank or store, a teacher in the public school, a statesman in his political duties, a bricklayer, blacksmith, carpenter, or weaver—these men do not advertise their relation to Christ by the mere pursuits in which they are engaged. They are not required to do so. They may or may not be Christians. But it is otherwise with a minister. He can never separate himself from his profession of Christ. His name, spoken, printed, or written with any official designation attached to it, everywhere carries with it the thought that he is a Christian. He must not merely subscribe to a Christological creed or pose as a mere preceptor, to interpret doctrine to others. He must be in heart fellowship with Jesus. Christ must be in him a living, active power. Christ must be formed within him, so that out of his consciousness of an indwelling Christ he shall preach Christ. If Christ be made unto him wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, then as a concomitant of such a state his projective power will be increased in preaching these realities to others. He will not be the light, but he will be an effective witness of the light. What Lockhart says of Burns may be said of him, "The passion traced before us has glowed in a living heart, the opinion he utters has risen in his own understanding and been a light to his own steps." He will not speak from hearsay, but from sight and experience. He will speak forth what is in him, not from any outward call of vanity or interest, but because his heart is too full to be silent. He will speak it, too, with such melody and modulation as he can, in homely rustic phrase, perhaps; but it will be his own and genuine. This is the grand secret for finding hearers and retaining them. Let him who would move and convince others be first moved and convinced himself. Be true if you would be believed. Let a man but speak forth with genuine earnestness the thought, the

emotion, the actual condition of his own heart, and other men —so strongly are we all knit together by the ties of sympathy— must and will give heed to him. In culture or in breadth of view we may stand above the speaker or below him; but in either case, if he is earnest and sincere he will find some response within us, for in spite of all casual varieties in outward rank or inward, as "face answereth to face," so does the heart of man to man. In a very great degree the highest power in preaching is derived from the presence and work of Christ in the heart of the preacher. Next to the Bible his heart will be his principal notebook.

II. The preacher must realize that he is called of God to preach. The value of piety cannot be overstated. But no degree of saintliness is in itself and alone a warrant for any man to take upon himself this divine office, nor is the power of public speech. The general public and the majority of serious parents in the Church regard the ministry as a profession, to be ranked with law or medicine; and they assume that any man who feels a turn for it in the ordinary sense of the word is entitled to enter it. "No man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron." As well might a man assume to represent the government of the United States at the court of St. James because he is a loyal citizen and a patriot, as for a man to claim the right and authority to stand in Christ's stead before men in such an office because he is a sincere disciple of Jesus, or has a natural preference for religious discussion, or is a clever man with the people. One of the most entertaining preachers of the day states that, while upon the hustings and after years of political adventure, the thought took possession of him that if he could hold the attention of men from a street platform on a political subject he could as equally win their attention in a discussion of religious themes. That was his call. It may have been a divine voice that he heard. I do not forget that Elisha was plowing when Elijah laid upon him the mantle of prophetic dignity. But in itself no such suggestion is sufficient authority to preach. The marked change in the social position of Methodism during recent years and the recognition of it in the public press, with the fraternal favor now bestowed upon it by all evangelical denominations, have given rise to new perils, born of new conditions.

Some of these threaten to sap the spiritual life of the laity; some assail the ministry. No position in life introduces a man more quickly to the best social and intellectual surroundings than admission into the ministry. His office provides him access to the best homes in the community. He is only excluded when tainted with crime or suspicion. Even then society is reluctant to disown him. The temptation to seek this office for worldly or social reasons is apparent. But our new environments only more deeply emphasize the necessity of a direct mandate from the skies to insure the highest power of the preacher. The finger of God must engrave it so deep on the heart that it can be seen by the understanding and felt by the conscience. It cannot but go into his manner. The man who represents a great nation at a foreign court and to the world will be chastened in his temper, elevated in his thought, and quickened in his zeal. How more profoundly will this be true of one who feels called of God to stand for him before the world! Think what strength, what courage, what zeal, what love, what self-sacrifice will be born of such credentials! The man who is thus separated from men by the sovereign will of God has assured to him special grace from God for the duties laid upon him. The action of this divine commission upon the reasoning powers must excite them not only to a high degree of activity, but be a guide to the most careful conclusions. He who is to speak for God will be sure to separate the chaff of his own conceits from the wheat of the divine mind. The emotional nature of the preacher will likewise be stirred to its profoundest depths, but at the same time will be preserved clear as crystal. To stand in the light of the throne of the Most High and to speak for him that holds the scepter of the universe in his hand is the sublimest position assigned to any creature.

III. The preacher must have a deep conviction of the truth of his message, that it is from God. He must know its contents and where its boundaries are. Men are anxious for opinions, but the preacher must state facts. He must state truth, not notions. If he does not know the mind of the Spirit, let him keep silence. If he does perceive the intent of God, let him announce it. If he holds realities he will preach realities. If he has nothing but fancies, what else can he furnish but painted rainbows? Rufus Choate said that men should not be

like weather-vanes, veering with the wind, but like mountains, which turn the course of the wind. Nothing so affects one's manner as clearly defined and well-settled spiritual principles in the inner life. The whole external man is modified by their influence. They give inflection to the voice. It is incisive or pathetic, persuasive or admonitory, as they are sharp or tender, earnest or conclusive. The range of its gamut is the sweep of his convictions. The preacher must know the truth to possess it. He must search for it to obtain it. He cannot search well unless he be trained to find the way, and to detect it when he sees it. An opaque mind can never transmit the white light of truth. A disorderly brain can never present an orderly arrangement of the truth. It is as true of ideas as it is of men, that a few well-organized and directed convictions will disperse a mob of fancies. There never has been a time when men were more anxious to hear opinions about God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Bible, sin, salvation, death, immortality, heaven, hell, and the judgment day. But what the world needs now and always are verities concerning these profound subjects. In this world, where the withering grass and the fading flower are the symbols of so much of human experience, human souls are in an agony to find something that is permanent. The preacher who believes his message, with no reservations, will preach it with a full breath, and the mark of his message will be traced on all the being of those who hear him. And, moreover, men will hear him. Effectiveness will be in proportion to faith.

IV. The preacher must apprehend the full significance of man. He must discern what he is and what he ought to be, the nature and complexity of his organization, what his needs are, and what his responsibility is. Next to the study of the book must be the study of man and men. They cannot all be approached from the same angle or impressed by the same methods. But he must reach them. If he does not his ministry fails of its purpose. There are no miraculous endowments which enable him to dispense with study. He must know man to control him. He must feel his necessities to deal with him and help him. He must feel that the welfare of man here and hereafter is poised on man's own self-determining will. The realization of what man is, what he should be, and what he may be will move the soul of the preacher until every drop

of blood in him will quiver with concern. Out of this sense of the value of man sprang that amazing and sublime mediation of Moses on Sinai, when by expostulation he averted the wrath of God from the camp of Israel, "If thou wilt forgive their sin; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written." It was this perception of the human and eternal issues at stake that extorted from Paul that wail of agony, "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh." The effect of this conception of man and his future destiny will be a powerful incentive to the enunciation of the truth. When Sir Isaac Newton was completing his demonstration of the law of gravitation he was so agitated at the grandeur of his discovery that he was compelled to employ an amanuensis to complete the record of it. So the recognition of all that is involved for the human race in the acceptance or rejection of God's overture of mercy to men must inevitably quicken every latent power of the preacher and give it its strongest expression.

One experiment of Mr. Tyndall, in his lecture on light, was always very forcible. He took a piece of alum and, intercepting a beam of light with it, projected an image of the ray of light upon the screen. It was a brilliant but cold spectrum. It was light without heat. The lump of alum held back the ray of heat. But light and heat are twins. God made them so. And light without heat would only serve very soon to display a bleak and cheerless world. It is a great propulsive force. The old Scotch woman's quaint demand of the new pastor was a simple woman's perception of the power of the pulpit, "Give me the word," she said, "hot off the bakestone." The pulpit must furnish light; but it will accomplish but little for men or with them unless that light is accompanied with divine heat and with the sympathy and passion of an anxious, consecrated soul, yearning for the salvation of man and bending every power to realize it.

W. Swindells

Art. VIII.—THE REMOVAL OF THE TIME LIMIT.

This question will without doubt be again brought before the next session of the General Conference; and, although it will hardly be possible to present any new arguments on either side of the subject, the polemical warfare must necessarily continue until one side or the other is victorious.

The Committee on Itinerancy at the last General Conference somewhat startled the assembly by presenting, on the twelfth day of the session, a report recommending the entire removal of the time limit. The vote in the committee had stood forty-nine in favor of this report to nineteen against, or more than two and a half to one—an astonishing majority obtained in one of the most important committees organized by the General Conference. A minority report, signed by sixteen members of the committee, was presented two days afterward, to the effect that "the present time limit of five years should be allowed to stand until the Church has had time to give it a fair and reasonable trial." On the nineteenth day of the session, after a protracted debate, the minority report was substituted for the majority report by a vote of 298 to 162 and was adopted. The question naturally arises why this large majority was cast against the removal of the time limit when the vote of the Committee on Itinerancy was so overwhelmingly in favor of the removal of all legal restrictions. On this point opinions will differ; but it was believed by many in the General Conference that, if the debate on the question could have continued without the interruptions caused by the General Conference elections, the majority report would have been adopted. In all probability it was only defeated through the plea presented in the minority report that the present five-year limit had not been sufficiently tested. It seemed only just that those in favor of the removal of the limitation should be willing to give the five-year rule a reasonable trial. The question was therefore not decided, but postponed, the postponement being secured by the delay of five days before taking the final vote, which delay may be considered providential, inasmuch as great changes should progress slowly and reforms that are sure to come can afford to wait.

The Church tested the two-year limitation for sixty years,

and the three-year rule for twenty-four years, or a little more than one third of the sixty years; therefore will not one third of the twenty-four years be sufficient for the trial of the five-year limit? The General Conference of 1896 will answer this question and, we trust, will give to the millions of Methodism an untrammeled itinerancy for the work of the twentieth century. During the debate at the last General Conference nine spoke in favor of, and five against, the removal of the limitation. The opposition did not argue the question so much as they pleaded for longer trial of the five-year rule. Among the statements made were the following: "If this action is taken you will ruin the itinerancy in twenty-five years;" "The Church will fall into Congregationalism;" "The bishops will be unable to make the appointments;" "Methodism has done grandly under the time limit;" "An itinerancy without a time limit is a thing of which dreams are made;" "The Church is not ready for the change;" "Do not strike down a piece of mechanism so well constructed by the fathers." Danger signals like the above may have frightened the Conference of 1892, but we predict that the arguments of those who favor the removal of all restriction must be met and answered if the question is to be decided again in the negative.

It may not be inopportune to present some of the reasons why the pastoral limitation should be entirely removed:

I. We affirm that previous extensions of the time limit have been beneficial to Methodism. Who will charge that the advance of the limit to three years, and then to five years, has worked hardship to the country charges? Why then array the city against the country and cry "class legislation?" If the country charges do not feel the need of a more extended pastorate how can they be injured by granting such an extension to the cities, which do realize such a need? We claim that the country pastorates have been lengthened by the extension of the time limit from two to five years. The record of five hundred and forty ministers in the Northern New York Conference and the Black River Conference, since 1836, has been traced with instructive results. Previous to 1864, under the two-year limit, the average pastorate was one year, three months, and eighteen days. Under the three-year limit the average pastoral term was two years and twenty-six days, and

in all probability the average has now reached nearly three years; therefore the country pastorate must have been lengthened as well as that of the city, and the city is not arrayed against the country, as has been claimed. Even though the country pastorates might be shortened because of the extension, this is no reason why all charges and pastors should not stand on their merits. Were the cities mistaken in their desire for an extension of the time limit? Were there any memorials from cities asking the last General Conference to return to the three-year limit? On the contrary, did they not present many memorials praying for the removal of all restriction?

II. The limitation is contrary to sound common sense and business principles. What would the commercial world think of removing clerks as soon as they became thoroughly familiar with their trade and customers; or of compelling doctors, lawyers, or judges each five years to begin anew the work of life in untried fields; or of a government that denied congressmen and senators the privilege of reelection? Such limitations would call forth the derision of all thinking minds. The college president and professor are often retained during life, because their value increases with each year; but there would be more reason in limiting the period of service among college presidents than among pastors, for students only remain at college till their studies are completed, while the larger portion of our membership remain in the same church until death. What if it had been the law that the generals in the late war should have been removed at the end of three years, according to the limitation of Methodism at that time? If the cabinet had said to General Grant just before the battle of the Wilderness, "Your time is up, and no matter what the exigencies are, you must go," the government would have been the laughing stock of the civilized world. Why, then, should Methodism, in the midst of revivals, church building, and other enterprises, take the position that the man who has his hand on the helm must go at the end of five years? How can we foretell, five years in advance, the condition of things on a certain charge? There should be no law forbidding the cabinet to use their wise judgment and follow sound business principles, under the guidance of the Spirit of God, in the appointment of ministers the fifth year as for the other four years, and so on to the end of their

pastorate, however long, instead of forecordaining, without foreknowledge of events, that on a certain day when the clock of Methodism has struck five, whatever the exigencies of the case, the pastor must be moved. How long shall such an absurdity remain in the Methodist Episcopal Church?

III. The limitation causes an enormous waste of power. Cities demand longer pastorates than the country. In the cities there is less marked denominationalism, and people attach themselves more to a great personality than to a denomination. There is also greater competition in the cities, and it is impossible for Methodism to vie with other systems, where the preachers are centers of influence in one church for a lifetime, while our ministers are removed as soon as they have thoroughly organized their forces and have become acquainted with their environments. Cities demand that a minister shall take part in great public movements, such as educational and moral reforms. But because our ministers are so little known outside of their own churches their power continues merely local, while the clergymen of other denominations exert a general influence in guiding the current of public sentiment and in inaugurating great public enterprises. This great waste of the personal power of our representative ministry is a serious loss to Methodism and the world. Our bishops who are located for many years at the centers of population have often inaugurated great enterprises, illustrating what our leading city pastors could do if allowed longer time. How absurd, for instance, to think of removing Bishop Hurst from the city of Washington in the midst of the most stupendous educational movement of this century! We have shown that the removal of the disability in the city churches will not necessarily antagonize the interests of the country charges, but on the other hand it will become a blessing to both. Yet, if we should concede a possible injury to the country, are not the cities destined to control the country as Gibraltar does the Mediterranean? Is it not true that the Church which fails in the cities will finally fail everywhere? The limitation of pastoral service is not only a waste of personal influence, social power, and acquaintanceship, but also a loss of money, health, valuable members who drift to other communions, and thousands of probationers who leave our Church because their spiritual leader has been torn away from them in

the days of their first love. Ours is the greatest revival Church since Pentecost, but without doubt loses more converts than all other Protestant denominations combined. A large portion of this waste is caused by the limitation of the pastoral term.

IV. The limitation is already encumbered by its many exceptions. Paragraph 170, section 3, of the last edition of the Discipline says of the bishop: "He may make the following appointments annually, without limitation of time." Then ensues a page and a half of exceptions to the time limit—enough to burden almost any other law to death—and the limitation staggers on under the heavy load to the final doom which a few more exceptions will bring to pass. To the average mind what appears good for bishops, editors, secretaries, missionaries, book agents, college presidents and professors, chaplains, Bible and temperance agents, etc., might also prove a blessing to ministers in the actual pastorate. In conversation Bishop Thoburn said at the last General Conference: "One of our bishops once attempted to enforce the three-year limitation in India. The first case considered was that of a missionary who had remained three years and fully mastered the language of one section of India. I said: 'If you remove this man it will require three years for a new man to learn the language, and the man removed will occupy about the same time in acquiring the language of a new section. It will therefore be a loss of six years' time.'" It is not necessary to say that the rule was not enforced. The effort to transplant the time limit into foreign fields has proved a signal failure. The flower is too delicate to bloom outside of America, and will soon be among the rare specimens of an extinct species in this country. Is not the time lost in the study of a city population and of its great movements as great a waste as that involved in the study of a language? O, that common sense might rule in America as well as in India!

V. If the limitation were removed, although the average pastorate might not exceed three years, we would enjoy the benefit of the feeling throughout the Church and community that the pastor had come to stay. The condition of restfulness among the people and the inducement to plan for a long term would be of great value, although the pastorate might not continue more than three or five years. The entire town or city would

look upon the Methodist minister as a Christian citizen who might remain a lifetime, rather than as a transient visitor whose time of departure was absolutely fixed.

It will be proper to notice some of the objections often made to the proposed change:

1. It is affirmed that a limitation is essential to the permanency of the itinerancy; that is, the bishops would meet with the same difficulty which confronted Asbury, and would be unable to remove ministers after a long period of years by episcopal prerogative alone. We reply that ministers and churches have resisted the appointing power, when removals have been made against their will before the expiration of the limitation. But have any societies been lost to Methodism on that account, or has the old itinerant wheel been retarded in its regular revolution? Independent churches may be formed in other denominations, but rarely in ours. If there should occur a few troublesome exceptions, would it not be better to endure a little friction than to weaken all the splendid machinery of Methodism? How does the removal of the limitation work in Germany, Switzerland, India, and our other foreign fields? Is there rebellion anywhere when missionaries are removed who have been ten, twenty, or thirty years in charge of the same mission? Why, then, look for serious results under similar conditions in America? On the other hand, what bishop would endeavor to move men as desirous of remaining as the people were to retain them? Suppose one had removed Spurgeon. When people entered London they would have said, "Where is Spurgeon now?" To this would be answered, "O, somewhere in Scotland!" We cannot utilize the power of some men in personality and in eloquence unless there is given them a single position to maintain for many years. Some champions of the time limit tremble over the possibility of losing a few rebellious ministers and churches in the event of the removal of the restriction; but they are not frightened over the thousands of laymen and scores of ministers who leave Methodism because of the time limit. They exclaim: "Joy go with them; we can well afford to lose them; the mission of Methodism is, in part, to reinforce the other Churches." O, consistency, thou art a jewel!

With about ninety-five per cent of the Methodist ministry

the limitation is removed already, except that it stands before them as a rebuke for failing to remain a full term. If the bishops find no difficulty in moving ninety-five per cent of our ministry before the expiration of the five years, why may we not trust the episcopal power and the loyalty of the remaining five per cent and remove the legal barrier altogether? In the Southern California Conference, of which the writer is a member, out of a membership of one hundred and forty-six only two ministers have completed the five-year pastorate, and only one is on his fifth year at the present time. Not a single presiding elder has completed the full term of six years, although five men might have done so had they remained in the office to the present time. In the Puget Sound Conference, among its one hundred and twenty-eight members, not one is on his fifth year. In eastern Conferences we are aware there is a larger proportion of five-year men, where great cities demand longer pastorates; but the number will probably not exceed five per cent of the whole. Is not, then, the time limit virtually removed from about fourteen thousand traveling preachers, while its iron grasp clutches only about seven hundred ministers who are struggling manfully for freedom? Shall we not aid this minority to lay aside the weight that they may run the race more successfully?

2. It is also claimed that the removal of the limitation would allow heresies to take deep root in certain sections of Methodism, resulting in the final alienation of the local society. If it be true that we have heretical ministers within our fold would it not be a wiser plan to confine the evil to a single charge, where it could finally be utterly destroyed, than to transfer the deadly plant and scatter its noxious seed among a dozen charges? Cut out the cancer, though it kills one church, rather than transmit the disease to multitudes, even on the supposition that the many would become only slightly infected.

3. It is claimed that the most popular ministers would retain the best appointments, leaving the younger pastors no opportunity of promotion. Does this condition of things obtain in sister Churches? Remove the legal restriction, and two other limitations remain. The desire of ministers and people for a change and the removals by death are sufficient to change about one fifth of the ministry in any denomination every year.

There is therefore a compulsory itinerancy, without the operation of the time-limit, in all the Churches, which opens some city appointments every year; and the young pastor who has outgrown his country charge will gravitate to the city as certainly as water seeks its level.

4. Many articles have been written extolling the itinerancy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, describing our admirable system of appointing fifteen thousand ministers yearly, and showing how our organization is very like that of the national government—our bishops corresponding to the justices of the Supreme Court, who are elected for life, our General Conference to Congress, our Annual Conferences to the several States, our District Conferences to the counties, and our Quarterly Conferences to the towns and cities. We are told, also, that every charge is supplied with a minister and every minister appointed to a charge, with planetary regularity rather than with the comet-like uncertainty of the other denominations. But what has this to do with the time limit? We had the itinerancy many years before the time limit was born, and the grand itinerancy of Methodism will live on in a larger life after the time limit is dead. The terms "itinerancy" and "time limit" are not synonymous, nor are they united as were the once famous Siamese twins, to whom separation meant death. The time limit is only an attachment put upon the machinery of the itinerancy as an experiment, at the request of one man; and, after nearly a hundred years of trial, the Church is ready to remove the attachment and return to the system of itinerancy bequeathed to us by John Wesley. One of the proofs of the immortality of the soul is the fact that a person may lose the senses of hearing, seeing, tasting, and smelling, while the soul itself remains unimpaired; is it not, then, reasonable to conclude that the man will remain when the sense of feeling is destroyed? May we not use a similar argument in reasoning about the preservation of the itinerancy? The time limit lost a portion of its force in 1864, when the extension to three years was voted, but the itinerancy seemed invigorated rather than impaired. At the General Conference of 1888 the time limit lost nearly all its remaining force, while the itinerancy, the soul of connectional Methodism, seemed stronger than ever. Therefore, if the last spark of life in the time limit should go

out forever in 1896, the principle of the itinerancy would feel no fatal shock, but would move on untrammeled to the grander achievements of the coming century.

In closing it may be well to add utterances of two representative men on this question of the removal of the limitation. Dr. R. S. Storrs some time since thus expressed his views:

> I should fear that the strong tendency must be, if other men are as dependent as I am on outside incentives, to lead them to rest, after several removes, in past preparations, rather than to brace themselves for fresh research and recent thought. The systematic forecast of mind which plans for results only to be reached after years of labor, would seem to me likely to give place in this scheme to a hasty scramble for immediate effects, accomplished by startling immediate efforts. And there certainly is a power which comes with years to one who has long guided a congregation, baptizing, marrying, and burying its members and becoming familiar with family traits, experiences, history—a power which cannot be transferred to others, and which no more can be gained in a brief pastorate than a wheat harvest can be extemporized. This seems to me an evil to be remedied. The Church will never have its just power in populous cities until its ministers have the opportunity to get fully identified with the life of such cities and to take, as they ought, a leading part in their educational and social development. I have no doubt that the practical sagacity of the Methodist mind, for which I have an unfeigned admiration, will find a way to remove ere long what seems to me a grave defect.

And Bishop Goodsell, in the *Review* for January, 1893, after showing that strong churches grow about strong men, continues:

> Dearly loving and highly honoring our own Methodist Episcopal Church, ought we not to ask, in view of these facts, whether much of our tenuity in the great cities is not due to the rapidly fading remnant of an itineracy of which we have had little, practically, since the abandonment of the old circuit system? Have we not sacrificed the man to the system, and so have we not been fighting against the providence of God?

E. W. Caswell.

Art. IX.—THE REIGN OF THE SPECIALIST IN OUR SCHOOLS.

American education has received of late a wonderful impulse from German pedagogy. Ever since our young men have frequented European universities and there imbibed the spirit of progress there has been an improvement in the former routine methods of instruction in our institutions of learning. The change for the better has been so radical that it could be termed the American educational *renaissance*. A new spirit has been infused into our schools, and courses of study have been changed to meet the demands of our modern intellectual life. With the introduction of European university methods the aim of the college professor has also undergone a change. It is no longer his ambition to be considered a successful teacher, but rather to be known as a specialist.

It must, however, not be forgotten that the average American college is far from being, either in organization, purpose, or scope, the equal of the European university. If its curriculum embraces much more than a German gymnasium or a French *lycée* it undertakes work that it cannot do thoroughly. In view of this fact it is not necessary that its chairs be filled by men of extraordinary attainments in any one specialty. The questions asked when a vacancy is to be filled in our high schools, academies, and institutions of collegiate grade should not be, "What original research has the candidate made? What books or learned treatises has he written? Where has he studied? What degrees has he taken? Has he been abroad?" but, "What is his ability as a teacher? Can he arouse the students to activity? Can he inspire them with a love of the true and the good? Has he correct views of education? Is he hedged in by a specialty? Does he drive a hobby? Is he a man of good morals and correct habits, and will his influence on the youth coming under his instruction be salutary?" These and similar questions, however trite, are far more important than those pertaining to one-sided scholarship, which so often determines the choice of a man when a vacancy is to be filled. Of course, a candidate for a certain position should be intellectually, as well as otherwise, thoroughly qualified to fill it. What I mean

to say is that in order to be a successful teacher in the secondary school or average college he need not be a specialist in the sense in which the term is now generally understood. For example, to teach Latin successfully one need not be a Sanskrit scholar, and an acquaintance with Provençal and Old Spanish does not enable one to impart with greater ease the ability to read, write, and speak French—the only objects aimed at by those studying that language in our schools of secondary or collegiate grade. A minute knowledge of fossils may be of great satisfaction to the possessor thereof, but the teacher of science in the ordinary academy or college can make but limited use of it in the school room. From a desire to be scientific in their instruction teachers are often tempted to slight those things that are essential to the pupils and to indulge their private tastes for subjects which the students ought to postpone to a later day. Common sense would seem to indicate, for example, that before the study of Germanic philology can be pursued advantageously by the American student the German language should be mastered first. And yet there are institutions whose undergraduates, though they cannot read German at sight nor write it with an ordinary correctness, are pursuing, perhaps as an elective, the study of Gothic or some other branch of Teutonic philology.

It has become the style in many schools to teach all about a subject, but not the subject itself. Some teachers consider all elementary and practical work beneath their dignity; they would have their pupils fly before their wings have grown. They ignore the fact that the average undergraduate is little interested in roots, etymologies, collated texts, and the rest of the material which constitutes the philologist's stock in trade, but rather in acquiring a mastery of the languages themselves which they are studying. Why, then, should the teacher in a school of collegiate grade wish to work according to the methods of university professors, by using the classic page for the purpose of tracing words through the cognate languages or by commenting on a critical point in the text with an enthusiasm that would merit admiration if it were opportune or lavished on a worthier object? The fact is, the method of many a modern teacher has lost touch with the needs and capacity of the pupils intrusted to his care.

I do not depreciate the value of philology to a teacher of language. It is to him in a certain sense what chemistry is to the physician and anatomy to the surgeon. On the contrary, I think the broader his linguistic attainments are the better will he be qualified for his work. But in the case of the average teacher philology must be considered simply his stock in trade, his reserve power, on which he can draw at will for purposes of illustration as occasion may require. The same holds good with many other branches of learning. The object of most American colleges and of all secondary schools is not to train specialists, but to educate symmetrically the young people intrusted to their care. We should distinguish between the teacher as an educator and the teacher as a specialist. They are two persons with widely different objects in view. The aim of the one is to develop his pupils into a symmetrical manhood and womanhood and to prepare them for the duties and responsibilities of life. The aim of the other is much more circumscribed. His purpose is to prepare a few men and women for particular vocations by imparting the comprehensive knowledge necessary for their successful pursuit. The latter work, however, comes legitimately within the range of the university and the special school. Hence, what I am finding fault with is the tendency to introduce these special studies and methods into schools of lower grade, thereby circumscribing and limiting the more important educational work. I do not hesitate to assert, therefore, that it is more important that the professors in our colleges and secondary schools be great teachers than great specialists. If they not only understand thoroughly the branches they undertake to teach, but are also many-sided men and women with broad views and educational scope, they will benefit the youth frequenting these institutions more than if they undertake work which is out of place and which they cannot hope to do thoroughly, because they lack the proper material to work upon.

Many of these would-be specialists are not only one-sided and narrow-minded, but their attainments in general knowledge are also inferior. I have met some of them who, in spite of their high-sounding academic titles, were utterly lost when off their beaten track. One, a philologist, on a certain occasion inquired whether there were not two kinds of potatoes, one kind grow-

ing in the ground, the other above ground. Another, a mathematician, wanted to know whether the name Gudrun did not mean a German city. A third, a scientist, did not know that there are two Frankforts in Germany. I could extend the list. Such cases tend to show that men of one idea, especially those that have become so by a premature forcing process, are not the most desirable persons to conduct the studies of the youth in our secondary and collegiate institutions.

Though arrogance and sham are to be deprecated, no one will withhold respect from a really meritorious man who has devoted not a few semesters at some foreign institution and whose reputation centers in that fact, but the best years of his life to the acquisition of that profound knowledge which fits him eminently for original investigation and elevates him above his compeers. Such men deserve the name of specialist. They are the proper persons to fill the chairs in our universities and highest schools of learning. And it certainly rejoices the heart of every true American that we have many such eminent men, representing the various brancheso f learning, whom we need not hesitate to compare with others of like stamp across the Atlantic.

This one-sided view of education by men of one idea who are imitating university methods is working mischief among the pupils of our secondary schools. They are imparting their spirit to the immature youth under their instruction, some of whom are injured thereby in their educational career. Boys and girls are devoting to some "elective" or "specialty" the time which they ought to spend upon other studies. Of course, this is usually the fault of their instructors, who, caring more for their own hobbies than for the symmetrical development of their pupils' minds, not only allow, but even encourage, them to go on.

Instead of making students more accurate and thorough, the teacher who rides a hobby often accomplishes the reverse. In his attempt to treat the subject exhaustively he generally introduces a text-book which is by far too full and comprehensive for his class. It is not unusual to see books used in secondary schools that are quite above the capacity of those studying them. How can a class of immature learners master the contents of a manual of six hundred octavo pages in a term of twelve weeks?

And yet such and similar impossibilities are not rare undertakings in our schools. The inevitable result is neglect of other, usually more important, studies by the few that are interested in the subject, and superficial acquirements, followed by disgust, on the part of the rest of the class.

That the particular branches taught by the various professors in our collegiate institutions are, as a rule, considered by them all-important is clearly demonstrated at the educational conventions held from time to time. The questions there discussed are generally such as pertain to the relative importance of the studies constituting the curricula of our schools. Each teacher, as a matter of course, defends the branch represented by him; whereas the more important questions affecting the students' morals and their future welfare are too often ignored. In a paper read at a recent convention of college teachers the merits of the natural sciences as a means of discipline were duly exalted. The speaker claimed, among other things, that no other study is so well adapted to develop the observing faculties as flowers, animals, and minerals. In the discussion that followed a professor of ancient languages asserted that a Greek manuscript would answer the purpose equally well!

This craze for specialists, specialties, and electives has had more than one injurious result. In the first place, the schoolmaster of the stamp of a Mann, Arnold, or Diesterweg has become rare. In our higher schools the educator has, to an alarming extent, been supplanted by the specialist. But what is more deplorable, this spirit has been infused into the schools of lower grade. The dead mechanism and routine of former years have given way to the "new education," which too often shines only in borrowed light reflected from our higher institutions or from Germany. Children are overburdened with an array of studies at which an adult might recoil. Boys and girls who should be kept at their three R's are introduced into regions of knowledge far beyond their capacity and, in order to bring about visible results, their brains are gauged from time to time by stringent examinations and their papers—not their normal mental growth and healthy progress—accordingly marked on the scale of one hundred.

There will in due time be a revolt against the reign of the specialist, experimenter, bogus reformer, and hobbyist in our

schools. In Germany the reaction has already begun. The words lately uttered by the emperor are full of significance to us Americans no less than to his subjects. Intellectual education in certain directions has evidently been overdone in Germany, and the day is not distant when similar protests will be heard here. But the reaction will have to originate with the people and necessary reforms be brought about by them. There is little hope that the schools will institute any change in this direction of their own accord. With them education is mostly *Selbstzweck* from the kindergarten to the university, and the branches taught are objects of paramount importance. The lack of centralization in matters pertaining to education leaves little hope that the defects mentioned can be remedied by State authority; and the various educational conventions meeting from time to time have no power to restrict the experimenter with his ever-changing plans, or the specialist with his hobbies, or even to define their legitimate domains should it be considered expedient to do so.

Victor Wilker.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

A VENERABLE bishop lately said to a Christian congregation that the centuries have never seen a time when it was so necessary as it is to-day for laity, as well as clergy, to incorporate the utmost attainable intelligence with their religion. The age demands reasons. Even the papal Church shows signs of perceiving that the temper of the modern mind is such that the attempt to indoctrinate by force of authority is certain to be resisted and must prove disastrous to the authority which attempts it. Rome shows increasing deference to the free intelligence of the world. An eminent university president says that "throughout all education, both of the school and of the family, there has been too much reliance on the principle of authority, and too little on the progressive and persistent appeal to the reason." It is not unusual to find those who have received views and doctrines simply upon authority coming to the day when they demand of themselves and of their teachers, "*Why do I believe these things?*" The shock, too, of having heard these doctrines denied and their faith ridiculed as credulity sometimes precipitates inquiry. The skeptical or perplexed catechumen, disciple, or hearer appears in every Sabbath school, congregation, seminary, and college. To him who studies to serve and guide his fellow-men great is the satisfaction of encountering and the privilege of helping the inquiring mind. A pastor felt this when, at the close of service, three young men came to the foot of the pulpit stairs to ask if certain statements in his sermon were really true just as he had put them. This questioning showed an interest more gratifying to him than an expression of their mere pleasure, phrased in compliment, could have been. It let him see exactly where they were in their thinking, gave him a momentary chance at them then and light by which to train his guns on them thereafter. In our editorial in this issue on "Minds in Opposition," we have written chiefly of exceptional types and attitudes of mind; yet these are sufficiently prevalent to make it almost certain that every teacher and preacher will sometime be put to the test of facing their interrogations and demands.

"THE HERESY OF THE METHODISTS."

PROFESSOR BLACKIE, of the University of Edinburgh, writing of the origin of Methodism, after declaring that it was no part of John Wesley's original intention "to be other than a loyal-hearted adherent of the English Episcopal Church," draws from the history two lessons which he sets forth as follows:

What, then, was the cause of the separation? Not doctrine, certainly, nor form of government, but simply a noble passion for an aggressive Gospel for which he had no field in the regulated routine of local service in the Established Church. The eighteenth century, both in England and Scotland, was a season of quiescent recoil from the civil and secular convulsions of the seventeenth; and, whatever might be its virtues, the Church certainly could not boast of any of the impassioned zeal for a high moral ideal by which the Christian Church in past ages had combated and conquered a world that lieth in wickedness. There lies, also, in the very nature of an Established Church, as a formally fixed organism of moral service, an aversion to irregular impulses and a tendency to confine its action within the bounds of a prescribed propriety. This was all very well if the Church could be looked on merely as a sort of school of the higher ethics for adults, in which the evangelical schoolmaster had nothing to do but lead the scholars through an authorized series of sacred lessons and then dismiss the class; but what of those who could not, or would not, at any rate did not, come to school—a class of which there were great multitudes at that time, as there always will be, not only in the slums and dark dens of large towns, but in the streets and byways, wandering loose all over the land? For these the Established Church of that time, with its well-marked parishes, rare old chapels, and nicely intoned liturgies, had made no provision; and the hundreds and thousands of unclaimed and degraded creatures, with no wisdom but that of the lowest and most material type, were lying at the gate of the vicarage or the porch of the episcopal palace without any evangelist to help or even to dream of helping them. Take the analogy of a well-walled and well-cultivated garden, richly stocked with odoriferous flowers, succulent herbs, and fruitful trees, with nothing wanting to please the eye and gratify the appetite of the most fastidious beholder, all within the inclosure and under the care of a skillful gardener, without fault or failure, as perfect as any field of mortal culture may be; but cast your eye outside, and you behold nothing all round but a vast stretch of serviceable soil, with a rich crop of briers and brambles and wild flowers, but altogether unconscious from year's end to year's end of the spade of the tiller or scythe of the mower. Even such a face did the great body of Englishmen in neglected regions present to the apostolic eye of John Wesley in the year 1740. But he was not the man to rest content with feeding on the luxury of what had been achieved in the rich field of spiritual gardening by the regular gardeners; he would travel forth from Oxford, as St. Paul did from Jerusalem, and conquer the world for Christ, as Julius Cæsar did the political world for Rome. Such was the heresy of the Methodists; and the great lesson which we learn from it is that the real heretic against whom St. Paul would have lifted up his voice was not the man whose name now stands at the head of a well-compacted spiritual body of Christian soldiers, but the commander of the regular army, whose blindness to the advance

of the enemy caused a loyal officer to desert the ranks and draw the sword for king and country on his own score.

Such is the first lesson that a thoughtful man learns from Methodism, and the second follows close upon it. If, on the one hand, the State Church is justly punished for its laxity by the loss of a large section of natural adherents, on the other hand there is a great gain when the glaring magnitude of her loss leads her to a pious recognition of her offense and spurs her to a noble rivalry with her once noble sister and now honorable opponent. As, when a careless boy at school sees the prize which he deemed his own carried off by a less talented but more diligent fellow-student, his pride is aroused, and in a fit of noble self-indignation he girds himself manfully for a public regainment of his proper position in the class, so the English Church of the last century, for a season lamed in her noblest function by the exclusive dominance of a formal propriety in her services, has been stirred into a vigorous display of popular sympathy and apostolic aggressiveness by John Wesley and George Whitefield.

This expression of the views of a now venerable Scotchman, distinguished for scholarship and culture, touching one of the most momentous chapters in ecclesiastical history is of sufficient interest to justify our quoting it in these pages, although in reference to some things he uses a mildness of phraseology which our understanding of the history would not permit us to adopt. The condition of the Established Church at the time when Wesley led his great crusade for vital godliness is not correctly represented under the analogy of a "well-cultivated garden, richly stocked with odoriferous flowers, succulent herbs, and fruitful trees, with nothing wanting to please the eye." It was not under the care of skillful gardeners, "without fault or failure, as perfect as any field of mortal culture may be." On the contrary, many of the gardeners were indolent, negligent, and often absent, the trees were fruitless, and the inclosed garden was much overgrown with weeds. The garden of the Lord had become like the vineyard of the slothful, until in many places there was not much to choose between the condition of things inside the walled inclosure of the Church and the unfenced and untilled wild moorlands outside. Wesley was as much a missionary of awakening to the culpably delinquent Church as he was a messenger of salvation to the pitiably neglected multitudes. If only the Church had been wise enough to receive the message instead of casting out God's holy prophet!

INDIA AND CHINA.

The discussion as to the comparative merits and claims of China and India as mission fields, which began at the annual meeting of the General Missionary Committee last November,

continues in various places and occupies some space in the "Arena" of our present issue. The discussion is every way good. It will intensify and extend the interest of which it is the evidence, and will increase and correct the Church's knowledge of the facts. It is conducted by the servants of Him who gave himself for all tribes and races alike, and it will in the end profit both India and China. Some years ago, when no debate was on, the present editor of the *Review*, after making a study of China in connection with the life of Bishop Wiley, wrote as follows:

If new beatitudes were to be pronounced might it not be said, "Blessed is that servant of the Lord Jesus who has given manhood's morning and life's last expiring energies to the redemption of China?" Is there any mission field where the results are more firm and permanent? The divine power of the Gospel is seen in its making headway in two nations so widely different as China and India; but constitutional differences might be expected to be perceptible in the results of work in the two countries. Observe the Chinaman, with his short neck, shrewd, oblique eye, and practical look. Dr. Wentworth says you could almost as easily deceive Satan as a Chinaman. He is the common-sense man of affairs, thrifty, sober, unideal, matter-of-fact, astute, careful in his accounts. Americans and Englishmen sometimes call him, with fine superciliousness, "a trader." Look at the Hindoo, with his slender figure, high, narrow forehead, deep, pensive eyes. He is dreamy, imaginative, metaphysical, speculative, more apt to live in the clouds than to take account of practical matters. The difficulty in China would naturally be to make any impression, to divert attention from earthly affairs to the concerns of a spiritual realm. Once really secure attention, and truth might be expected to take effect. In India, on the contrary, it must be comparatively easy to catch listeners for eternal themes, but the trouble would be to carry persuasion home through all the intricacies in which they involve the argument; and while the missionary might obtain ready hearing he would experience difficulty in holding the subtle, philosophizing, visionary mind to firm convictions and clear-cut doctrines, converts having a tendency to slip through the meshes of reasoning or drift away in misty dreams from all firm hold on anything.

But as for the Chinaman, only arrest his attention, penetrate his thick imperviousness, carry the citadel of his convictions with Christianity's phalanx of facts, induce him to test its claims, and you will have a stable, determined Christian, a man for hard work, steady service, executive management, and early self-direction. The proportion of apostates and backsliders in China ought to be small. The Chinese are of the stuff to make stubbornly heroic Christians, many successors in holy obstinacy to Ling Ching Ting, as many martyrs as may be necessary to the victory of the faith in the Celestial Empire. Gordon's admiration for the sturdy qualities of the Chinese comes out in his Khartoum journals. He longs for Chinese soldiers in the Soudan, and would like to see India garrisoned with them. The trial of faith in China was severe; but after the Gospel had proved its power by actual and stable results is there any place where laborers more distinctly receive the assurance, "Your labor is not in vain?"

Happy Bishop Wiley!—to have bestowed his earliest, longest, last, and most loving labor on a field where increasing results are so sure, solid, and abiding. His pioneer work contributed to introduce the leaven of Bible truth into a

compact nation of from three to four hundred millions, all using the same written language. He stands inseparably identified with the brightest hope of a venerable, rich, sagacious, and powerful empire having an area equal to the whole of Europe, the oldest nation in existence, and likely, despite Russian ambitions in Central Asia, to maintain its colossal integrity for all the future; an empire not to be dismembered or subjugated by foreign powers, in which respect the lax, disbanded, unorganized millions of India—a medley of something like twenty-eight diverse races and thirty-five nations, with half a hundred languages—bear no comparison with the cohesive, industrious, energetic, unified population of China.

If one would labor and die where he will never be forgotten, could he find a better place than China? It is the land of records. Its archives hold the systematic history of three thousand years. Its chronology records the founding of the Chow dynasty a hundred years before David was king of Israel, and of the Hia dynasty a thousand years before the rise of the Assyrian empire. China will keep her Christian annals as scrupulously as her pagan. No one doubts that a millennium hence Shee-Hoang-Te, the national hero who built the Great Wall two centuries before Christ, will be as well remembered as to-day. In China it is possible that a thousand years hence a Christian city on the banks of the Min may point, with native reverence for forefathers still, to the secluded valley in which is our bishop's grave, and speak of Hwaila Kangtok as one of the fathers of the Church, one of the chief ancestors of Christianity in China. Most blessed servant of the Most High, that God should make his grave in the land of long memories!

The spacious and splendid opportunities now opening in India give us no reason for modifying what we wrote in 1885 concerning China. Doubtless some one will some day in like manner and with good reason write: "Happy Bishop Thoburn! to have given his life-labor to India, first to till that field, then to gather the white harvests thereon, and at last to lay his body to rest under the feet of the busy band of reapers, who shall bind the golden sheaves of God's endless harvests in India."

RENANISM IN SOCIAL LIFE.

THE papers have been circulating the last sayings of Renan, the leading anti-Christian of this century. He admits in these last words grave doubts about the success of his ideas. Of course he expects the ultimate death of supernaturalism. They all do. "A new middle age" of Churches and "an eclipse of civilization" are coming, he thought at the last. This means that he got to realize that a few hundred skeptical philosophers do not constitute the world, and that Christianity has gone on its way as complacently as the fabled ox on whose horn a fly had alighted. It has long been understood that Renan undid his hostile critical work by his frank admiration of the character of

Jesus. That character is the everlasting voucher for the supernaturalism Jesus taught.

This seems a good time to point out one reason why the world will not accept Renan in place of Jesus. The great French skeptic disclosed it in these same last words—"The Greek work will go on forever." The word "Greek" has two values; in one of them it is a light to think by, in the other it is a rule to live by. In the first sense Greek influence is undying; in the other, the practical world has no faith in it—it is a synonym for social failure, and the success of society is the chief human concern of the modern world. This practical world takes for granted science, research, education—in one word, Greek light. It has also settled for itself, and settled it forever, that Greek life was the most stupendous failure of all time—in great part because Greek light inundated the whole of Hellenic history and disclosed the yawning depths of its social disasters. The French imitations of Greek life, its revolutions and its communes, have not commended Hellenic social ideas and order.

Renan and his followers have made the French illustrations of Greek life especially interesting to practical men. We have no call to defend nor disposition to admire French Catholicism, but we are compelled to see that this Church is not responsible for the Greek imitations. The first thing the Parisian *plebs* does in a rising is to strike at the Church and announce its Renanian creed of negation. French Catholicism has had no small share in maintaining social order against mobs whom French philosophers have taught infidelity. And this we say, without denying the claim that the absurdities, corruptions, and tyrannies of Romanism are in part responsible for the making of infidels.

Of course Renan had no sympathy with the mobs; of course, also, he did not realize that he had contributed in his measure to the essentially Greek habits of these mobs. With singular blindness he seemed to associate rampant socialism with the Church, though every revolt in Paris from 1789 until now has professed some form of infidelity. Nor has an anarchist been found in France who attends mass or reads his Bible. This practical side of the Greek—this Hellenism in politics and in social crime—has received less attention than it deserves, because the scholar and the scientist are ashamed of the social failures of the Greek people and do not care to draw attention to them. But, outside of France, people of good sense can have no scruples to deter them from pointing out that invariably social disorder springs up in France

among the unbelieving mobs raised up by French "philosophers." The creed of the rabble and the anarchist is but a coarse form of that of Renan. Practical men the world over know this, and have a profound distrust of the kind of "light" which converts ignorant men into demons. As long as barbaric outbreaks fill their wild ranks with Renanians, so long will the world reject Greek life; and since Greek light by itself can lead to nothing better its limitations and insufficiency are so manifest as to constrain the sane and practical world to prefer that hallowed solar light which shines in the face of Jesus Christ.

MINDS IN OPPOSITION.

HUMAN oppositions are of many kinds. That there are different temperaments is generally recognized. As early as two thousand years ago an attempt was made to distinguish them under the four heads, choleric, sanguine, melancholy, and lymphatic. The kinds have been numbered as high as nine and as low as two. Temperament has been defined as the sum of the natural physical peculiarities of a man. A medical journal explains it to mean "the peculiar way in which the individual reacts to the stimuli of his environment." It may be said that there are antipathetic or porcupine temperaments that bristle toward their environment; their most natural impulse is repulse, they are chronic objectors, they incline not to assimilate the new, their acceptances are slow, their reconciliations reluctant. Such a temperament puts its owner in frequent if not incessant opposition. It is the recalcitrant disposition of a mule which receives approaches with his heels.

But we are not now to write of temperaments. If it be said that temperament is the sum of physical peculiarities and that there are different types, it is in like manner and no less true that there are various types of intellect, minds constructed in a peculiar way; and although the different types of mind have not been grouped and classified as distinctly as have the temperaments, they are nevertheless known to exist.

Several mental types are found exceptionally and extremely difficult to deal with in any effort at instruction, inculcation, or indoctrination. Every experienced spiritual instructor knows, for example, that there are certain dry, prosaic, literalizing minds which seem unable to grasp, and are little affected by, the mystical meanings of religion, and to whom, when they accept it, the

whole great matter reduces itself for the most part to a solemn and imperative obligation to righteousness and a conscientious, faithful doing of duty; minds with small faculty for spiritual conceptions, no vivid mental picturing power, little ability to interpret symbolic language (and most language is symbolic, especially when it deals with invisible and immaterial things), with sensibilities too dull to receive any delicate impression or to attain more than the faintest sense of communion with an unseen personality. Many things are difficult of explanation to this matter-of-fact and wooden sort of mind. It is not, however, of this type that we at present design particularly to speak.

It is well known that in many a circle there are oppositions of various kinds that can be relied on almost as confidently as the Gulf Stream. Occasionally in families, churches, conferences, legislatures, parties, boards of trustees or managers there are habitual opponents who are considerably surprised when by accident they find themselves once in a while both on the same side of a question. Of two customary antagonists in debate one could say of the other, "I knew the habits of his mind so well that I could predict which side of any question he would naturally take, and if I preferred that he should take a particular side I could generally insure it by getting in promptly and vigorously at the beginning on the opposite side."

Most of us have at some time been brought at least into circumstantial and adventitious relation with persons who uniformly took a position so remote from ours that a telephone was almost a necessity for any consultation; and if we desired to call them up through a central office we should be obliged to say, "Give me the antipodes!" It has come to be recognized that there is one specific type of mind which, for want of a better name, is described as polar. In the terms of logic, polaric opposition is the extremest possible opposition or contrast, as of black and white in colors. The mind we speak of is called polar for the reason that, so soon as any intellectual proposition, not axiomatic and self-evident, is stated, this mind instantly flies to the opposite standpoint, formulates without conscious purpose or effort the contradictory proposition, and inclines to stand just there until driven from it and rationally compelled to come round to the statement. In a deliberative assembly it argues and votes in the negative; on a jury it often constitutes a stubborn minority of one.

We judge that it might be possible by advertising to find a considerable number of parents, instructors, pastors, and employers

who have to deal daily with one peculiarly constituted mind which can usually be reckoned on for opposition. The expectation which locates him at the other pole and plans to deal with him there is seldom disappointed. If an affirmative proposition lifts its head this mind flings at it a negative; and if the proposition is negative the mental reaction is energetically positive. Like Diana on her tower, it inclines to shoot its arrow straight against the wind. Nothing puts so intense a strain on an instructor as is sometimes forced by an acute antagonizing mind, compelling him to answer offhand unexpected objections in connection with great subjects in the realm of philosophy, metaphysics, theology, or exegesis. To see straight and think clear and at the same moment formulate extempore replies, which shall not merely nonsuit the objection fairly, but be intelligible and convincing to the objector, exact the highest effort of the mind; and a chronic objector perpetuating such a strain may be a trial indeed.

But it is also true that such an occasion affords the teacher his most spacious and sparkling opportunity. It is the bugle of the tournament, which bids him ride the joust and show how readily truth can unhorse objection. Pressure puts the instructor at his best, and his most brilliant work is likely to be done in presence of a challenge. The objector sometimes renders a service to truth by eliciting its strongest statements, compelling it to call up its reserves and produce its uttermost evidence. One of the most unique, fresh, and cogent of modern evidential sermons shaped its outline instantaneously in the mind of an eminent educator, at the moment when he was driven to bay and put to his last proofs by the question of a pupil in his class room, "Why do you believe this?" The capable instructor likes such intellectual excitement. Life is worth living when definite opposition gives a chance to wrestle intelligently with it. Every good fisherman prefers the gamy fighting of the trout to the logy acquiescence of the pickerel. Nothing is so intolerable and deadly as stupid and apathetic agreement, which usually means indifference. A skilled instructor instigates dispute as a stirring antidote to the monotony of submission; he wakes up the class with startling and dubious questions. To break up stagnation he provokes combat and brings on a conflict of minds, till sometimes the air is a-sparkle as from the collision of flint and steel.

Some minds will receive things in bulk by an act of general consent and comprehensive trust, without going critically into details. Others have unquiet analytical propensities. They are

often found picking things to pieces, and are under a native necessity of thinking their way through a subject step by step. These are they who halt here and there over knotty points and must clear up those points intelligently, or at least exhaust all possible efforts so to do before they can go on. They are found now and then at a stand, asking questions, stating objections, and petitioning for light. A perilous misfortune is it for such a mind when it is surrounded by those who cannot answer its questions, have no patience with its demands, construe its attitude as disloyal, and regard its sincere inquiries—sincere none the less but all the more when intensely earnest and in manner somewhat peremptory—as a disrespect to the elders and an affront to sacred truth which must be promptly and sternly suppressed by its official custodians. Occasionally in some communions the questioner has been made to feel the heavy and repressive hand of authority laid on by a dull dogmatism too ignorant to explain or comprehend; and then sometimes there have followed the righteous resentment of a conscientious and faithful soul smarting under undeserved maltreatment and a revulsion which made a hopeless and everlasting breach. There is no denying that undue harshness and unwise haste have been in time past responsible for the loss of some who might have been saved if a capable and tactful rescuer had been at hand. In lamentable instances of dark, and fortunately for the most part distant, history, honest heads have been bruised for containing inquisitive brains. Let it be remembered all along that we speak thus only of sound and sincere souls who chance for a time to be in intellectual trouble, unable to assent to what is not clear to them. Happy is it, on the other hand, for the perplexed and pertinaciously questioning mind when some wise, gentle, skillful friend or teacher is at hand, who knows how to release the entangled and struggling reason. Many years ago a young minister of studious, searching, and philosophic mind used to take his difficult problems to Dr. Whedon, who was at the time his most accessible theological seminary. To-day he gratefully bears the following testimony: "Whedon was the only great man who did not make me feel like a fool. He would understand my difficulty, take me up just where I was hitched, and unsnarl me." In schools, academies, colleges, theological seminaries, and churches no little similar work of explanation, illumination, guidance, and deliverance is being done by well-informed pastors, wise elders, and capable instructors; and every day increases the number of those competent to do it.

Some of the cases requiring most discreet and judicious handling have belonged to the class of "polar" minds. Though often difficult, it has generally been found possible to manage them successfully on the side of right reason and Christian truth, even when only a few primary convictions were imbedded in them. A gentleman fishing at Punta Gorda, Fla., got a big tarpon, six feet long and weighing one hundred and twenty eight pounds, on his hook. He treated him gently, gave him plenty of line, and let him run. If he had been violent with him, if he had tugged and jerked, he would have snapped the line or torn the hook loose. The line was light, long, slender, strong. He played him for an hour. The fish tried every way to get off; he dove, he rose, he darted to and fro, he ran straight away. It was of no use. The hook was deep in, the line too strong. The big fellow tired himself out and gave up. The fisherman landed him, not by force, but by patience, not by a net woven of many lines, but with only one. This is a parable for those whom Christ has made fishers of men. Every soul has some one conviction which may be used to bring him to the Lord. A young man, under religious conviction, but in great mental bewilderment over problems of thought, most of which were unfamiliar to him and all of which were too vast for him, sought an interview with a minister, who asked him to state his difficulties. After listening to a list of things concerning which the visitor said, "I cannot believe these things," the pastor said, "Well, what *do* you believe?" And with explosive emotion the quick answer leaped from his lips, as if he loved to say it, "I believe in God *tremendously.*" With that one blessed divine conviction hooked deep into the vitals of his soul it should have been possible with the aid of prayer to land him completely on broad and solid Christian faith; and so it was. Blessed is the man who believes something tremendously! It is better to believe one holy central fundamental truth mightily than to hold a thousand tenets languidly, listlessly, coldly. It is not the length of his credo that saves or empowers a man.

All truth has native and affinitive relation with the normal mind, although ever and evermore religious truth is under necessity to win its way over outworks of reluctance and resistance, by which its access to the mind is frequently obstructed. A serene and discerning seer has written, "There is for every man a statement possible of that truth which he is most unwilling to receive—a statement possible so broad and pungent that he cannot get away from it, but must either bend to it or die of it."

The problem in each special case is to frame that comprehensive, lucid, and convincing statement so fitly for the particular and peculiar individual mind, that he "shall not be able to hide from himself that something has been shown him which he did not wish to see" and which disposes of him because he cannot dispose of it. The certainty that it is possible to frame such statement gives the signal to go ahead with the attempt; and the reward is sweet, for there is no higher joy than to bring the lost and wandering mind out of the woods into the open, to fetch the doubter flush with the necessary conviction he has hung back from, and to see Truth, robed in the beauty of holiness, lay her soft hand upon him, while a voice like unto the voice of the Son of man is heard overhead saying to him, "Truth is my deputy and you are my prisoner." No higher joy, did we say? Hold! there is one joy which, if not higher, is at least more intense and intimate, and that is the rapture of the captured soul when it finds itself in the beatific embrace of the truth it was born for but perhaps for long time fled from, and with a sacred and final gladness, as of the bride unto the bridegroom, exclaims, "Home at last! I am my Lord's and he is mine." Nothing can match the bliss of such captivity.

Not every case of skepticism is entitled to courtesy. The genuine and the spurious, the virtuous and the vicious, must be distinguished. The more capable and masterful an instructor is the greater his power of discrimination, and the less likely is he either to be harsh toward any inquiry that can possibly be construed as sincere or to be imposed on by the unprincipled troubler. The late Dr. Jowett, the famous master of Balliol College, Oxford, evidently was a discerner of spirits. One day he was met in the "quad" by an undergraduate who informed him that he, for his part, could find no positive evidence of the existence of God. Quickly perceiving that he had on his hands a shallow-pated, bumptious, agnostic sprig, the wise and resolute master, always patient toward a real case of distress from having been in distress himself, but never to be trifled with by pretenders, took the trenchant and decisive way of dealing with this pretentious case, and struck it smartly a stinging blow after this fashion: "Well, Mr. B., if you do not find a God by five o'clock this afternoon you will leave this college!" A simple bit of surgery, done with neatness and dispatch; the pus let out of that tumefaction with one stroke of the lancet!

Amid the variety of phases which questioning takes on, caution

and discrimination are necessary to intelligent action, and a knowledge when to resort to the knife and when to use emollients. It is desirable to make sure whether it is at bottom a case of captious quibbling, a penchant for eccentricity, a propensity to shock the orthodox, an itch for notoriety, a mental instability unable to settle, always unfixed, forever dallying with something forbidden; whether it may be the rebellious current of young blood against established things, a wanton effort to annoy and discomfit the teachers and guardians of traditional views, a spirit like that of the insurgent, in Halévy's Parisian story, born on the wrong side of the barricade and pledged to fight "against the government—always, always, always!" no matter what that government might be; or whether there is under it a motive which entitles it to respect, patience, and assistance.

For the wickedness of what the Bible denounces as unbelief no syllable of apology can be spoken. As to the willful and obdurate rejecter of the truth, we can only stand sorrowfully aside while the terrible anathema of Holy Scripture goes blazing and crushing to its mark. Yet in order to deal justly with minds in opposition it is needful to remember that under the surface skepticism of some there may lie a faith as deep as the sea. They are skeptical only in the original root meaning of the term, the Greek word from which it is derived signifying thoughtful, reflective, looking cautiously about, considering carefully—in this sense skeptics, but far away from being infidels, unbelievers, deniers.

W. W. Story, in his poem entitled, "A Roman Lawyer in Jerusalem," embodies in verse the theory that Judas delivered Jesus into hostile hands because he had boundless faith in his divine Master, and thought it no harm to put him in a situation which would compel him to put forth all his glorious power at once, destroy his enemies, and set up his victorious kingdom. The New Testament makes it impossible for us to accept this whitewashing theory about the betrayer of our Lord. Nevertheless it is a fact that, behind the severe tests to which some exacting minds subject whatever claims to be true, there is the unuttered faith that truth is able to vindicate itself as such by silencing and overpowering everything that can come against it. They have no sympathy with infidelity or Pyrrhonism. They are certain that truth can be known and established. In the center of their souls is the belief that truth is invincible, and that, while "error dies of blood poisoning from a pin scratch, truth will get well though run over by a locomotive." They expect the truth to

answer all reasonable questions in a manner as straight as a line of light, as clear as crystal, and as steady as a sharpshooter's aim. They want divine truth to get itself up from behind the mountains, burn its way through the mists as the morning sun does, and dazzle them with its splendor, that they may know it for what it is. They are in dead earnest, and are determined not to be put off with anything less than absolute and some way demonstrable reality. They do not deny the word of prophecy, but only want it made more sure to them; therefore they serve on you a writ of certiorari. It is axiomatic that a divine revelation must be so related to the intellectual and moral nature that when honestly considered and examined by a seeker after truth he will find that its line is flawless and its hook is bedded so deep in the inmost tissues of his being that he cannot get away without tearing his very vitals out.

Youth in general is given to pushing against law, authority, and doctrine. It delights to put them in straits just to see what they will do, experimenting even with the Ten Commandments to find out whether they are founded on fact. This tentative youthful insubordination is intensified in some cases by a peculiar native indisposition to take anything on trust merely out of respect for authority. We hear of a precocious child who, when an attempt to teach him the alphabet began with "That's A," immediately said, "How do you know it is A?" Now and then we encounter an honorable, frank, and fearless mind which habitually and instinctively challenges all traditions; never submits out of diffidence, courtesy, or mere deference to age and experience; cannot be subdued by iteration, as in one case we are told that "The poor young fellow, continually hearing the same thing put to him, gave in;" but requests of every affirmation its credentials, and will have reasons for accepting before it accepts. Christianity is the only religion among men that can safely and gladly welcome such a mind. Looking on such a one, Jesus loves him. The Gospel cries, "Believe, believe!" yet is only too happy when any human intelligence with honorable intent straightens itself erect and replies, "On what compulsion must I? Tell me that!" There are compulsions by reason of which a sane and open-minded person must believe. This is what makes thinking a jubilee to the Christian reasoner and logic a spiritual ecstasy.

A young man at majority has broken into the intellectual world and finds himself in the presence of institutions, systems, and establishments. Some system of doctrine stands before him,

built up by men of previous ages who are nothing but names to him. He has never examined its foundations, does not know if it has any, thinks as he walks about it, "If I can upset this structure it is not well founded. I'll try it." He begins to batter the walls with intellectual catapult and ram, he pries and digs. Thus he gets acquainted with the foundation; discovers what buried buttresses support it; finds it grooved and riveted into the very frame of things, wedged away down into the central widths of the world; knows now that it is solid and immovable, built upon rock against which the gates of hell shall not prevail; moves into it and settles down, content for time and eternity in its castellated security. Every well-founded structure is well pleased to feel the pickax and crowbar of examiners smiting and prying at its foundation. An exultant thrill runs through its sound timbers, and its molecules make merry at every stroke. They who know what Christianity's fortress is built of and built on are not in trepidation lest rationalizing critics or World's Parliaments of Religions or anything else shall undermine or demolish it.

It is important also to bear in mind that there are certain critical periods of later life and various bodily conditions especially liable to be beset by intellectual as well as physical disturbances. There are in nature electric storms which so disturb the magnetic currents that the needle of the most reliable compass loses sight of the pole and whirls about like a poor bewildered thing at the mercy of wild elements. When the disturbance subsides the needle gets its bearings and settles once more into steadiness as faithful as its intent was all the time pure and loyal. Similarly, there are in human nature certain abnormal nervous states when the brain is disturbed and the mind slips its cable and drifts about in the dark with no sight of sun or star, driven by strange currents and veering winds. This condition is pathological; its victim is a sufferer, often unable to see the grounds of faith and sometimes, while the crisis lasts, floating off into hopeless doubt, which may take the form of denial and possibly the aspect of bitter opposition. Frequently relief for such a case comes along the lines of physical treatment, with patient waiting on and, so far as possible, assisting the recovery of a normal nervous condition, until the mind regains its equilibrium as by the steadying of the throne on which it sits. Just here we cannot help remembering that it is written of an estimable woman, lately gone to God: "She was original and independent as a thinker, and sometimes seemed to doubt the postulates of the faith which at last she so fully received; but it was

always the earthen vessel, not the treasure it contained, which she questioned."

Apologetics should not constitute the entire staple of our preaching; yet teachers and preachers everywhere must be prepared to deal with minds in opposition—not only with the perversely obstinate "carnal mind" which is "enmity against God," but with honest minds unable, not unwilling, to see clearly, doubting Thomases not disloyal, but perhaps so constructed by the Creator as to be very exacting about proofs and not able to settle down except on grounds both clear and firm, not to be put off by the dicta of one or of one thousand, but insisting on the particular sort of evidence that will strike their peculiar minds conclusively. May not the exhortation, "Make full proof of thy ministry," be lawfully construed to include the meaning, "In your ministry make full and cogent proof of the things you preach?" Was not Paul a pattern of this kind of preaching? Witness his address before Agrippa. Indeed, there is reason for thinking this to have been the apostolic style. Peter's explanation of the healing of the lame man at the Gate Beautiful is a marshaling of evidential facts which makes the argument march like an army.

Not a few of the strongest men in our ministry, some of the most absolute and dogmatic believers, formidable champions, and sturdy defenders of the faith, have come through severe and trying experiences of searching, questioning, and struggling. For each there have been exigent hours, intense crises of intellectual perplexity, debate, and conflict, when he was working his way through the immense meanings and tremendous mysteries of life and destiny. That period of storm and stress is over now. As to some of those great questions, he has thought out in the light of God's word an interpretation which makes the subject intelligible to him so that reason rests satisfied. Whether that solution coincides precisely in all particulars with the teaching of any particular school or with any particular man's construction he does not care much; it is true to the accepted fundamentals, and it rivets his soul and his reason to God and his truth. It is heaven's hallowed secret confided to him in terms suited to the construction of his own mind. It is his divinely authorized version, translation, and understanding of the divine will, upon which he has closed his contract for a million ages with the Eternal; a contract which he carries in his farthest inside breast pocket next his heart; a contract duly signed with blood, sealed with the mark of the cross, and witnessed by the Holy Spirit. As to certain other problems

which perplexed him, he has come to the conclusion that these are too vast for human solution; they belong to the realm of the infinite, which it is unreasonable for the human reason to expect to reason out, or to those matters of which the Master says, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now," and he has laid them on the shelf of a devout and rational trust to await the fuller explanations and clearer light of the communicative and luminous hereafter. One minister said to another, "The questions I really think about nowadays I leave unanswered. The matters which are now most discussed are as a rule things that do not puzzle me and as subjects for debate do not interest me." This probably means that a lucid mind, rarely gifted with spiritual comprehension, has, at life's meridian, satisfactorily disposed of the questions which continue to be discussed by those who have not settled them; and that the problems he leaves unanswered are such as man's reason in its prime is unable to solve, and of which God has not revealed the solution.

The mightiest faith to be found on earth is often the well-won prize and final possession of wrestling souls—souls capable of feeling the burden of existence, the significance of life, the abysmal needs and enigmas of the human lot, and the vastness of that unseen, immaterial, but not unsubstantial universe in which the mind of man, a free-willing and free-thinking creature, is let loose to run at large. Now, as of old by the brook Jabbok, some blessings and distinctions are wrested out of the night by striving with the unseen Reality in a temper half-suppliant and half-antagonistic, until to the suffering wrestler there comes the pause of satisfaction and the gift of power as the angel gives up his secret to the prevailer.

It is only through some such experience that the deepest convictions are obtained. And deep convictions are a necessity. The difference between opinions and convictions is the difference between powerlessness and power. Some men have only a stock of opinions like clothes in a gripsack, and some have convictions like live sinews and muscles on their bones. Opinions are "store goods," furnished readymade by creeds, Churches, schools, newspapers, magazines, books, by antiquarian tradition-mongers, as well as by novelty peddlers of every sort. Convictions are home-spun, raised on the place; a man acquires and develops them for himself through turmoil, labor, and trouble, by athletic exercise, in close spiritual grapple with great problems, difficulties, and realities. Opinion is a sapling, without pinroot, and may easily be

bent, broken, or uprooted. Conviction is an oak that has seen wild weather, fought for its footing against the fury of tempests, and, while rocking in the storm, sent its roots down and out to bed them deep in the firm earth to feel for the cleft of the rock of ages, and to knit themselves about it, in and out, with a reticulated and many-fibered grip.

Men with rooted convictions are the sinewy thinkers and reasoners whose preaching has substance and fiber, weight and force, before which strong and heady sinners must go down. The man who has demanded reasons for his faith and hope and got them from Him who says, "Come now, and let us reason together," is able to give the reasons he has gotten. The preaching for to-day must not be mere affirmation and exhortation, but demonstration closing in on mind and conscience with the clutch of conclusive argument and the marshaling of irresistible proof. There must be power in the pulpit to silence the gainsaying mind, to deprive it of its objections by fair debate, and to reduce its citadel as by circumvallation, starvation, and manifestly superior force to unconditional surrender.

The first glory of doctrinal Christianity is that it is not a string of enfeebling and devitalizing negations, but a body of well-knit, healthful, and cheering affirmations; and the second glory is that all its affirmations are capable of proof. Its normal procedure is to declare the truth on the authority of God's infallible word, and then to compel its acceptance by reasons furnished to the mind accompanied by the Holy Spirit moving on the heart.

So intellectually and morally imperial is Christian truth that it can even compel the credence of constitutional skeptics. Converted infidels are its frequent trophies. A university president, thirty years in the ministry, said: "I am a born skeptic. The natural action of my mind is to doubt everything, to resist and dispute and deny if I can. I am so suspicious that I never believe if I can help it." Not a few men more or less of that cast are devoting their lives to preaching, with all the glowing passion of certified souls, the glorious Gospel of the blessed God. Men so made that they will not believe except under irresistible rational compulsion are, like that rugged, stalwart, intrepid thinker, Paul, the slaves of Jesus Christ, simply because, as thinking beings who have opened mind and heart freely and frankly to the evidence, they cannot help themselves. "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. *Amen!*"

THE ARENA.

INDIA AND CHINA AS COMPARATIVE MISSION FIELDS.

At the last meeting of the General Missionary Committee there was what is reported in an American Methodist weekly as "one of the most remarkably able debates ever had in the history of the General Committee." We learn that "the debate occurred on the relative claims of China and India," and that "the controversy was as to which has the greater claim" on the Church? By the admission of speakers in the Committee a wonderful hold has been won by India on the sympathies of the whole Church. It was said, "The Church is biased in favor of India;" again, "The tide is unfairly in that direction;" again, "Bishop Thoburn has hypnotized the country." To us who know the facts of the wonderful work going on in our missions in India it does not seem strange that the Church should be, not "hypnotized," but waked up, by a recital of the wonderful works of God. It is not "bias," but deep sympathy for a mighty work of evangelism, such as our foreign field has never had before. No General Committee has any right to misinterpret or stem this "tide." The Spirit of God is saying to the Church, "Push the work in India with great power." It surely is not wise at a time like this to talk about keeping all missions to one iron rule of supply or scaling all down alike. Indeed, those who opposed giving India more than China seemed to see this; hence the effort to make it appear that the claims of these two countries are the same, or at least that no special help must be extended to India.

It was argued that India does not enter into the future of America—a selfish plea which has, after all, no foundation. As a matter of fact, India has entered into the life of America, and will enter, as China cannot. The people of India are Aryan, of our blood and speech, our kinsmen, also, in mythology and thought. Their philosophy and thought to-day are influencing us much more than the mentality of China can. It was urged that India is the "ward" of England, while China is the "ward" of the United States. Now, there is very little in this desperate argument, for the fact is that China, also, is more the "ward" of England than of the United States. The commercial relation of England to China is much closer than that of the United States. England touches China all along her Indian border. At Hong-Kong she has territorial possession in China, and at that point and in Singapore and the Straits Settlement she rules over far more Chinese than the United States ever did or perhaps ever will. England is constantly, as an Asiatic power, in negotiation, territorial and political, with China. Hence, if it comes to the matter of relation, England, and not the United States, should evangelize China; and, as a matter of fact, England has far more mission work in that country than has the United States.

The true way to look at this matter is to recognize the claim of any

mission field to be settled in the light of the real opening presented, as indicated by success. India is the "ward" of all Christendom. Here, in a vast territory, three hundred million souls are open to all possible civilizing and Christianizing influences. India is in a state of tremendous transition, such as is no other country on the globe to-day. Here, in a population equal to one fifth of the world, changes, great beyond conception, are taking place. Communities equal to considerable cities become Christian every year, the converts of our mission alone numbering about fifty a day for the entire year. Here is the opportunity of the ages, and all Churches are justified in making special effort for India. If comparative results are an index India is now a most hopeful field for Methodism. She was entered ten years later than China, yet her faster growth is seen from the study of the following table, made up from the most recent figures available :

	Foreign Missionaries.	Helpers.	Baptisms for past Year.	Members and Probationers.
India	93	1,273	15,155	44,933
China	53	406	1,710	8,833

From this table it will be seen that the foreign missionaries in India are in number nearly double those in China; that the number of helpers is three times greater; that baptisms are nearly nine times as many; and that the total of the members and probationers of our Church is more than five times greater.

When our General Committee comes together again it is to be hoped that they will have studied the situation better, and that they may accord to India the aid demanded by the hour. When the time of refreshing comes for China, then help must be commensuiate with the demand.

Bareilly, India. T. J. Scott.

THE URGENT DEMANDS OF OUR GREAT FIELD IN CHINA.

To all thoughtful Christians having in mind the command of their Redeemer to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature the Chinese empire, containing as it does one fourth of Asia and having considerably more than five million square miles, with a population of about four hundred millions, presents an unparalleled field for the activities of the Christian Church. While the idolatry of China is free from the obscene rites practiced under other forms of paganism and the ethics of Confucius are incomparably in advance of most other heathen teachers, the people are nevertheless in great need of the Gospel of Christ, all their native systems of religion having failed to bring them nearer to God or to elevate their spiritual or moral condition. No greater problem can be presented to the Christian Church of this age than the conversion of the vast multitude of people inhabiting the Chinese empire. It must be for some great and good purpose that, in the marvelous providence of God, this great nation has been preserved for four thousand years. The intellectual ability of the people, the great honor paid to students, and the high

rank accorded to literature give the greatest hope for the future development of China, and assure us that when converted it will take high rank among Christian nations.

While all this is true it is also true that there is a better opportunity for the prosecution of the Gospel enterprise at this time than ever before. It is possible for the missionary of the cross to proclaim his message anywhere within the bounds of the empire. The five hundred Christians of thirty years ago have increased to fifty thousand actual communicants and, probably, to over two hundred thousand adherents. Places which we could only enter with difficulty thirty or forty years ago are now centers of revival interest and power, as, for instance, the city of Hinghua, in our Foo-Chow Conference, from which the Rev. W. N. Brewster wrote very recently that, at the close of a three days' meeting which filled the chapel so that an extra meeting had to be organized outdoors, over one hundred new converts were received into the Church; and in the whole Conference more than a thousand were added during the last year, and nearly as many in North China.

There seems to be quite a general feeling on the part of the missionaries that a mighty outpouring of the Spirit of God is near at hand and that within a few years we shall witness the conversion of large numbers in different parts of the empire. Bishop Thoburn, with the prophetic insight which characterizes him, in speaking of the great movement in India said: "It has not yet reached China, but it will not be long before that land will also be experiencing like scenes of divine power in the conversion of large numbers of souls."

It is perhaps to be regretted that, in view of what was thought to be the necessary reduction of one ninth on the work generally at the last General Missionary Committee, there was some discussion of the comparative needs of China and India. The fact is that both of these great mission fields need much more than we can supply; and, whatever may be said as to the greater obligation we may be under for the conversion of China, the fact is that we have very large results in India and that we must take care of the converts we have and enter the doors which God is opening before us in every direction.

We have never thought it necessary to proportion our appropriations to the ingathering of members in any particular mission. In 1870 the Foo-Chow Mission had 1900 members and probationers, and the North India Mission 839; but in 1871 only $16,224 were appropriated to Foo-Chow, while $81,302 were appropriated to North India. No doubt the continued large appropriations to the great field in North India during the years when, so far as numbers were concerned, the Foo-Chow Mission seemed to be much the more prosperous have had to do with the great ingatherings of these later years in which we all rejoice. Reductions in our appropriations to China now may seriously cripple the work and retard the accomplishment of the great results for which we have reason to hope in the near future. It would be a great calamity to allow our conquests for the Master to be retarded by the fears created in a season of

financial panic. The increasing success of our work, and the new fields opening before us and calling for helpers, conjoined with the increasing number of consecrated young men and women offering themselves for service, show that the providential order is to go forward; and we cannot afford to disregard it or to refuse obedience. We ought, if possible, not only to keep up the appropriations of the past years, but to make considerable increase to meet the growing demands of the work in connection with our four missions in that great empire. There ought to be no note of retreat sounded in any portion of our great field, and least of all in any of our missions among the heathen. S. L. BALDWIN.

New York City.

HAPS, MISHAPS, AND PERHAPS OF METHODISM.

IN Bishop Goodsell's article, "Whither?—A Study of Tendency," in the *Review* for January, 1893, we find much food for reflection and somewhat for suggestion, if one may presume so far toward an *episcopus*. In the course of events Methodistic during the greater part of the first century after the organization of our Church the liturgy was left behind with several other good things, such as the college, the seminary, and hospital work. The order of deaconesses was wanting in all Protestant Churches *ab initio*. Now that our Church is taking up these neglected things all our bishops, editors, and publishers utter many and strong commendations which do much to encourage and hasten forward these good works, except the "tendency" toward restoring the ritual. About this there is a hesitancy of speech. I second most heartily E. R. Lathrop's suggestion, in the "Arena" of the July number, that our book agents publish an edition of the *Sunday Service* which John Wesley prepared for us. Why should not this movement be commended by our bishops in their quadrennial and their several annual addresses? Such help would afford the cause something better than a mere index of progress. Bishop Hurst has recently, and by example, taught us to seek after the "old paths," in that he used the form of prayer from the apostolical constitutions (viii, 20) of the fourth century in consecrating deaconesses in Washington, D. C. There is a vast field of Methodism, however, where the people never see or hear a bishop. The ritualistic tendency has not reached the rural churches. But it is here, especially, that we need more emphasis upon that which differentiates Methodism from the Congregational Churches in forms of worship. The lack of reverence for the house of God and the Church of God cannot be otherwise remedied.

When we consider "our tenuity in the great cities" shall we attribute so much of our failure to "the rapidly fading remnant of an itinerancy" that it should be put away as an impediment? Perhaps we might better conclude, after considering carefully what becomes of a great society after a Spurgeon leaves it, and what useful service the strong men of Methodism give who build into half a score of churches thirty years of toil and then add twenty years more in the broader pastorate of an itin-

erant *episcopus*, that this "tenuity" in the cities is not a feature of Methodism alone. It belongs to Protestantism. Dr. Cuyler says: "Dr. Strong confirms the opinion which I have long held, that the proportion of American people who regularly attend a place of worship on Sunday is diminishing." The Roman Catholic Church gathers the masses in the cities. Protestant Churches are losing them. What is to be done? It is not a question of settled or limited pastorate. The whole Protestant Church must follow the leading of Methodism and establish Christian hospital and deaconess work in all our large cities. Such a movement would promote that union of the Protestant Churches which is essential to ultimate success. If we have only a "fading remnant of an itineraney" in some of the cities there yet remains the great country places in the West and South, with undiminished congregations, where the itinerant will continue to go abroad for another century at least. And before the Church enters upon her third century the little New England village station will have become tired of being left "to be supplied" and will have recalled the itinerant preacher—perhaps.

American statesmen, too, will soon be compelled to inquire into the condition of our cities, where the proportion of Americans in public offices is diminishing, and where the American young men are discriminated against in labor organizations dominated by foreigners. Bound together in the same bundle are the two pressing questions, Shall our cities be Christian? Shall our cities be American? The deaconess and hospital work will help to gather in the masses to the Church. A revival of ritual will help Methodism to hold the children of her own people.

Lexington, Ky. J. D. WALSH.

A GREAT NEED.

WERE I asked to form a list of things in my judgment most essential to the well-being of society in this country from this time forth, after due recognition of the Church and the public school, as respectively first and second by unquestioned right, I should place third upon the list the press. Society needs, for the development of that high grade of public morals so necessary to the best results and for the conservation of recognized standards, a public press having conscientious scruples and moved by moral considerations. The press of the future, to be worth most to the people for these purposes, ought to be free from the taint of favoritism toward popular sins and, so far as practicable, free from the domination of parties or of classes. This "consummation devoutly to be wished" is unfortunately not yet, and not very likely to be at any very early day. Even supposing a few of the better and larger journals of the times to be above reproach in this regard—a supposition requiring the exercise of some charity—yet it remains undoubtedly true that the general attitude of the press toward moral issues of the present day is far from being complimentary to the country. Setting aside religious journals as out of this discussion entirely, the outlook is not hopeful. Perhaps exception ought

to be made in favor, also, of journals serving certain special purposes not concerned particularly with questions having moral bearings. This, then, confines our attention to that large class of miscellaneous newspapers dealing with matters of general interest and having essential influence upon morals.

Doubtless it is true that the press of the present day has come to be a mere index of public sentiment. Ought it not rather to be an element of power in molding the public mind for moral safety? We have to-day in this country a large and increasing number of journals, furnishing accurate statements and lucid discussions of financial and political questions, both national and international. Why, it may be asked, should it be thought an improper thing for a journal of respectable standing to hold as well-defined and accurate views upon moral questions? Why should news be always of the most sensational character? Why may not one be permitted to read a clean statement of facts, upon a page free from all disgusting particulars dug up out of the filth by some reporter pandering to indecency of thought? Why should it be thought a thing improper for a convention of religious people to be given an honest column, while the latest "mill" between two brutish men is, if mentioned at all, crowded to a corner of small proportion?

The treatment of the problem of intemperance to-day is left to journals making a specialty of temperance discussion, or to religious papers able to speak of it only in a limited space because of the pressure of other interests upon their notice. In each case what is written is likely to reach only those having already strong opinions in favor of temperance. Ought we not to have newspapers which are clear on this question? Undoubtedly we ought.

The social evil to-day is often helped along by journalists of loose morals, or by journalists under the domination of a constituency having loose ideas upon this subject—which amounts to the same thing. The demoralization prevalent in some sections of the country, with regard to the enforcement of laws against certain classes of criminals, becomes "confusion worse confounded" under the treatment of many newspapers.

Villainous combinations for defending evils are allowed to exist because a public organ of sufficient conscience and nerve to drive it out of existence is wanting. That arch criminal, the rumseller, takes advantage of the apathy and blindness of the people and the cowardice and sympathy of rum-led or rum-made officials to carry on his business indefinitely. An editor having convictions on the subject might at least awaken public spirit to eradicate the evil. Lynch law has become the order of the day in certain sections of the country. News sheets publish wholesale the dishonorable details and defend the perpetrators of a worse type of murder than lynch law ever attempts to avenge.

We may well ask, What is to be the end of all this? The inventors of the modern rapid printing presses have conjured up a spirit difficult to control. If power sometimes is put into the hands of good and safe men, to the end that some thousands of individuals may be influenced by

them for good by the aid of printing, it is also within the power of evil men and men of loose thought to sway multitudes by the same means. And it would seem that more energy is put into the business and that presses of the greatest speed are used by the latter class.

In the mind of the writer the ideal newspaper, the one great need of the future, must embody, as elements of usefulness, a clear and spicy presentation of facts, that it may be readable as a news sheet; a preference always for clean, wholesome treatment of public questions, particularly of moral ones; a fearless handling of evils, under whatever name, and no matter by what influential means they may be supported; such an attitude toward the religious convictions of the people as shall tend rather to conserve and build up than to destroy the same. In fine, the ideal paper of the future must be a champion of moral reform and must lift up the standard for advance in every good thing. In the name of all common sense, why should this ideal be out of all reach? I do not think it is. I believe we ought to have, and will have sometime, a class of clean journals, edited by conscientious, able men.

Evans, Colo. J. A. Long.

"BRIMSTONE OR ROSEWATER."

Years ago the now sainted Bishop Thomson wrote an editorial for a Methodist paper with the above caption, strongly inveighing against the sickly sentimentalism so largely substituted for the fiery and vigorous Gospel of the days of our fathers, and ardently urging a return to the preaching of the "law of the Lord," which is "perfect" and powerfully efficient in the conversion of souls. Subsequently, that great thinker and writer, Dr. Curry, who seemed to despise above everything else an "emasculated Gospel," noticed and enforced the exhortation with characteristic vigor. Do we not need a similar reminder in our day? The charge so frequently made by our Universalist friends, that she fears to preach the eternal suffering of the finally impenitent, tells heavily against orthodoxy; as in the main the preaching of the law, which is "holy, just, and good," is seldom heard, as of old, in her pulpits. And in this bad custom Methodism seems conspicuous.

But if the trend continues much longer in this direction will we not need the service of another John Wesley? Do we not need a strong but friendly hand to turn us back into the "old paths," lest we be overtaken in the enemy's land? Surely the "foundations" have been "moved." Before long Hades will be less dreadful than the cave of Adullam, and the sting of death will be almost entirely taken away. Have we not lost our way? Should not a halt be called? Shall not the constitution be revised, in order to secure better bearings and the reaching of a safe harbor? We drop the hint and await the issue. Who will clear away the mists and pour the light of truth upon our pathway? Let him come forth in the name of God and sound doctrine, and he shall be heard.

Catawissa, Pa. J. B. Mann.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

NOTES ON HARMAN'S "INTRODUCTION," CHAPTER VI.

This chapter is devoted to an historical treatment of the criticism of the Pentateuch. The student should note that the current view of the Mosaic authorship is also the earlier view. So far as the external evidence is concerned the authorship of Moses is well established. The philosopher Philo, the historian Josephus, and the Christian fathers affirm the Mosaic authorship, so that the voice of the early Christian Church, as well as the conclusions of the Jews, harmonize with the teachings of Christ. It will be seen from this chapter that the consensus of thought until the eleventh century favored the Mosaic authorship, and that the earliest criticism was not an attack on the recognized belief as a whole, but was confined to a few points, namely, Gen. xxxvi, 31; Deut. xxxiv, and a few other passages.

It was at the period of the Reformation and immediately following it that the destructive criticism was introduced. The Reformation gave scope to free inquiry and allowed attacks which had not before been extensively employed. In this chapter we notice also, after the middle of the seventeenth century, the rapid development of a sentiment antagonistic to the Mosaic authorship, in Hobbes, Peyrère, Spinoza, Richard Simon, and Le Clerc. The eighteenth century produced Bolingbroke, a bitter antagonist of the Mosaic authorship, and Carpzov, Michaelis, Eichhorn, and others, who, in a greater or less degree, defended it. The nineteenth century has been prolific in literature on the Pentateuch, and the chief contributors to it are mentioned in this chapter. Most of the writers are antagonistic to the received view, notably Graf, Wellhausen, and Kuenen, whose views have gained wide currency and have had great influence over many of the younger scholars of our time. All, however, do not find the same reasons for their conclusions. Some go so far as to deny the supernatural in the whole history, and others admit the supernatural while rejecting the authorship of Moses. It will be seen that Kuenen acknowledges that Moses was the leader of the Israelites in Egypt, that "the Exodus is an historical fact," and that the ten commandments "are derived from Moses." The value of these admissions must be carefully weighed. The later defenders of Moses have not been so numerous, at least in their published works, but they have not been wanting. The author mentions Professor Curtiss, Professor Watts, Professor Green, and others. The literature on the side of the Mosaic authorship is just beginning to come into prominence. Only recently have the defenders of the old faith felt the necessity laid upon them of aggressive action, and hence the delay in responding to a series of attacks which should, perhaps, have received attention before.

While the student should study with care all the writers whose names are mentioned by the author, he should lay special emphasis on those modern scholars on both sides of the question who have made the most decided

impression upon the times. The sixth chapter is very important as preparing the way for the critical discussions that follow. A very clear conception of the points of difficulty raised by scholars is of the utmost importance in enabling one to appreciate all that appears from time to time on the subject of the Pentateuch.

In reviewing this chapter let the student give special attention to the following important particulars:

1. The names of those who have favored the Mosaic authorship in the different centuries.

2. The names of those who have maintained the opposite view, in a greater or less degree.

3. The points of variance and of agreement on the part of those who have antagonized the current view. This will enable the student to note the consensus or the conflict of scholarship upon this question.

4. The dates at which certain forms of objection arose, and the persons who first introduced them. It will be observed (p. 70) that the hypothesis of Elohistic and Jehovistic documents originated with Astruc in an "anonymous work published in 1753." This has proved a fruitful source of speculation, which has variously expanded the number of documents supposed to have been used in the compilation of the Pentateuch, according to the mental habits or caprices of individual critics.

5. The position of the newer criticism on each side of the question of the Mosaic authorship.

This chapter will show that the hostile forces are not a harmonious and well-disciplined army whose cohorts act in concert and in mutual support of one another, but are often a loosely compacted host, obeying conflicting leaders, mutually destructive one of another, and united by no single bond save a common desire to overthrow the orthodox positions.

THE MINISTERIAL STUDENT IN COLLEGE—SOME MISTAKES.

In previous papers the candidate for the ministry is supposed to have been entered as a student in college and to have begun his college course. But he has scarcely taken up the regular work prescribed by the faculty before schemes to modify the course in some particulars come to him or are brought to his attention. Some one tells him that it is possible to abridge his stay in college by taking studies with some other class in addition to his regular work, and thus diminish his residence by at least a year. The desire to save time in preparation and to enter more speedily upon his chosen work of saving men is very commendable and should be given due weight. As an argument in its favor it will be cited that some men now eminent in the Church have done so and, by their after success, have demonstrated the wisdom of the plan.

But this haste on the part of students is greatly deprecated by all college faculties and works lasting injury to the young men who yield to it. It is destructive of that exact scholarship which is largely the aim of a college course. The college is not so much a place to get information as a place

where opportunity is afforded to secure mental discipline and to lay a thorough foundation of scholarship. To do this will require time. Accurate investigation cannot be made hurriedly. "Make haste slowly" is a law of special application to students. A mere committing of words and phrases to memory, a rapid glance at a lesson before entering the class room, a general and vague conception of the subject in question do not constitute the best training. One who would make the best use of his college life should prepare each lesson carefully, discover its salient points, note its bearings, and thus make each step a basis for succeeding steps.

This haste also fails to accomplish the object proposed. No matter how hard one studies, he cannot in a year do more than one year's work. Passing through the course and passing satisfactory examinations thereon do not fulfill the real ends of a college education. There must be growth, mental and spiritual development, a constant expanding of the faculties. These cannot be gained by extraordinary efforts, but must be wrought by slow and daily toil. The courses of study in institutions of learning have been prepared by wise and experienced teachers and are the results of extended observation. They measure what a student can safely undertake; and he who uses his faculties to excess in order to do more will really accomplish less in actual scholastic results.

It must also be remembered that for the needs of the ministry such haste is unnecessary. There is at present an ample supply of ministers for the demands of our Church, and the cry of the Church is not for more preachers, but for better preparation on the part of those who enter its service. When new fields were being opened more rapidly than at present there was a great demand for young men, and often mere boys were pushed forward into the ministry. But now, especially in our older communities, the "boy preacher" is no longer sought after, but men are required who can rightly divide the word of truth. The people are anxious to have well-qualified ministers, especially such as are thoroughly fitted by study and by experience to expound the Gospel. They prefer to wait for young men to finish their studies rather than have them rush prematurely into the ministry. It is a great mistake for a student to cut short his course. It injures his health by over-application, and at the same time impairs his scholarship and his future usefulness.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THE "ITINERANTS' CLUB."

Diagnosis should precede treatment. We therefore preface our suggestions by a brief statement of the case under consideration. It must be borne in mind that the objects to be secured by the Conference course of study are information, disciplined mental power, and studious habits. The unprepared condition of a large number, if not a majority, of the brethren in the course must also be remembered. They begin and finish their studies with few or no reference books, and have access to very limited libraries. The worry over two sermons weekly is greater during this period than at any subsequent time, and of course the sermons are

first in importance. Pastoral work is imperative in its demands and destructive of studious habits. Very few have naturally a strong relish for hard study, and their surroundings do not stimulate such a desire. The household cares are most taxing at this period, and a garden is necessary to make up the deficiencies of the salary. The winter months are spent in revival meetings on the circuit, or, if the brother is pastor of some mission or small struggling church in a city, the enemies of study are there equally numerous.

The severity of the course of study must also be considered. The text-books are about the same as are studied in college and theological seminaries, whose students have had the benefit of academic training and the help of competent professors. And as to the exegetical work required, while the course simply calls for written sermons, essays, and syllabuses, yet it suggests no models or helps.

After considering these facts we would point out some remedies:

1. The brethren in the course of study, as also on the examining committees, must keep alive to the real and great objects of the course. Its claims and importance should be so presented as to command their respect. The testimonies of living and successful pastors or others should be given on its value as leading to a permanent command over intelligent men. The best way to produce conviction on this subject is to continually illustrate its truth from the experiences of men who have been greatly influential in the ministry or in kindred religious work.

2. Further, the brethren must be taught how to study. Let teachers present their theories and suggestions, and let brethren who are successful pastors and students also give their methods of study. If they have risen to prominence without academic training let them state their earlier experiences. Methods of home study should be presented, and the way should be shown to read, analyze, and memorize. One of the vital deficiencies even in the college curriculum is the absence of any instruction on how to study. It is, therefore, a wonder that many Conference students get as much as they do from the course of study. If they are helped to a knowledge of how to work the good results will be multiplied.

3. They need help in their exegetical studies. They do not appreciate the possibilities of this line of work; they have no ideals to follow, and no competent criticism is available upon their exegesis when it is done. They also need help in their "written sermon and essay." What difference is there between the two except that one has a text and the other not? Dr. Crooks has said that it is hard to find ministers who can write an article for publication in which their calling will not be manifest. The brethren have books on homiletics. Let them also be given hints on essay writing, let profitable and broadening subjects be suggested, let masterpieces of essay work be pointed out, and let it be shown what makes them masterpieces.

4. Systemization must be insisted upon as the *sine qua non*. The putting off of study till two weeks before Conference should cease. Since there is no law on the subject, and no uniform method throughout the Church,

we must try some other means. Let a competitive examination be held once each month or two months. Let the papers be prepared at home, and certified to as having been written without help. Grade on the scale of 100; publish the names of those who stand at 90 or over, and the result will be thorough work throughout the year.

To withhold these helps because brethren ought to attend our schools is unwise. Any method here suggested can be used to advantage even by the best theological graduates. GEORGE H. KENNEDY.

Sibley, Ia.

THE PRESERVATION OF MATERIALS.

(Continued.)

HAVING noticed suggestions in the *Review* concerning the best methods for Index Reviews, I herewith send an outline of my own method. It may perhaps help some who have not found help elsewhere.

Date.	Page.	Subject.	Name of Book.
1887.			
1|24	43	Canaanites.	Fisher's *Christian Religion.*
7|15	482	Celsus the Heathen.	Harman's *Introduction.*
1888.			
5|11	499	Colenso.	*Hist. Rationalism.*
24	33	Cicero.	*Life and Epistles of Paul.* Conybeare.

First, as to keeping dates: I find I have thus a carefully catalogued history of my reading and the growth of my library. 1|24 means January 24, 1887; 5|11, May 11; and the 24 just under 5|11 means May 24, belonging to the month last named above. The next column contains the number of the page in the volume; and in order to find the place quickly when turning to the page designated I find I have marked it lightly on margin of the leaf with a pencil. The subject column needs no explanation further than to say that the subject is most easily found when indexed under its most prominent or striking word, if there are more than one. Lastly, I believe the name of the book or magazine is always better than any number; for (1) each book a preacher has should be known individually by name, as the acquaintance it should be, and not by number, as a convict, and (2) in order that books may be readily found, if numbered, they must of necessity be shelved consecutively, which could not be so done as to add anything of symmetry or design to the rows of books.

Get a book scaled to the alphabet, rule it for yourself, according to the form above given, and I will guarantee that the plan will work well. Only keep it up; do not abandon indexing.

I proceed thus: I slip a piece of plain paper in the end of the book after the last fly leaf, attach it with the tiniest bit of mucilage, and when reading or studying jot down on this slip whatever of useful or striking I may notice. When one slip is filled I substitute another; and when the volume is completed I transcribe the slips into the Index Review.

Salt Lake, Utah. J. D. GILLILAN.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE ANTIQUITY OF WRITING.

How significant that, when devout Christian scholars were almost hushed to silence by the impious audacity of learned rationalists, and when irreligious critics were determined, at all hazards, to overthrow the authority of the Old Testament Scriptures by reducing a large portion of them to the same level as the mythological legends of Greece and Rome —how significant that at this very juncture the stones themselves, in accents clear and strong, commenced to remonstrate and speak with such convincing power as to put to the rout an army of unbelievers! Yea, verily, those who will not believe Moses and the prophets "are now confounded by bricks and stones." For as the histories of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria are studied—as their monuments, so long buried or silent as the sphinx, are subjected to critical examination—floods of light, amounting almost to a new revelation, have been given to the world. Not that the decipherment of these ancient inscriptions has brought to light any valuable or additional religious truth, but that it has in various ways confirmed and supplemented the facts recorded in the Holy Writ. It is a suggestive fact that not one of these archæological discoveries has at any time or in any way brought discredit upon the book. They all seem to confirm the inspired record and confute the baseless assertions of the so-called critics, who are now compelled to change front. Thus many passages which, thirty years ago, destructive critics were wont to label unceremoniously as "uncritical or unhistorical" are now severely left out of the discussion; since these very passages have been supplemented and confirmed by most impartial witnesses—and not only impartial, but venerable with age and authority—and by accounts which are not a mere patchwork of ingenious and speculative writers, but authentic documents from first hand.

How puerile do many of Voltaire's objections to the trustworthiness of the Holy Scriptures appear in the light of modern discoveries! How certain the great French *savant* was that Moses could not have been the author of the books bearing his name, since the art of writing books was unknown in his age, and with what plausibility did he contend against the Homeric origin of the *Iliad*, since papyrus was not employed for writing purposes till ages later! What value can be placed upon the *dicta* of Wellhausen, who likewise discredits the high antiquity of the older books in the Old Testament, and, like Cheyne, depresses their dates, because, as he claims, "the art of writing was restricted to formal instruments, and that upon stone?" Were we to believe this school of critics the numerous references in the Pentateuch to books and writing are anachronisms, which betray the late origin of such books, and which prove conclusively that they could not have had Moses for their author.

It is now admitted on every side that carving and engraving on stone,

and, indeed, on softer substances, was known in Egypt from gray antiquity. According to Budge the earliest hieroglyphic known to us is that on the monument of Shrea, of the second dynasty, or more than four thousand years before Christ. Hieratic writing may be traced back to the eleventh dynasty. The old specimen so far discovered is what is called the Prisse papyrus. This remarkable document was brought from Thebes to Paris by M. Prisse d'Avennes. It was found in a tomb of the eleventh dynasty, and thus must have been at least twenty-five hundred years older than our era. From a statement at the end of this papyrus we learn that it is only a copy of another, much older, of the time of Phtah-Hotep, of the fifth dynasty. The lofty teachings of this document show a very advanced stage of ethical culture, remarkable indeed for so early an age, which goes very far to contradict the too prevailing idea that the human race in its early history was almost in a state of barbarism. Curiously enough, the sage who wrote this papyrus deplores the degeneracy of his times and the low state of morals in his day, and then longs for the return of better, happier times.

The discoveries at Telloh, in the valley of the Euphrates, where, among other objects of great interest, nine statues of Gudea have been found, show most clearly the advanced stage of civilization in Babylonia. Some of these statues are covered with cuneiform inscriptions, which, though not far from forty-seven hundred years old, are remarkably perfect. Mr. Boscawen, speaking of them, says: "The characters of the long inscriptions are as carefully engraved and as free from primitive or archaic forms as if they had been cut in the days of Nebuchadnezzar the Great, B. C. 606." Inscriptions on stone, more or less perfect and of great antiquity, have been found also in many other places along the Euphrates, notably at what is supposed to have been Ur of the Chaldees, in Hamath, in the Sinaitic peninsula, and in the ancient kingdoms of the Minæans and Sabæans, to say nothing of Egypt. If, therefore, engraving on stone had attained so great a degree of perfection at so early an age, it stands to reason that writing on softer materials must have been common too. The slate and pencil were certainly used before the chisel and the graver. The paintings of Egypt testify to the remote age of ink and pigments of various kinds.

Explorations in Egypt have been very fertile in results. Papyri written centuries before Moses have been found in large numbers, as also palettes of great antiquity. If the Egyptians were skilled in the art of writing on papyrus, and that with different-colored inks, long before Abraham entered Egypt, why should Moses have been unable to pen his lofty thoughts and employ similar materials to convey his ideas to mankind? Though we have not yet discovered any ancient copies of the Pentateuch fresh from the hand of Moses, yet we do emphasize the fact that the production of such a copy was possible in his time, nay, centuries before him. The incidental reference in Genesis to the transfer of the field of Machpelah by Ephron the Hittite to Abraham presupposes some formal instrument in writing. The Hittites were a great people, formidable

foes of the most enlightened nations of antiquity. Abraham also had come from Ur, which boasted of a high degree of culture. No one can read Gen. xxiii, 17, 18, without being impressed with the exact legal style and language of the deed: "So the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field, and the cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the border thereof round about, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession in the presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city." In this connection we might mention that Mr. Flinders Petrie, the indefatigable explorer in Egypt, found, among other writings, at Illahun, a will made about 2500 B. C. It is written on papyrus, a model of brevity and conciseness. The testator settles the entire property on his consort, but with certain limitations as to the disposal or charge of the houses. A guardian is appointed for the children, and the will is properly signed by two witnesses. It would be an easy matter to multiply instances to show the prevalence of writing among the various nations of antiquity from the Nile to the Euphrates centuries before a single line of the Bible is said to have been composed. Unreasonable indeed must be the man who in the face of these facts will insist that Moses, owing to his ignorance of the art of writing, could not have been the author of the first five books of the Old Testament.

But, as hinted in a former paper, the discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets will forever overthrow all these plausible objections to the universal prevalence of a written language anterior to the Exodus. Here we have, not a few disconnected tablets, but a small library—in all, half as large as the Pentateuch. Here we have letters, not only from one country, but letters from Babylon, Armenia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Phœnicia—yea, letters in large numbers from various cities in central Palestine. More than half a dozen of them are from Jerusalem itself. All are agreed that they were written prior to the Israelitish occupation—according to some a long time before the time of Joshua. Now, if Egyptians, Babylonians, Armenians, yea, if the lesser nations scattered through Syria and Phœnicia, and even the petty rulers in and around Jerusalem, had learned the secret of expressing themselves in writing; if the internal correspondence of Palestine was carried on by means of brick tablets, at or near the time the Hebrews were in the wilderness, why should it be deemed incredible that Moses, brought up in the court of the Pharaohs and "instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," should have been able to manipulate his graver or stylus on a soft clay tablet or his brush or reed upon a papyrus? And if he himself were not, it was certainly within the range of the probable that he could have employed some professional writer, as governors and rulers were wont to do in ancient times. It is reasonably certain that the excavations going on in Palestine and the surrounding countries have many surprises in store for the Bible student.

The discovery of a tablet at Lachish, of the same age and in the same characters as those found at Tel-el-Amarna, is probably only an earnest of a rich harvest for the archæologist. If, as some suppose, this was a

letter from a neighboring city to the governor of Lachish it possesses greater importance than any of the tablets discovered in Egypt, since it proves that the cuneiform script was used in ordinary local correspondence. Now, since this tablet has been discovered among the ruins of ancient Lachish, what may we not expect in the very near future? Who knows but that some venerable mound in or around Jerusalem may yet yield up the original copies of all the Old Testament books? What havoc such a find would make in the camp of those who have turned the Pentateuch into a patchwork of mosaics, so that the Pentateuchal analysis resembles a formula in some higher mathematics! But, should these originals never be discovered, let us no longer doubt that Moses could have written them, and that either on papyrus or clay tablets. The early origin and prevalence of writing in very ancient times have been so clearly established during the past ten or fifteen years, that not even the most radical critics care to deny the possibility or even probability of the Israelites being acquainted with it from their earliest history. Says Professor Driver, in the *Contemporary Review:* "That written records may underlie the narratives of the Pentateuch cannot possibly be denied; indeed, in some cases such records are expressly referred to."

There is another thing about the letters written from Jerusalem and various cities of Palestine that is of great value. Like Peter, these also betray their origin, for, though written in the cuneiform script and in the main in the language of Babylon, yet their local coloring and their idiomatic expressions are unmistakable. Thus, not only the script, but the mode of expression, is peculiar. They exhibit the same differences as we might expect to find in writings of various nationalities in Europe at present. Speaking of the peculiarities in the letters written at Jerusalem, one has well said: "The conclusion, therefore, seems to be justified, pending any evidence to the contrary, that the scribe had acquired his knowledge of Babylonian at the Egyptian court, while his mother tongue was Hebrew, or, more correctly speaking, that dialect of Hebrew current in Palestine at the time, and which, as will be shown later on, has a decidedly Aramaic tinge." These letters are very valuable, for both the writing and style have their distinguishing features and thus conclusively prove that the art of writing was not confined to one language or people. The very facts that the Palestinian did not express himself as elegantly as his brother, who spoke a sister dialect in the northeast, and that his letters were full of defective constructions, characteristic local colorings, and idiomatic expressions, show that writing was very common in premosaic times.

In what unexpected ways does God vindicate the truth of his word! "Thy word is truth." Let us not be too ready to yield to the bold assertions of those who would relegate a large portion of the Old Testament to the realm of the unhistoric or mythical. Our Holy Bible, containing grander truths than any yet discovered on tablet or papyrus among the ruins of Egypt or Babylonia, should at least be accepted till we have some safer criterion for rejecting it than the multifarious, ever-changing, self-contradictory evolutions of rationalistic minds.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

MISSIONARY USE OF PASSPORTS IN JAPAN.

SOME months since Dr. L. Busse, a professor in the Imperial University, Tokio, Japan, wrote an interesting essay in which, among other topics, he discussed the moral quality of the use which missionaries have made of the privileges of the passport for purposes of propagandism. The newspapers of Japan have raised the question whether the missionary is not "immoral" in such use of the privilege. Passports are issued to foreigners both for travel and for residence in interior Japan, the latter kind being granted only to foreigners employed by Japanese. A few have been granted for purposes of preaching, but generally for teaching, missionaries so employed preaching as they have found opportunity. The traveler's passport has, or rather had, a time limit of six months, and was strictly limited to purposes of "health" and "scientific research." The bearer was compelled also to travel in the order of the places named therein; and if he returned before the expiration of the time he could not start anew except on another permit. The question seems a fair one how missionaries could honestly preach the Gospel under a permit of such character. Dr. Busse and others have frankly said that if these passports could not be used consistently most of the missionaries would cease at once to avail themselves of them, save within the strict construction—for sickness and science.

It must be borne in mind that the primary object of the restrictions is to assert the principle that the power to restrict foreigners within treaty limits still rests with the Japanese. Secondarily, also, the intention is to prevent trade in the interior, where there is no provision for the adjudication of the trade disputes which are sure to arise between natives and foreigners. These being the objects of the restrictions, anything that does not contravene them might be interpreted as within the four corners of the passport. And, in truth, when the proforeign feeling and sentiment ran high, say five years ago, this was the interpretation placed upon the law, and the administration continued thus liberal till the antiforeign feeling set in and some abuses occurred, when the term for residents in treaty ports was changed to three months, and for those resident in the interior to two weeks. It is also to be borne in mind that foreigners have never attributed to the law any other intention than that of restricting trade in the interior. The clause relating to health and scientific research is practically a dead formula.

The question raised in the case of the missionary, however, is whether, having a definite intent—that of propagandism—he makes an honest use of the privileges of the passport. It is true that nobody else stops at any ulterior purpose he may have in securing a permit of travel. But can the missionary conscientiously apply for such a permit when his sole purpose is the preaching of the Gospel?

It would be easy to say the whole matter is in the nature of a restraint, and that the application of the restraint is with the party making it. If the Japanese government interprets evangelistic tours as within the terms of the contract, what responsibility has the missionary in the case? We do not know the technical reading of the passport. Common usage, however, fixes an interpretation till it is challenged. But if the treaty is of the nature of an honorable concession and the Japanese administrator is lax or corrupt it would be a question with all honorable foreigners, missionary or other, whether they would be parties to the obliquity. If the administration be morally lax missionaries can scarcely avail themselves of its concessions. The *Japan Mail* does not wince in the least in charging missionaries who avail themselves of the privileges of the passport, if employed for evangelistic purposes alone, as acting in opposition to the plain intent of the law, and hence as guilty of morally oblique conduct. The *Mail* makes a large concession to those missionaries who, honestly going for health or scientific research, choose to preach during their travels. Such preaching it holds to be merely incidental, as playing on a fiddle might be in the case of a musician. It is not altogether clear that the analogy holds, however. It is not in evidence that any intent to prohibit missionary evangelism under the permit has ever been made known, whether incidental to health or not. That moral science or religious science was intended to be excluded from the contents of the terms "scientific research" is not affirmed. A very wide construction may be put upon this expression, and the question is, Who is to interpret it? If the Japanese declare that the strictest construction shall be put on the terms of the passport and throw on the missionary the responsibility of adjusting his conduct to such a construction there can be no doubt as to the course any fair-minded and honest missionary must pursue. The question is, What is the intent of the government? It has hitherto raised no question as to a passport secured for avowed purposes of evangelism. If now it does raise the question the missionary has no other duty than to conform to the requisition; it is privilege, not right, that he acts under in going into the interior to propagate his faith.

It is well that the Church at home should bear in mind that whatever has been done in Japan by missionaries has been accomplished under restrictions of residence and travel which, even when interpreted in the most liberal way, impose limitations not known in any other of our foreign fields. Even granting that the passport permits evangelical work, the missionary can pursue his aim only if employed by some Japanese or during a temporary and limited sojourn. The marvel is that we have made so much advance in the interior under these conditions.

THE USE OF THEOLOGICAL TERMS IN HEATHEN LANDS.

One of the greatest difficulties in foreign missionary work is the adoption or creation of terms to convey correctly Christian theological ideas. In India the missionaries have, with general unanimity, agreed in their

use of terms for God. *Deva* is a common term for "a god." This has become of frequent use, in some localities, for "God," as we mean the term to be understood. In other parts of India this term could not be properly used without making God one of many gods. The Mohammedans had preceded Christians in many portions of India, and they used the word *Khuda*, "Lord;" and as the idea of the Moslem, that there could be but one God, had obtained among the fifty millions or so of people speaking the Urdu, or Hindoostanee, language the missionaries readily adopted that word. For the Hindi-speaking people they found the term *ishwar*, "lord," which, combined with *param*, became *Parmeshwar*, which expressed the idea of "Supreme Lord."

But the difficulties of finding a term in Chinese on which the missionaries could agree has continued from the first until now. It is eighty-five years since Morrison reached Canton, and yet missionaries of one nation differ in their use from those of another, and even missionaries of the same mission are divided on the term that should be chosen. Bible societies and Bible translators have been embarrassed by the conflict over the "term question;" and, as Chinese is in use in Japan and Korea, there seems danger that the controversy will be extended to those countries. The Roman Catholics have adopted a word, in which they have been followed by the Greek Church, in Japan and Korea. They have used the term *Tien-Chu* for a century and a half. They fought the battle early and settled it for themselves, or had the pope decide it authoritatively for them. *Shang-Ti* is the competitive term, but is the word used from of old by the Chinese for their chief object of worship, they having an altar at the present day set apart for this cult at Peking, together with another altar to "Earth," as this is to "Heaven." We do not propose to enter into this discussion, and only make reference to it to emphasize a class of difficulties in missionary work which we at home are apt to overlook. It is no easy thing to convey the high and distinctive ideas of Christianity to peoples who are entirely devoid of the essentials of the concept. Almost equal difficulty is experienced in China in finding a suitable word for the "Holy Ghost." Indian missionaries recognize the necessity of paraphrase and commentary in using native terms for "sin" and the eternal state of the good. Either new terms have to be invented or existing terms elevated for the presentation of Christian concepts in every land where Christianity is newly propagated; and one of the marvels of modern missionary history is that this difficulty has been so far overcome that no great heresy has arisen among Christian adherents secured from non-Christian peoples.

It is also well to remember the confused use of religious terms which obtained at the Parliament of Religions. Representatives of heathen religions were restricted to the use of the English language, and necessarily used terms which in translation couched Christian thought wide as the poles away from the thought in the original. The foundation idea of the convention, that of the "fatherhood of God," is impossible to Buddhist terminology; "salvation" with a Hindoo means escape from transmigra-

tion; and "sin" comprehends external conduct, such as the destruction of insect life, not noticeable in Christian ethics.

Rev. Henry Haigh, of the Wesleyan Mission in India, in a paper read at the Bangalore Conference, says of the "simple villagers" that, however innocent of philosophy, they have "*inherited a standpoint*, and all the sentiments, the prejudices, and the common practices of their life cluster around and grow out of that. . . . It is possible for the missionary to make statements which seem to him to lack nothing in clearness and for the Hindoo villager to assent to it all. The missionary means Christian truth in his statement. The Hindoo means essential Hindooism in his assent, and could mean no other. But the missionary does not understand this, and goes off delighted at having preached Christianity, when all that he has done is to confirm the Hindoo in his Hindooism. How could it be otherwise? To the missionary who has not studied deeply the thought in which every Hindoo has been steeped, terms mean only one thing. To the Hindoo there is no Christian connotation whatever in these terms. And so the missionary who means so well is miles away from his simple villager, even when there is the clearest statement and the readiest assent."

THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS ON BUDDHISM IN JAPAN.

It has now come to be acknowledged that Christianity has produced a profound impression on the Buddhist community of Japan; and a high authority, distinctly non-missionary, has said: "If Christian propagandists in Japan had accomplished nothing beyond awakening the religious sense of the nation they might still claim to have done much for the country." The Japanese Christians connected with the American Board substituted for their Annual Report in 1892 a pamphlet, entitled a *Brief Survey of Christian Work in Japan in* 1892. This pamphlet represents that the Buddhists have been roused to engraft on their system many features of Christianity which seemed good to them. This is probably limited, however, to a section of the Buddhist community, while another section has been stirred up to a revival of Buddhism in pure and unadulterated antagonism to Christianity. The Neo-Buddhism is represented as claiming that Buddhism "is wide enough to hold all the truth of all the religions in the world." This "Broad Church" wing of Buddhists has adopted a distinctive marriage ceremony, organized Buddhist "Endeavor Societies," after the idea of the Christian Endeavor organizations, for the younger members of the Buddhist community, and imitated missionary, educational, and other propagandist methods. They have carried their modifications of faith and practice so far as to have been spoken of as "Christianized Buddhists." These are confident that their history, philosophy, and religion, despite Buddhist dissensions and moral decay, will win for them respect and influence among the nations of the earth. The *Japan Mail* thinks "contact with Christianity has not only revivified Buddhism, but has also renovated it."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Konstantin Schlottmann. Although dead he still speaks through the posthumous publication of his works. Had he lived he would have affected the theological world powerfully in many directions. The dictated portions of his lectures on biblical theology (*Kompendium der bĭblischen Theologie*) have recently been given to the reading public. His discussion of the contents of Rom. vii will be of special interest. According to him this famous chapter describes the condition of Paul prior to his conversion to Christ. Such must ever be the conclusion of sober exegesis, although the Old Testament law, or the law written in the heart, is required to reveal the conflict between the higher and the lower nature in man. Among the concepts which Paul here discusses is the difference between spirit and flesh, which is not equivalent to the distinction between spirit and body. "Flesh" denotes the entire human nature in its false and usurped independence, that is, in its separation from God. In this "flesh" bear rule all the psychical and physical powers, directed, as they are, toward this earthly life, since "flesh" includes both soul (ψυχή, not πνεῦμα) and body (σῶμα). The human spirit, on the contrary, designates all the higher spiritual powers, which are directed toward fellowship with God and the realization of his will, and which are capable of receiving the divine Spirit. On account of this difference between the flesh and the spirit the two strive against each other (Gal. v, 17). To the lust of the flesh, however, belong not only sensuality, but also enmity, envy, and everything which stands opposed to the fruit of the Spirit. In the normal condition of the psychological trichotomy the spirit rules over the soul and body. The dominion of the flesh, on the other hand, is that of the soul, which is lower and directed purely toward the world. In so far as the sensuously directed soul is enslaved by the body and its impulses and habits sin and death rule in the body and its members. "Fleshly" and "worldly" are, therefore, synonyms; as also "spirit," the "inner man," and "mind," which last, however, occurs in other connections. The divinely related spirit manifests itself even in the carnal person, but can only attain supremacy by the redeeming grace of God. Until then the condition of man is one of death. If any stricture is to be made upon this profound and satisfactory treatment of the theme in hand it is that it does not sufficiently emphasize the fact that, although it does not describe the converted state, this chapter does portray the state of a soul under the influence of God's Spirit and grace.

Hermann Schultz. Of an altogether different type is the celebrated biblical theologian of Göttingen. He is as radical in his views of the Old Testament as Schlottmann was conservative as to the New. He does not hesitate to ascribe (*Alttestamentliche Theologie*) the principal contents of

the so-called historical books to the effect of tradition and myth. By tradition he means the beliefs of a people who are just entering into the period of veritable history concerning their past. The beginnings of the nation, the figures of its progenitors, etc., are not handed down in the form of exact history, but in song, proverbs, and stories, and enriched by the poetic spirit, not with the intention of falsifying the facts, but involuntarily. In the tradition there is also a germ of truth. Such literary productions he regards as of the greatest value. They reveal as much of the true life of a people as does sober history, and even more. It is his opinion that we dare not suppose Israel to have been an exception to the universal rule without doing violence to the laws governing the development of mankind. The myth differs from the tradition in being, not merely a story of the past, but a story containing a theory of the supposed history. The myth he regards as the best possible form for the revelation of religion. So that to him the admission that the supposed history in the Old Testament is largely traditional, and the religious ideas mythical, does not rob it of its character as a true revelation, in which he still believes. These, instead of veritable history, have been chosen of God as the medium by which he would convey to mankind the knowledge of the true religion. There are, however, several difficulties in the way of accepting his views. They practically spring from the denial of the miraculous element contained in these stories. He assumes that the very form which these supposed miracles bear is evidence that they are the imaginings of the human mind, rather than the relation of actual occurrences. But the chief objection arises from the very supposition that to Israel was revealed the true religion. The traditions and myths of other nations contained truths of religion; but the supposition is that the traditions and myths of the Jews contain the true religion. This at once lifts both Israel and its religious literature out of the plane occupied by other nations and explains why Israel had no traditions and myths, as was the case with other peoples, but veritable, marvelous history.

Martin Sorof. This scholar has led the way in an attempt to explain the origin of the Acts of the Apostles. He holds (*Die Entstehung der Apostelgeschichte*) that in its present form the book is not the work of Luke, but that he wrote an account of the preaching of the Gospel among the heathen, chiefly by Paul, and addressed it to Theophilus. From a Judaic Christian source came an account of the preaching and acts of Peter. These two were taken by Timothy and made into a work the purpose of which was to give an account of the spread of Christianity without reference to national distinctions. Timothy was the better fitted for such a task, since the mingling of Jewish and Hellenic blood in his veins would sufficiently widen his thought to include Gentile and Jew. In this way he proposes to explain the differences of style between the first and second parts of Acts. The document of Luke must have been written much earlier than the Acts as they were finally left by Timothy and as we have them to-day. The reason why Luke did not carry on the

history of Paul beyond the second year of his imprisonment at Rome was that Theophilus probably lived in Rome and knew for himself. And Timothy did not carry it forward because his work was rather one of compilation than of original writing. In the same way is to be explained the fact that, although the plan of the work by Timothy included a general history of the spread of the Gospel, while that of Luke chiefly related to Paul's preaching to the heathen, he still allowed the address to remain to Theophilus, who would be principally interested in the Gospel to the Gentiles. Luke's work was only intended for a limited class of readers (Gentiles). The incidents related of Peter were likewise designed for Jews. But the work of Timothy was for a wider circle of readers. This, Sorof thinks, will explain why the work of Timothy could pass with all parties for a work of Luke. It was addressed to Theophilus as a continuation of Luke's gospel. The small circle of readers having Luke's work would not notice the difference between the larger writing and the smaller. On this supposition, too, he thinks it is explicable why such widely divergent views of the Acts have been taken. But, even on the supposition that Luke would not have written to Theophilus all that is contained in the Acts, we could not accept the conclusion that Timothy was merely a compiler and that his work has no unity of design.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Der Todtenkultus bei den Juden (Funeral Ceremonies among the Jews), by Dr. I. Rabbinowics. Were it not that this book is written for the express purpose of introducing young theologues into the study of Jewish funeral customs we could scarcely credit what we here find of superstition and formality. From the instant that a person is taken sick until a greater or less period subsequent to burial the duties and rights of the dying and the living are defined with Pharisaic minuteness. It is the duty of the Jew to visit the sick and pray with him. But if he is lying upon the earth or on a low bed the visitor must not sit on a chair, lest he place himself higher than the Shekinah at the head of the sick. If the visitor prays in the presence of the sick he may employ whatever language he chooses, since the Shekinah understands all languages; but if in the absence of the sick he must pray in Hebrew. It is the custom, immediately upon the death of anyone, to pour out all water which may be in the house of the dead and in three houses on each side. Detailed instructions are given as to procedure in case the death occurs on the Sabbath or is produced by violence, and just how and by whom the body may be washed and clad for burial. A child which dies uncircumcised must be circumcised at the grave. The mourners dare not eat in the room where the dead lies. The ceremony of rending the garments must be performed standing. It must be done prior to burial. The rent must be in the garment over the breast and be as broad as the hand. If the mourner loses another relative the same day he must rend his garment in

a new place the width of a hand. But if the second relative dies after the seven days of mourning are passed he may merely enlarge the first rent a little. A eulogy must be pronounced over every dead person who had lived to be five years of age. The speaker must speak touchingly, so as to cause as many as possible to weep. The merits of the dead are to be set forth, but must not be too greatly praised, although it is allowable to praise the dead somewhat more than he deserves. The virtues of dead children should be touchingly described, and on such occasions the merits of their parents and relatives may be emphasized. If anyone has purposely taken his own life no eulogy is to be delivered. The first meal after the return from the grave must be furnished by others than the relatives of the deceased. Too great mourning incurs the risk of having soon to mourn another death. If a member of a benevolent or religious organization dies the whole society has reason to fear that still other members will die. And so on for illustration.

Kritische Geschichte der Exegese des 9. Kapitals des Römerbriefes (Critical History of the Exegesis of the 9th Chapter of Romans), by Dr. Valentine Weber. No subject is properly understood until the history of its literature is mastered. This work takes up and discusses thoroughly the views on this passage of the Greek exegetes during the first four centuries, namely, those of Origen, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, Clement of Rome, Theophilus of Antioch, Irenæus, Methodius, Ephraem the Syrian, and three great Cappadocians—Basilius the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa. It then takes up in the same way the Latins—Ambrosius, Jerome, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, and Augustine. The result of this investigation shows that the exegesis of this passage passed through various stages, the expositors seeking by different methods to set aside the difficulties which it presents. Origen, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Jerome, Ambrosiaster, and Pelagius took verses 15–18 as the words of an opponent of Paul's argument, not of Paul himself. Jerome, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Pelagius explained verses 20 and 21 as a *reductio ad absurdum*, so that they did not express Paul's own thought, but the consequences of the thought of his opponents; while Origen, Chrysostom, Ephraem, and Ambrosiaster simply referred these two verses to the fact that the divine mysteries are unsearchable. Among all the exegetes prior to Augustine, Chrysostom was the only one who took verses 14–23 to be a united whole expressive throughout of Paul's own thought. Augustine rightly recognized the content of the verses to be "grace as a gratuity." But he failed to find the correct significance of the passage, supposing that it was directed against the Jewish Christians of Rome, whereas it was in reality intended for the Pharisaic Jews in the hardness of their hearts. He took it also as signifying the individual, whereas it has reference to the blessings conferred upon society by its call to the kingdom of heaven and to God's special providence over the nations. To this outline of the contents of the book we may add that the high Calvinistic theory, so far as it was drawn from Augustine, was drawn from a

view which had been influenced more by philosophy and the absolutism of imperial authority than by the general spirit of the Pauline writings. Paul always conditioned the reception of free grace upon the individual's faith.

Die Laienpredigt und der Pietismus (Lay Preaching and Pietism), by Emil Wacker. Here we shall consider only what the author has to say about pietism in the Lutheran Church, where it is declared to be, not a consequence of the doctrine, as in the Reformed Church, but a consequence of apostasy from the true doctrine. This is in reality the key to all that the book has to say against pietism. It does not wholly reject doctrine, but it gives it a secondary place. Not correct faith, but correct life, is the demand. Along with this goes a certain subjectivity in the religious life to which the author objects. With him the word and the sacraments are most important. With the pietists the emphasis is placed upon the personal religious experience. The saying of Luther, that the Christian doctrine is heaven and the Christian life earth, is not that of the pietists, who believe that the life should be as heavenly as the doctrine. The author objects to Spener, in that he applies the words, "Behold, all things are become new," not to a gracious state, but to the moral condition. According to good Lutheran doctrine this is a serious error. These words are expressive merely of the fact that all is new in our relation to God's law and that complete moral newness is impossible. He thinks the consequence of the pietistic view to be a superficial conception of conversion; that is, the profounder idea of conversion lays the stress upon a gracious state, rather than a moral renewal. The feelings played a great part with the pietists. Then along with the subjectivity of the religious life went a dangerous tendency to separatism. Pietism could not understand the significance of the inherited ecclesiastical order. Furthermore the pietists rejected, at least practically, the doctrine of monergism and adopted that of synergism. These, and many other similar faults, Wacker finds in pietism. Most of these Americans have been taught to regard as virtues. This author finds far more to criticise in pietism than in the dead orthodoxy of the period just preceding, and from which it sprang as a reaction. Pietism, like monasticism, drifts toward Rome. "The only way which does not lead either to apostasy or to Rome is the way of the Lutheran faith, when it is maintained in its original form."

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Lay Preaching in Germany. Recent years have witnessed a phenomenon of more than ordinary interest in the Fatherland. It is the development of the idea of lay activity in religious work. Although the German Reformation asserted the universal priesthood of believers, yet for a long period the spiritual interests of the congregations were placed almost exclusively in the hands of the ministry. To this hour many of the clergy are jealous of any participation by the laity in distinctively spiritual work.

Yet the general tendency is setting rapidly in the direction of lay activity. Several causes have conspired to this end. Perhaps the chief is the development of the inner mission work. This has demanded far more workers than the ministry could supply, and lay workers became a necessity. So long has the Protestant Church in Germany been accustomed to the inner mission work that prejudice has been largely disarmed. Then the so-called "sects" of Germany have exercised a profound influence toward the same end. Methodists, Baptists, and others have given considerable liberty to laymen in church work, and the effect has been found beneficial, a fact not hidden from the masses of the religious elements of Germany. To this must be added the influence of the Young Men's Christian Association, which has taken considerable hold upon some of the larger cities of Germany. Besides, ecclesiastical methods in England and America are studied by the more progressive Germans with much zeal. Tourists in America see the advantages to be gained by our system, and, so far as they are laymen, feel that they have been too little allowed to exercise their privileges in Christ Jesus. What the laity of a Church seek they can always secure, in conservative Germany as elsewhere. There are other causes also for increased lay activity. The long student life of the educated clergy has unfitted many of them for the necessary sympathy with the masses. Many of them, too, are cold and rationalistic and furnish no true spiritual food for their parishioners. Then, the exceedingly large parishes, often numbering from fifty thousand to eighty thousand souls, with but two, three, or four pastors, render impossible that true pastoral oversight which is needful for a congregation. Much of the time of the pastors is occupied with purely clerical work, such as recording births, marriages, and deaths, with German minuteness of detail. The demand is, therefore, for more workers than the ranks of the ministry can afford. To these causes must be added the socialistic propaganda, which threatens both Church and State, making more popular methods of church work necessary. The development of this class of workers in Germany may be estimated by the following facts gathered from the third book mentioned in this number under "Recent Theological Literature." In Würtemberg the Evangelical Association sustains seventeen lay preachers, who act as colporteurs, hold meetings for worship, and do other pastoral work. They are in some cases not wholly dependent upon their salaries, which are very modest. In Baden similar work and workers are found. In the Rhine Provinces and Westphalia there are twenty-four persons employed, who often do far less colportage than preaching and pastoral labor. In some cases they are opposed, in others assisted, by the pastors. They stand in high repute among the ecclesiastical authorities. In East Prussia, and elsewhere, lay preaching was at first strongly churchly, but when it encountered the opposition of the pastors it went on its way regardless of them and threatens to end in separation. In Schleswig-Holstein the work of lay preaching is carried on with the consent of the authorities of the Church and with their cooperation and warm encouragement. The Society for Inner Missions was until recently under the leadership of

Baron von Oertzen, a layman, recently deceased, and admitted to membership only such as had a heartfelt experience of the power of the redeeming blood of Christ or were longing after it. The object of the society is to spread the word and the kingdom of God, especially among those who for any reason are far removed from the influence of the Church. They have eleven workers, six of whom are specially educated. But these are only a part of the many organizations whose chief characteristic is that they encourage or support lay activity. To those who are jealous for the Church and its constituted authorities these things are a thorn in the flesh, even though they are compelled to admit the good done to individuals thereby. But it is an unquestionable fact that lay activity, not alone in preaching, but also in all departments of church work, is making rapid progress, and that it is meeting with such success as wins increasing numbers of men to the opinion that it will solve the problem of churchly usefulness in Germany.

The Drink Evil in Germany. Not only does this curse of humanity rapidly increase, but theologians, jurists, physicians, statesmen, prison officials, and educators combine, with all who come in contact with the drunkard, in an earnest effort to oppose the ruinous fiend. Even the emperor has become aroused and is lending a hand. Among those who have spoken out upon the subject are men renowned beyond the borders of Germany. We give a few of their utterances. There is nothing new in them to American thought, but they will help to feather our arrows against those who assert that in Germany, where beer-drinking is common, drunkenness is rare. Pastor Von Bodelschwingh says: "The sale of poison by the apothecaries is closely watched; but hereabouts one person is permitted to cause the death of another by alcoholic poison." Pastor O. Funke says: "Humanity passes over into beastliness by reason of the appetite for strong drink." Professor Dr. M. Rhode exclaims: "Where has anything been done against the intemperate indulgence in strong drink? I mean anything thoroughgoing, extraordinary, against this extraordinary evil? Whether anything will result from my efforts I cannot tell. I am doing my duty and must leave the result with God." Professor Endemann, jurist, declares that the right to arrest the drunkard in the interest of public welfare and to incarcerate him in an asylum arises from the fact that he is impoverished or otherwise rendered unfortunate by drink, and that in law the lover of strong drink must be considered as in need of a guardian and insane. Robert Mohl affirms that the poverty of men is chiefly their own fault, since it is caused by their inclination to indulgence in drink. Gustav Rümelin regards the saloon as the asylum of indolence, the chief source and place of wastefulness, and the scene of common drunkenness and the rudest and often bloodiest excesses. Gustav Schmoller thinks that one could almost without exaggeration affirm that the future of Germany depends upon this question. Von Moltke says that a healthy man needs no stimulant under ordinary labor, and to give it to children, as is often done, is positively criminal. Dr. Hufeland declares

that all spirituous drinks tend to shorten life, and that mankind has never suffered under a sickness so dangerous as the pest of strong drink. Dr. Birch-Hirschfeld regards the drinker as far more dangerous to the social and moral existence of the family than the insane. Privy Counselor Illing says that, according to the experience of the officers of penal institutions in Prussia, the larger part of the crimes and offenses which are investigated are a direct or indirect consequence of the use of spirituous liquors. From so many and such varied, though harmonious and energetic, utterances on this subject, in the land whence the defense of drinking customs is chiefly drawn in America, it becomes evident that a sentiment is being developed which will at length crush out this evil.

The Situation in Persia. The visit of the shah to Europe is understood to have great significance for the religious as well as the political situation. He has been favorable to reforms which introduce European manners and methods, and this has excited the enmity of the people, and particularly of the priests, especially as he has separated them from all participation in government affairs. There has recently appeared a long-desired messiah who, according to the expectation of the masses, will sweep from off the face of the earth all non-Mohammedan peoples and elevate Mohammedanism to a universal sway. This may lead to bloody persecutions and to efforts to overthrow the shah, who will doubtless be influenced by occidental rather than oriental views of this messiah. Under the leadership of a fanatical Mohammedan messiah it would not be difficult to produce disturbances which would exhibit all the old-time barbarism of Islam.

The Gustavus Adolphus Society. The forty-sixth annual convention of this organization was recently held in Bremen. Its affairs exhibit an encouraging growth. The number of branch organizations has increased from 1,831 to 1,837, and those of the females from 483 to 502. The appropriations of the association amounted in Germany alone to 1,009,300 marks, and together with those of Holland, Roumania, Sweden, Switzerland, Hungary, and Italy to 1,042,867 marks. The entire income of the society was 1,830,135 marks, and its property was reported at 3,003,931 marks. During the past year 27 churches and houses of prayer were dedicated through the help of the society, and 23 congregations were started in the erection of houses of worship, 10 parsonages erected, and 9 schools established.

Methodist Union in Australia. For several years an effort in this direction has been made in imitation of Canadian Methodism. The movement has gone so far that a numerous general convention of delegates from the various Methodistic branches has been called to arrange the details of the consolidation. The *New Zealand Methodist* says that until the present time the Conferences have worked upon an individual basis; but now they exchange their opinions mutually in the expectation of an early union.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

The traveler's journal of rugged adventure and brilliant discovery is a noticeable feature of present periodical literature. Whoever keeps pace with the current magazines needs no other assurance that the explorer is abroad. The successors of Mungo Park in Africa, of Kane among the arctic snows, of Von Humboldt, who went everywhere, are always in the field. Man has the instinct for exploration. Strong-shod for the rough journey, carrying in a light pouch the equipment for the tour of a continent, open-eyed for every wonder, and vivid in his descriptive quality, he climbs every mountain and crosses every desert in search of knowledge. It will be a sorry day when the traveler has trodden the last foot of the earth's surface and exploration has merged into full discovery.

But until that unfortunate period shall arrive such a tourist's story as that of E. N. Buxton, in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, will only whet the appetite for further exploration. Entitling his article "In the Mountains of Egypt," he has written of his personal visit to the broken chain of "granite vertebræ" which lies back of the Nile and is separated from it by "a belt of waterless desert." The conveyance of the party was by the back of camels; the cameleers were of the Maazeh tribe, good-natured, spare, active, and "probably changed as little in the last five or six millenniums as any people on the face of the earth." Of the silence of the desert the author speaks in graphic phrase: "It is an experience to be felt nowhere else. Here is a little sample such as the world was before the pulse of life began. There is no sound of water, no rustle of leaves, no hum of insects; even the thud of the soft pads of the camels can scarcely be called a noise. It is to visit a dead planet." Following the gradual ascent from the plains to the foothills and then to the mountains, the traveler describes the "bizarre and fantastic" rocks, traces the limit of vegetable and animal life, and identifies such historic scenes as Badia, the "important well of the Romans at the base of Gebel Dukhan." Nor is the bleak desert without its witchery for Mr. Buxton. Whether the mountaineers are not better circumstanced than the fellaheen to whom he returns is his query. "I wonder," he concludes, "which race is the happier; or are we Northerners better off with our fretting life, and machines, and books, and endless strife? Why does not some Edison invent a delicate balance for weighing happiness? Anyhow, I am certain that a month in the desert with chosen companions would rank high."

Another readable and instructive article, in which less of nature and more of humanity is introduced, is the paper by T. J. Hughes, on "Village Life in Mexico," which opens the table of contents in the April *Chautauquan*. If the history of a day be "complex and various" throughout the world, it certainly has its unique features in the Mexican environment which the author visited. In structure, the usual house is "a blocked-shaped and thick-walled adobe, with no windows, heavily barred door, cement floor, and two rooms containing but two or three articles of fur-

niture;" as to agriculture the traveler found that maize is "the chief product of the country;" as to education, the instruction of the children is not neglected, so that it is rare "to find an adult who cannot read and write;" for a four-footed companion almost every family has "the patient burro;" in the cultivation of the social instinct the nights are given to music, song, and visiting. "Thus the evening is spent," says the author regarding this semitropical simplicity; "and one by one the flickering lights of the fires go out. The children have long since ceased their yells, and only occasionally is heard the bark of the dog. The songs of a solitary family sitting up later than usual are the only echoes of the dying day, and after a while silence, unbroken silence, reigns over all. The village sleeps, to be awakened for another day by the song of the cock."

Still other instances of the traveler's description occur in the *Fortnightly Review* for March, where Dr. J. W. Gregory tells of "An Expedition to Mount Kenya—A Story of African Adventure," and Henry W. Lucy writes a paper entitled "From Cape Town to Cairo." The former of these articles is given up to the rugged scenery and the aboriginal wildness of the lake region of Africa. To a height of 16,800 feet did the daring traveler ascend Mount Kenya, studiously aiming to study the fauna, flora, and geology of the district, as well as to ascertain other obtainable facts. Mr. Lucy's article cites the view of Mr. Cecil Rhodes as to England's permanency in Africa: "He does not believe England will ever withdraw from Egypt, and, seeing in his mind's eye the British flag permanently flying at Cairo, he desires to make a highway of communication with the older British outpost at the Cape." The article thus has a political flavor, and is hopeful in its vision of a future British boulevard "from Table Bay to the Suez Canal." Yet it is no less the animated and crowded description of an alert nineteenth century traveler.

The *Biblical World*, under the editorship of Dr. Harper, is a free lance among the theological publications of the day. Its March number has contributed articles as follows: 1. "The Theology of Paul and of John Compared," by Professor G. B. Stevens, D.D.; 2. "Paradise and the First Sin, Genesis iii," by W. R. Harper; 3. "Hindooism's Points of Contact with Christianity," by Merwin-Marie Snell; 4. "The Duties of Man as Taught by the Book of Proverbs," by C. F. Kent, Ph.D.; 5. "Wisdom in Teaching Critical Results," by Professor F. B. Denio. In the first of these papers the writer finds that John, much less than Paul, presents a system of thought. Yet these two great Christian teachers "in many ways supplement each other, and both illustrate and enforce with peculiar power the great truths of God's love and grace which constitute the changeless substance of the Gospel of Christ." In the second article Dr. Harper reviews in his characteristic way the always fascinating story of the sin in the garden of Eden, and concludes concerning it that the writer was "ignorant of the real geographical and historical facts," and that it is "prophetic in the wide and in the narrow sense." In the concluding

paper Professor Denio notices "the sensitiveness often manifested regarding the discussions respecting the Bible," and suggests how those who help forward Scripture study may quiet this feeling of alarm.

THE *Lutheran Quarterly* for April has as its table of contents: 1. "The Ascension of Christ," by Rev. John Brubaker; 2. "The Relation of the Church Council to the Pastor and his Work," by Rev. S. J. Taylor; 3. "Evidential Value of Apostolic Testimony," by Rev. M. L. Young; 4. "Dr. Remensnyder's Lutheran Manual," by M. Valentine, D.D.; 5. "What Constitutes True Christian Worship," by Rev. E. S. Johnston; 6. "Descensus ad Infernos," by Rev. M. G. Boyer; 7. "Character and Democracy," by Rev. Edwin Heyl Delk; 8. "The Coordination of Word and Sacrament," by Rev. Adam Stump; 9. "Incentives to Missionary Activity," by Rev. P. C. Croll; 10. "North-East College," by Rev. W. E. Hull; 11. "Professor Pieper and the Lutheran Manual," by J. B. Remensnyder, D.D. The first of these articles holds that Ascension Day, with "its great and sacred meaning," should be "more generally observed in the Church." The usual arguments for the credibility of the apostles, in the fact that they reported the things which they saw and suffered for the truth, are presented in the third paper. As to Christ's descent into hell, the writer of the sixth article holds the view that he "went in his entire person to the prison house of the spirit world, and proclaimed that all the promises made to Noah and the prophets concerning a coming Messiah were all fulfilled, that man's redemption was complete, and made it plain that he was victor over death, the grave, Satan, and all the powers of darkness." In the ninth article the Rev. Mr. Croll finds a threefold incentive to missionary activity in the considerations that it is "for the Master's sake," "for the heathen's sake," and "for our own sakes."

THE April number of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* opens with a practical article by E. T. Bromfield, D.D., on "The Sabbath School Movement of To-day." In "The Ecclesiastical Situation in Scotland" Dr. N. L. Walker foresees the coming of disestablishment, and then predicts the union of the three Presbyterian bodies now operating in Scotland. The article of Professor J. I. Good, D.D., on "The Witness of the Reformed Church of Germany against Rationalism," is a worthy review of the defense of evangelical truth in Germany. Professor N. M. Steffens, D.D., writes on "The Principle of Reformed Protestantism and Foreign Missions;" and Professor H. W. Hulbert discusses "Political Science and Christian Missions." The gist of Professor William H. Green's exhaustive article on "Klostermann on the Pentateuch" is that this "veteran professor of Old Testament exegesis at the University of Kiel, in his recent treatise on the Pentateuch, enters a vehement protest against the methods and results of the higher critics in their work of dismemberment." The final paper, on "Christian Beneficence and Some New Theories Affecting Property," by Dr. David R. Breed, challenges

the teachings of Dr. George D. Herron and others, and estimates the terms employed toward men of wealth, in the writings of these recent sociological teachers, as "unduly severe, unreasonable in character, and not warranted even by the Scripture which is quoted in their support." It then proceeds in a discriminating way to inquire what the Scripture really teaches as to the acquisition and disposition of property.

THE *London Quarterly Review* for April has: 1. "Dean Stanley's Life and Influence;" 2. "Roman Portraits;" 3. "W. H. Smith;" 4. "Modern Views of Inspiration;" 5. "Four English Socialists;" 6. "The Poetry of Dante Gabriel Rossetti;" 7. "Sacerdotalism and the Succession;" 8. "Labor and the Popular Welfare;" 9. "Old New England." The portrait busts of ancient Romans in various Italian museums, as seen by Mr. Baring-Gould, form the basis for the second article. The men studied are Julius Cæsar, Cæsar Augustus, Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, and Nero. In the fifth article the socialistic views of Mann, Webb, Morris, and Bax are considered. The last article is a charming notice of New England life in the seventeenth century.

THE *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* is diligent in its compilation of records worthy of preservation. Its table of contents for April includes: 1. "Memoir of David Clapp, Esq.," by W. B. Trask, A.M.; 2. "British Officers Serving in America," communicated by W. C. Ford; 3. "Governor Simon Bradstreet's Ancestry," by I. J. Greenwood, A.M.; 4. "Rev. Stephen Peabody and Wife," by W. C. Todd, A.M.; 5. "Memoranda by Robert Foster, of Kingston, Mass.," communicated by C. E. Briggs, M.D.; 6. "Letters of Colonel Thomas Westbrook and Others," communicated by W. B. Trask; 7. "Snow Genealogy," by Mrs. Charles L. Alden; 8. "Rev. William Adams, of New York, with Adams and Bradford Descent," by Miss Emily W. Leavitt; 9. "Connection of the Family of Edison, the Inventor, with Digby, N. S.," by Judge A. W. Savary; 10. "Martin's or Martha's Vineyard," by C. E. Banks, M.D.; 11. "Some Descendants of Rev. John Robinson of Leyden," by Hon. A. S. Thurston; 12. "The Maverick Family," by I. J. Greenwood, A.M. In addition, "Notes and Queries" and other miscellaneous departments contain many matters in which the genealogist and historian must delight.

THE *Canadian Methodist Review* for March–April opens with Professor M. Randles's second paper on the question, "Were the Sufferings of Christ Penal?" Thomas Manning, M.A., traces the "History of Dogma;" J. W. Cooley continues his discussion of "The Guidance of the Holy Spirit;" James Crisp urges the "Christian Education of Children," and Chancellor Burwash, S.T.D., continues his analytical studies in Genesis. The concluding article, by Rev. A. M. Phillips, is a study of the Epworth League and Christian Endeavor pledges. The spirit of these pledges he commends, and the advantages in taking them he considers to be many.

We may only quote the full table of contents of the *North American Review* for April. It contains "Personal Reminiscences of the Vatican Council," by Cardinal Gibbons; "New Parties in Parliament," by Justin McCarthy, M.P.; "Reform in the Consular Service," by the Honorable W. F. Wharton; "The Republican Outlook," by the Honorable T. H. Carter; "Our Navigation Laws," by C. H. Cramp; "Forgery as a Profession," by Robert A. Pinkerton; "Tariff Reform and Monetary Reform," by the President of Brown University; "Wild Traits in Tame Animals," by Dr. Louis Robinson; "An Anglo-American Alliance," by A. S. White; "How We Restrict Immigration," by Dr. J. H. Senner; and "The Suppression of Lawlessness in the South," by Governor Stone, of Mississippi. The department of "Notes and Comments" ends an unusually strong number of this always strong publication.

The *Presbyterian Quarterly* feeds its readers with solid meat. Its April number has: 1. "The Attractions of Popery," by R. L. Dabney, D.D.; 2. "Dr. Driver on the Authorship of Isaiah xiii and xiv," by W. M. McPheeters, D.D.; 3. "Presentationism *versus* Representationism," by J. A. Quarles, D.D.; 4. "A Pupil of John—Polycarp," by W. Beattie Jennings; 5. "Ordination to the Ministry of Christ," by A. C. Hopkins, D.D.; 6. "Why We Are Presbyterians," by J. A. Scott.

The *Treasury* for April introduces to its many readers the Rev. John R. Davies, D.D., lately inducted into the pulpit of the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, as the successor of Dr. Howard Crosby.——The *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren* for April has, among other articles, one on "Woman's Position in the Church," by Mrs. Keister Harford, M.A., and a second on "Woman in Official Life," by Ada J. Guitner, M.A.——The *New World* is among the most solid of the Quarterlies reviewing "religion, ethics, and theology," though orthodoxy may sometimes take issue with its conclusions. Its March number includes: "The Human Element in the Bible," by Philip S. Moxom; "Universalism a Progressive Faith," by A. N. Alcott; "The Origin of Goodness," by Minot J. Savage; and "The Ante-Nicene Doctrine of the Unity of God," by Thomas R. Slicer.——The *Contemporary Review* for April among thirteen contributed articles has "The House of Lords and Betterment," by the Duke of Argyll, and "The Bogus Apotheosis of the British Army," by Archibald Forbes.——*Christian Literature and Review of the Churches* in its April issue has an article on "Our Philanthropic Agencies," by Archdeacon Farrar, and a beautifully illustrated advertisement of the projected tour known as "the World's Temperance Crusade." Miss Willard is herein likened to Peter the Hermit.——The *Gospel in all Lands* for April gives particular discussion to Hindooism.——The *Catholic World* for April among its articles has a noticeable paper by Rev. Kenelm Vaughan on "What Catholics Have Done for Education in Mexico."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Non-Biblical Systems of Religion. A Symposium. By the Venerable Archdeacon FARRAR, D.D., Rev. Canon RAWLINSON, M.A., Rev. W. WRIGHT, D.D., Rabbi G. J. EMANUEL, B.A., Sir WILLIAM MUIR, Rev. EDWIN JOHNSON, M.A., T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, LL.D., Ph.D., the Honorable RASMUS B. ANDERSON, Rev. WILLIAM NICOLSON, M.A. 12mo, pp. 243. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

The names above given on the title page are a sufficient guarantee that something worth reading is within. The chief trouble is that, being simply brief magazine articles, reprinted from the *Homiletic Magazine* of London, the tremendous topics attacked can only be treated in a very fragmentary, and hence in a somewhat unsatisfactory, manner. "Ancient Egyptian Systems," "Ancient Canaanite Religions," "Earlier Hellenic Religions," "The Religion of the Ancient Scandinavians," Islam, Buddhism, "The Jewish Faith," "Positivism as a Religion," and "The One Purely Moral Religion" are briefly considered. But not much of importance can be said on such themes in ten or fifteen minutes. The most satisfactory and suggestive of the papers now considered are those by Rabbi Emanuel, on the Jewish faith, and by Professor Thomson (whose name for some reason is not on the title page with the rest), on positivism. The rabbi speaks respectfully of Jesus, "the great Teacher whose influence has so profoundly affected the world." "He lived and died," he says, "an obedient son of Israel. Nor was his death the signal for the establishment of a new religion. . . . Indeed, it was Paul's preaching that authorized such departures from Jewish practice as constituted the establishment of a new faith; and from an historical point of view I am inclined to name Paul, rather than Jesus, as the founder of the Christian religion." How indignantly and vehemently the great apostle would have repudiated any such honor (perhaps the rabbi does not regard it as an honor) any reader of the epistles can clearly see. The author of the essay, who evidently belongs to the liberal wing, calls Christianity a sister religion to Judaism, the two faiths, "once rivals, long foes, now and henceforth, it is to be hoped, friends and fellow-workers, . . . striving together, though by different methods, to bring all men to the knowledge and worship of the Most High." Professor Thomson's paper is equally noteworthy. Of positivism as a philosophy or as a science very much has been written, but of positivism as a religion most people are much more ignorant; and this is the less to be wondered at in that by no means all who accept the positive philosophy receive also the teachings of M. Comte in regard to religion—"the religion of "humanity," or "human catholicism," as it is sometimes designated, in contrast with Roman Catholicism. Its trinity is humanity, the world, and space. It has its saints' days, its sacraments, its priesthood. But these are mostly on paper. Its temples have yet to be built, its priesthood has yet to be instituted. The followers of this new cult are exceeding few, and it has been admitted that out-

side of France and Britain they can be reckoned only by units. It is a religion that offers no pardon for the past and lifts no veil from the future. What can it do for men? It goes too far for the materialist, it goes not far enough for the spiritualist. Humanity does not long to be worshiped, either collectively or individually, but desires above all else to rest its hopes on some beneficent and almighty Being who will give peace to its conscience and strength to its will.

The Ideal of Humanity in Old Times and New. By JOHN STUART BLACKIE, Emeritus Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh, Author of *On Self-Culture, Four Phases of Morals*, etc. 12mo, pp. 201. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.

This is a small volume of unconnected essays, grouped under a remote, unrelated, and somewhat fanciful title. It is not so much the ideal of humanity that is set forth as the views and reflections of good Professor Blackie on a variety of subjects, such as "David, King of Israel," "Christian Unity," "Wisdom," "Women," "St. Paul and the Epistle to the Romans," and "The Scottish Covenanters." Everything from the pen of John Stuart Blackie is well worth reading. In general he can be depended on for the broad, balanced, and fair-minded judgment which goes with high intelligence, wide culture, thorough scholarship, and full maturity. He is equally at home in the realms of religion and of culture. His writings mix the two together. His religion is intelligent, and his learning is saturated with piety. His style may be indicated by an extract from the first of these essays: "Of all the fair chances that can befall a young man at his first start in the race of life the greatest unquestionably is to be brought into contact, and if possible to enter into familiar relations, with a truly great man. For this is to know what manhood means, and a manly life, not by grave precept or wise proverb or ideal picture; but to see the ideal in complete equipment and compact reality before you as undeniably and as efficiently as the sun that sheds light from the sky or the mountain that showers water into the glen. As when the poor primeval dweller in a cave of the wilderness is for the first time brought into the view of a pillared Greek temple or a massive Florentine palace he leaps into a new conception of what a human dwelling means, and, stirred with an imitative ambition, proceeds forthwith to shape for himself a miniature of the temple or the palace, . . . so the young man who first comes into living contact with a Cæsar or an Alexander, a Shakespeare or a Bacon, passes at one step, as it were, from a dream of manhood to the fact of a great personal possibility, or at least of a noble human relationship. He may not hope ever to become a Cæsar in war or a Shakespeare in literature, but certainly he has become feelingly alive to the kinship which he may claim and the aspirations which he may indulge. What is a great man? A man is great among men just as Mont Blanc is great among Swiss, or Ben Nevis among Scottish, mountains—a man rising above the normal level of his kind, with as marked an elevation as these heights above the common reach of heaven-kissing hills, and at the same time possessing all the qualities and virtues that belong to terrestrial

elevations generally. This is a qualification that must be distinctly marked. Mere height will not make a Ben Nevis or a Mont Blanc; and so a mere superiority in any of the special qualities or positions that belong to a man will not make a truly great man. The man must be a complete man, a man all round, but at the same time a man in his peculiar sphere of the social harmony, presenting to the general eye a superiority as marked as any high Highland Ben does above its lowly congeners. A great genius is not necessarily a great man; he may be a Beethoven in the lordship of sweet sounds, a Raphael in the cunning handling of brush and pencil, a Napoleon in the well-ordered sweep of ambitious war, but not therefore a great man. Jove is not Jove merely as a strong launcher of the thunderbolt, but as the assertor of justice, the avenger of perjury, and the protector of innocence. Nay, so far is mere special greatness of any description from giving a man claim to the praise of a truly great man that, as we daily see, there is a strong tendency in the cultivation of any prominent specialty to defraud the other capacities that belong to a well-accoutered human creature and to disturb the balance of his manhood. Thus it happens that the strong point in a man's professional exercise becomes a weakness in his human character; his favorite virtue, like a pampered child, becomes his prominent weakness; the exaggerated presentment of one feature destroys the fair proportions in which the beauty of an æsthetical whole consists; and in this way your mere lawyer, for instance, becomes an expert intellectual fencer, your mere poet a blower of splendid soap-bubbles or a colorist of clouds, and your mere parson a bundle of sacerdotal conceit. Let us say, therefore, that a great man is a man who, while in the exercise of his special capacity soaring as high above common men as an eagle above a barn-door fowl, is deficient in no function that makes a man a man." We judge that the essay dearest to its writer's heart is that on "The Scottish Covenanters." Professor Blackie is a true Scotchman, and tells with proud and patriotic fervor the magnificently heroic story of those stout, brave Christian men, of whom the world was not worthy, who belong to the noble army of martyrs for religious liberty. Concerning the assassination of Archbishop Sharp, he says it was an unplanned accident which would never have occurred had Sharp been man enough and gentleman enough to say: "My countrymen north of the Tweed have as much right to read presbytery out of the Bible as I have episcopacy; they do not interfere with my rendering of the sacred text, and I have no right to interfere with theirs. Let Charles, a trifler and a pleasure-hunter, perform what pranks may suit his lawless humor at full swing; but I am a Christian priest and a minister of God's Gospel of peace, and can have nothing to do with a policy which, in kinship, not with Christ, but with the Neros and Diocletians of pagan times, commences with the assumption of a spiritual power in matters which can belong to no secular authority, and ends in the persecution and death of the most faithful servants of God and the most loyal subjects of the king that the country can boast."

Religion. By G. DE MOLINARI, Correspondent de L'Institut, Redacteur en Chef du Journal des Economistes. Translated from the Second (Enlarged) Edition, with the Author's Sanction, by WALTER K. FIRMINGER, B.A., Merton College, Oxford. 12mo, pp. 200. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

The topic which this distinguished French author has taken up in the small volume before us is sufficiently comprehensive, and of lasting importance as well as widest interest. Nor can his treatment of it be much criticised. He makes a strong plea in favor of ecclesiastical liberty and the disestablishment of the Church, which we certainly believe in over here in America. But the writer being a member of the Gallican Church, and the translator, who also supplies notes, being a member of the Anglican Church, they cannot naturally be expected to adapt their discussion very largely to an American audience. Some things here, however, are of permanent and universal value. Part First takes up "The Past and Present of Religions," Part Second "The Future of Religion." The history is traced almost exclusively from what might be called the scientific or natural standpoint, though the supernatural is by no means denied. The second part is mainly occupied with the separation of Church and State, which the author regards as both inevitable and desirable, especially because only thus can religion most effectually exert its influence upon the conduct of individuals and the direction of human affairs. The concluding sentence is as follows: "We shall believe that we have lost neither time nor trouble if by writing this book we shall have given birth to the idea of founding an association for securing the economic liberty of religious bodies." That religious bodies this side the sea have complete economic liberty is something for which perhaps we do not sufficiently praise God. We extend to our brethren in France and Britain who are striving after it our cordial sympathy.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Captain of the Janizaries. A Story of the Times of Scanderbeg and the Fall of Constantinople. By JAMES M. LUDLOW, Author of *A King of Tyre*, etc. New Edition. Post 8vo, pp. 404. Price, paper, 50 cents.

The Prince of India; or, Why Constantinople Fell. By LEW WALLACE, Author of *Ben Hur*, etc. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 1,078. Price, cloth, $2.50.

There are interesting reasons why these two books, both published by Harper & Brothers, should be noticed together. They have been brought into studious comparison in the public mind by various parallelisms and contrasts. Whoever seeks for an explanation of the curious and close resemblances between them must enter into some mysterious psychological problems. Putting side by side the undeniable similarities and the offered statements concerning them, it is difficult to reconcile them except upon some very subtle and occult theory. Although each book has a different topic and is written in a different style, both cover to a large extent the same period in history, both making large use of the fall of Constantinople in its capture by the Turks in 1453. And it is in this portion of the history that the most marked and puzzling coincidences occur. The first

resemblances that strike the reader are the time, place, and prominent historical characters in both stories. The most singular resemblances lie chiefly within the field of invention. We present some of them. Ballaban, the Captain of the Janizaries, is, in outline of career, reproduced in Mirza, in Wallace's *Prince of India*. Both are Christian children, both are captured by Turks, both are educated as Janizaries, both become comrades of young Mahomet and his intimate advisers, both are sent by Mahomet to act as spies in Constantinople before the siege, both fall in love with the heroine of the book, and both befriend her and save her life at the same time (the capture of the city) and in the same place (the chancel of St. Sophia). As to the heroines, Morsinia, in Dr. Ludlow's book, and Irané, in General Wallace's, both are of noble rank, both are orphaned by the murder of their parents, both are brought to Constantinople, both attract the desire of the Emperor Constantine while Phranza, the chamberlain, is seeking a wife for Constantine at Eastern courts, both decline the emperor's advances, both appear on the walls during the siege and create the illusion of the Virgin Mary, both are befriended by a lover—Mahomet's confidential friend Ballaban, in one book, and Mirza, in the other, and both are rescued in the chancel of St. Sophia. When Mahomet enters the building both are given to Mahomet—one by Ballaban and the other by Mirza. As to Ballaban, in the *Captain of the Janizaries*, and Lael, in *The Prince of India*, both are kidnapped near the Hippodrome, both are concealed in the old water-vault of Constantine, both are taken down the steps to a boat with lights flashing through the darkness and a forest of pillars around, and both escape by the drowning of one of the captors in the water-vault and the killing of the other at the entrance. Other resemblances are seen in the two monks discussing the "Filioque," and the two Janizaries' reminiscences of childhood. In addition to specific similarities like these it has been remarked that in general the two books make much the same impression. In every discussion of this peculiar matter it should be borne in mind that Dr. Ludlow is secure in the fact that his book was published seven years before *The Prince of India* appeared. General Wallace denies that he had any knowledge of Dr. Ludlow's book or ever so much as saw it. *The Captain of the Janizaries* took six months in the actual writing; the writing of *The Prince of India* extended through six years. Dr. Ludlow keeps closer to historic lines, and his book has a firmer framework of fact. General Wallace gives freer rein to imagination, and is not restrained by regard for the details of the history of which he makes liberal use. The author of *Ben Hur* aims at splendor and high-wrought dramatic crises, and largely achieves his aim. His pages are at times like a heavily embroidered piece of oriental tapestry, stiff and elaborate. In the labored accumulation and interweaving of innumerable details there is enough to account for the long years spent in the writing. The book pants a little with its effort. We can hardly say that history is the warp and romance the woof, because the romance so greatly exceeds the history in quantity. General Wallace's book shows signs of the advantage he has enjoyed in his extended opportunities to

study the minutiæ of oriental scenes and customs and to command for his work what is called local color. On the other hand, we cannot help feeling that, while in Dr. Ludlow's volume there is less effort spent upon details and a less gorgeous and glittering style, there is more compact substance, less artificiality, and more real power in swift, free-hand drawing and the portrayal of personal characters. The odd resemblances between these two books, appearing, seven years apart, from authors unacquainted with each other, furnish another of the curiosities of literature, intensify public interest, and multiply the readers of both books, each of which is well worth reading. Were there no gain from such reading except to make one of the great catastrophes of history stand out in startling and memorable pictures of blood and fire it were enough. For this accurate reproduction of history in a blaze Dr. Ludlow's is the more valuable work. The difference between the books in this respect is illustrated in the fact that Scanderbeg is a real and important historic character while the Wandering Jew is an utter fiction. Similar strange coincidences are not wanting in literature ever since men began to write. Attention was recently called to the remarkable resemblance between one of Tennyson's poems and one published years before in the *Yale Literary Magazine* by Charlton T. Lewis. But the two books before us furnish one of the most remarkable instances of extensive, minute, and mysterious parallelism to be found in literature. It is most interesting to read them both in the order of their publication.

The Law of Psychic Phenomena. A Working Hypothesis for the Systematic Study of Hypnotism, Spiritism, Mental Therapeutics, etc. By THOMSON JAY HUDSON. 12mo, pp. 409. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The subtitle of this book, "A Working Hypothesis for the Systematic Study of Hypnotism, Spiritism, Mental Therapeutics, etc.," clearly identifies its nature and motive. The "working hypothesis" is that we have two minds and that the second mind (subjective) is amenable to "suggestion." Of course the author believes that all the unusual psychic facts manifest in hypnotism, etc., are best explained by mental duality and suggestion. There are two preliminary objections to the theory: first, that we are not conscious of having two minds, and, second, that the theory is distasteful to the scientific mind. Further, the line of separation between the two is not made at all clear. For example, it is the objective mind which reasons; but the subjective mind does the remembering. Now, we cannot imagine an act of reasoning so simple that it requires no aid from memory. A bolder hypothesis is required—that both minds remember. We are not able to find any advantage in dualizing our conception of the mind. All the author's facts are, in our judgment, consistent with mental unity. At all events, he has not proved the necessity of his hypothesis. Nor is there anything novel in the doctrine of suggestion; it is only the application of the doctrine that presents novelty. Here our author ventures upon the really important part of his theorizing. The power of controlling another by suggestion has been found to be a very limited one. As an

hypothesis it not only fails now and then (and one failure sets it aside), but it fails in a large majority of cases. The author saves his hypothesis in a truly heroic manner by just prefixing the word "*auto*" to the word "suggestion" when the hypothesis fails. It is like saying that all substance is iron or noniron; or that every man is good or not good. To ascribe the failures of suggestion to suggestion itself by the theory that the mind of the patient counter-suggests—life would be easy if *pro* and *con* were always so easily convertible. We need a new theory about mysterious mentality, but more sifting of the so-called facts. So far as these facts have passed beyond the testing stage into general acceptance they are easily enough explained by standard books on psychology. There is, however, a larger mass of "facts" which have not passed the testing stage. Most of the difficulties of the subject are created by doubtful "phenomena," in which deception and self-deception may still be used as a "working hypothesis." A new hypothesis is of no service in explaining what never happened. Dreaming, somnambulism, hypnotism, trances, etc., are easily enough accounted for, and are consistent enough with common psychologic teaching. The author believes that hypnotism cannot be used for criminal purposes. Only a bad man or woman can, by suggestion, be made to do wrong. This is probably too cheerful a view, and the author's confidence may be explained by his hostility to legal restraints upon hypnotic experiment. The intelligent reader who remembers that most of the author's phenomena have long been as simple as arithmetic will find the book entertaining as well as ingenious.

Introduction to Elementary Practical Biology. By CHARLES WRIGHT DODGE, Professor of Biology, Rochester University. Crown 8vo, pp. 422. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.80.

After the publication of Huxley and Martin's *Practical Biology* there appeared for many years nothing new in the way of a practical guide for laboratory work in biology. Rapidly advancing knowledge has, however, produced every year new ideas among educators as to methods of instruction, resulting in the last few years in the publication of a number of books on elementary biology, both practical and theoretical. This work of Professor Dodge is one of the best of them all. The aim of his undertaking is to give the student an outline guide to laboratory work in elementary biology, including the study of both plants and animals, and to teach him to use his eyes and brain together. The work begins with the study of the animal and plant cell, and then passes to the study of higher forms. Among animals we find directions for the study of the sponge, hydra, campanularian hydroid, the starfish, the earthworm, the lobster, the locust, the crab, and the frog. Among plants it treats of Vaucheria, the stoneworts, the rockweeds, molds, mushrooms, liverworts, ferns, and the flowering plants. Added to the laboratory directions we find an appendix giving a list of reagents, with directions for making them and for their use; and, lastly, there is a list of references to important works on biology and a glossary. The work is designed as a laboratory guide, and for nothing

else. It has no descriptions and no figures. It is purposely designed to be absolutely unintelligible except to one who has the actual specimen immediately in front of him for study. The special feature of the book, and that which gives it particular value, is the method by which it directs the student in his laboratory work. This consists in asking him a series of questions, many of which may be answered from simple observation, but some of which require the exercise of considerable thought and originality on his part. None of the questions are answered, nor can they be answered except from personal examination of the specimen. They cover various topics of comparative anatomy and homology, of physiology and function, and will certainly lead to a more thoughtful study of animals and plants than any other laboratory guide that has yet appeared. It is true that the questions are sometimes entirely beyond the ability of the student to answer. It is a little surprising, for example, to find an elementary student expected to tell why the locust has both simple and compound eyes, or why so many earthworms can be seen on the ground after a rain—questions which are still puzzles to the specialist. Many such unanswerable questions are found in the book. The author states, however, that he does not expect an answer to all the questions, but inserts them simply as suggestions. This method of teaching is certainly the ideal one. Practical biology should have for its purpose, not the storing of the student's mind with facts, but to teach him to see and think for himself. The ordinary laboratory guide gives so many minute directions and so much information that it has rather the effect of curbing than of stimulating one's originality of investigation and of thought. It is doubtful, therefore, whether any of the text-books of biology which have been published in the last ten years are so well adapted to stimulate the student in the right kind of observation and thinking as this one of Professor Dodge, that tells him almost nothing, but asks him questions and forces him to find the answers for himself. It is, perhaps, a matter of question whether the ordinary student can find the time for the study of biology in this way. To answer some of the questions or follow satisfactorily some of the suggestions would require several days' study and much hard work. The work is, indeed, almost too comprehensive, and without testing it by practical trial it hardly seems possible that any class of students could study all the subjects outlined in the book within the time allotted to elementary biology even in the best schools. One may also regret that no figures are in the book; for experience has taught that some directions in the way of diagrams are absolutely necessary for the beginner. It is also to be regretted that the author did not see fit to mention the publishers of the various works of reference, for such mention would very materially aid in making this list valuable. The author does not expect, however, that the book will be used without a competent instructor, and doubtless intends that the instructor should supply the lack of diagrams and give personal help where necessary. The purpose of this guide is to outline the work to be done and to stimulate the student not only to use the dissecting knife and microscope, but also his eyes and his brain together.

Ideal Suggestion through Mental Photography. By HENRY WOOD. 8vo, pp. 163. Boston: Lee and Shepard. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The most interesting thing about this book is that it has a certain market. Ideal suggestion has put some persons into a receptive attitude for this mixture of truth, rhapsody, and nonsense. The "laws of mental healing" herein rhapsodically expounded mean in this instance the healing of the sick body by the healthy mind. The Scripture texts used are true, but they are misinterpreted. Other truth is stated, but misapplied. The author has persuaded himself that "disease primarily is only a mental specter;" but it is not a sane conclusion. If it were no child would die of diphtheria. Mr. Wood says, "He who fears that he will take cold is always taking cold." The real fact is that the man who is always taking cold fears it as a plain danger to which he is exposed. He did not begin to take cold by fearing it. Nor is it true, as the author teaches by misinterpreting Job, that whatever a man fears will come upon him. He also says, "The roots of illness have their rise [!] in conscious or unconscious fears." If that were true children would not die of croup or cholera infantum. So far as grown people are concerned, it is more true that wholesome fear leads them to escape illness by taking proper care of themselves. Fear of drowning does not lead a man to jump into the sea, but the contrary. It is a misfortune that pious meditations should be mixed up with the nonpious nonsense of this book.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Sacred City of the Ethiopians: Being a Record of Travel and Research in Abyssinia in 1893. By J. THEODORE BENT, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Author of *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, etc. With a Chapter by Professor H. D. MÜLLER, on the Inscriptions from Yeha and Aksum, and an Appendix on the Morphological Character of the Abyssinians, by J. G. GARSON, M.D., V.P.A.I. Crown 8vo, pp. 309. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, $5.

This book is not a conventional traveler's tale of seeings and doings during a flying visit to some faraway ancient cities. It is rather a scientific contribution to knowledge, made by an experienced traveler and a man of wide and deep geographical knowledge. It is charmingly written, and is quite as interesting as a popular tourist's story. We commend it to the reading of the traveler who is willing to see a bit through another's eyes; to the student of Church history who wants some fresh knowledge of the Abyssinian Christians; and to the orientalist, who will find in it new discoveries of immense importance bearing upon the history, the religion, and the languages of the Semitic peoples. The journey of Mr. Bent began at Massaua (often written Massowah), on the Red Sea, and his objective point was Aksum, the "sacred city of the Ethiopians," which lies inland above the low country near the sea. Massaua is the city which forms the base of operations for the Italian government in its efforts to colonize, civilize, and rule a portion of the great African continent, and the Italian officials showed much hospitality to Mr. Bent and

to his wife, who accompanied him on the entire journey. Aksum is away up among the mountains at a height of 7,226 feet, "at the top of that gigantic wall which had so effectually shut it off for all generations from intercourse with the outer world. Here, as Gibbon says, 'the Ethiopians had slept for near a thousand years, forgetful of the world by whom they were forgotten.'" The place from which he started has a living political interest; the place to which he was going was almost certain to be full of antiquarian interest. The journey was beset with great difficulties, and at one stage almost ended in a tragedy. The country is the prey of brigands, and is almost always torn with revolution or rebellion. The king is unable or unwilling to maintain order in his realm; and there is small wonder to learn from Mr. Bent that the people asked him frequently when the English would come to give them peace again, or to hear him add, "Personally, I cannot help thinking that the sooner some European nation undertakes the government of Abyssinia the better it will be for the country." But the real object of Mr. Bent's difficult and dangerous journey was not to observe the political and religious conditions of the country, however interesting they may be, but rather to seek archæological evidence for the origin of the people who first introduced civilization into the land. It has long been supposed that Abyssinian civilization was Semitic, and that it came from Arabia, the home of the purest Semitic race. There were numerous traditions pointing that way, and many scholars accepted this theory, but without definite proof. Mr. Bent has now settled this question by the most definite and detailed monumental evidence. He has brought back from Abyssinia, from the cities of Yeha, Adoua, and Aksum, photographs, copies, and squeezes of obelisks, temples, and inscriptions. The latter have all been deciphered by Dr. D. H. Müller (whose name is incorrectly printed H. D. Müller on the title page), and they prove to be written in the Sabæan language. The names of kings given upon them were previously known from early Arabian inscriptions. Old Semitic words like *melek*, king, abound in them. The oldest of them were found at Yeha, which was probably a capital of the Sabæan colony. These may be dated both palæographically and historically. By the former test they are shown to belong to the oldest Sabæan inscriptions; by the latter they can be shown to have been written before the Assyrian king Tiglathpileser III fought with the Arabians about 732 B. C. This carries us back to a high antiquity, and gives a most welcome ray of light upon the period when the Sabæans sought gold and ivory in the heart of Africa. It is interesting to note that Mr. Bent is now engaged in a visit to Hadhramant, where he will probably find yet other evidences of the wealth and culture of Sheba, whose queen visited Solomon.

The Mummy. Chapters on Egyptian Funereal Archæology. With Eighty-eight Illustrations. By E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, Litt.D., F.S.A. 8vo, pp. 404. Cambridge: At the University Press. Price, cloth, $3.25.

Dr. Budge is acting assistant keeper in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. In the terminology of that

ancient and honorable institution assistant keeper in a certain department does not mean that the holder of the title is a subordinate. The assistant keeper in a department is the head of that department; he is assistant only in the sense that the chief librarian is nominally chief keeper of all the antiquities, though in reality he may know very little about many of them. Dr. Budge is, however, not yet an assistant keeper, but is only acting assistant keeper. The knowing ones are, however, well aware that the word "acting" will soon be stricken from his title and that he will have the title of the office, all the work of which he is now doing. His predecessor was the famous P. Le Page Renouf, now retired with a civil pension which he has earned by long and distinguished services. Dr. Budge began his connection with the museum many years ago, and has worked up from the bottom to a position of great dignity and influence. In his care are the Egyptian collections, which now rank second in importance and extent among the collections of the world, those of the Gizeh Museum alone being superior, and besides these the Assyrian collection, which is in every respect superior to any collection of the kind in existence. The collections in the British Museum give Dr. Budge a magnificent opportunity for work, such an opportunity as is hardly paralleled, on all its sides, in the world. He is making good use of his opportunities, for his books follow each other with surprising rapidity. It is, indeed, a question as to whether his productiveness is not excessive. So far the work is in every way worthy of his position and of his long Oxford and Cambridge training. The volume here under review may almost be called an accident. Dr. Budge was invited to prepare a catalogue of the Egyptian collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. That museum now takes rank with the really great Egyptian collections of the world, not so much by its extent as by its representative character and by the great value of certain of its exhibits. As a museum where the average intelligent man may get a good general view of Egyptian antiquities it is superior to London, which is discouraging and overwhelming by the very reason of its size. In teaching power it is second only to Berlin; and in its labeling it is superior to that superbly arranged and beautifully set collection, the collections at Berlin being arranged in rooms specially decorated as temples, tombs, palaces, and dwellings, so that every object is put in a setting appropriate to its original use in ancient Egypt. Dr. Budge was not content to write the stereotyped style of catalogue, with its dreary numbers and dull descriptions. He wrote an elaborate introduction discussing the language, literature, history, art, and customs of the ancient Egyptians so that visitors to the Fitzwilliam Museum might have in their hands all needful information to the understanding of the antiquities displayed. This introduction has now been published in separate form as an independent book, and a very useful book it is. The title is, however, very misleading. There is nothing about the mummy or about funereal archæology until page 153 is reached, and even much that follows that page is only very indirectly connected with the ostensible subject of the book. But it would be very difficult to give the book any title that would

be properly descriptive, for it is almost encyclopedic in character. The author's own justification for the strange title seems to be thus stated in the preface: "The monuments and remains of ancient Egypt preserved in the great museums of Europe and Egypt are chiefly of a sepulchral character, and we owe them entirely to the belief of the Egyptians that the soul would at some period revivify the body, and to the care, consequent on this belief, with which they embalmed the bodies of their dead, so that they might resist the action of decay and be ready for the return of the soul. For the sake of the mummy's safety tombs were hewn, papyri were inscribed with compositions the knowledge of which would enable him to repel the attacks of demons, ceremonies were performed, and services were recited; for the sake of the comfort of the mummy and his *ka*, or genius, the tombs were decorated with scenes which would remind him of those with which he was familiar when upon earth, and they were also provided with many objects used by him in daily life, so that his tomb might resemble as much as possible his old home." It is a short step from this to Dr. Budge's *dictum* that "the mummy is the most important of all objects," and that it is therefore a very proper and convenient object to make the medium for the conveyance to the public of all sorts of information about Egypt. The book begins with very brief statements about the race, the language, and the land of Egypt. The first and second of these topics are weakly handled. It gives us no help, for example, to say that "the language of the Egyptian . . . belongs wholly neither to the Indo-European nor to the Semitic family of languages," and it is absurd to add that the "only known language which it resembles is Coptic," which is its direct descendant. The investigations of Stern, Sethe, and, greatest of all, Erman lead us to much more definite conclusions than these, even if they do not finally place Egyptian among the Semitic languages. Following these matters about sixty pages are devoted to an outline of the history of Egypt, which is admirably done. Pages 108–152 are perhaps the most valuable in the entire volume. They contain an exhaustive account of the decipherment of the Rosetta stone and of the consequent reading of Egyptian inscriptions. This story has never before been so well told in English. It adds to the just fame of Champollion, but it also does proper honor to Young, who is shown, by indubitable proof, to have anticipated the former in the fundamental discoveries which led to the reading of hieroglyphic writing. This is rather tardy justice to Young, after Englishmen have for so long given all the praise to Champollion. It is only fair to say that the Germans have nearly all of them, especially Brugsch, Wiedemann, and Erman, long given him his just credit as the first decipherer. To all who would know this thrilling story of a marvelous achievement we heartily commend these pages. Finally, after all these preliminaries, funereal archæology begins on page 153. The first chapter of it is entitled "An Egyptian Funeral," and is a vivid and interesting account of all the religious ceremonies and all the methods of embalmment and entombment employed by the ancient Egyptians. The sections that follow give the

detailed information upon which this account of an ideal funeral is based. There is very little that is new in them, but this information certainly was never so accessible before or so well arranged for ready reference. The book is profusely illustrated with pictures. It is well printed and bound. It has—and that is best of all—an admirable index, which makes the whole book still more valuable. To the increasing number of people who visit museums, and the much larger company who would know about Egypt, we recommend this popular but scientific book.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Tongue of Fire; or, The True Power of Christianity. By WILLIAM ARTHUR, A.M., Author of *The Successful Merchant*, etc. With a New Preface by the Author and an Introduction by the Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D. 12mo, pp. 350. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

The baptism of the Holy Ghost was the power of the early Church, is the need of nineteenth century Christianity, and will be the key to the success of the future Church. Whoever has read Mr. Arthur's long-celebrated book has already consented to these propositions. Whoever has not read it should avail himself of this second edition of the *Tongue of Fire*. It is a great volume, by a great writer, on a great subject.

The Boy Jesus, and Other Sermons. By WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D., Pastor Emeritus of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City. Crown 8vo, pp. 301. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Sons. Price, cloth, $1.75.

The Galilean Gospel. Fourth Edition. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow. 12mo, pp. 232. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The Prayer that Teaches to Pray. By the Rev. MARCUS DODS, M.A., D.D., Author of *Israel's Iron Age*, etc. 12mo, pp. 176. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

The Lord's Prayer. Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Archdeacon of Westminster. 12mo, pp. 279. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, cloth, $1.50.

These four volumes of sermons are a vigorous protest against the representation that the Christian pulpit is declining. One of the series of discourses was preached in America; three were given in England. All are alike catholic, evangelical, helpful. To declaim against the vigor and worth of the pulpit in the presence of such sermonic addresses is fanaticism gone mad.

The Sunday Newspaper. By Rev. ROBERT F. BISHOP, Author of *Camerton Slope, A Story of Mining Life*. 16mo, pamphlet, pp. 8. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, paper, 3 cents.

Our Western Book Concern instituted a competition by offering prizes for the best essay on "The Sunday Newspaper." The first prize was won by Rev. R. F. Bishop, now pastor at Chillicothe, O. The essay is published in paper-covered tract form, so that at small expense it may be widely scattered for the admonition of Christian people and others against

a serious and growing evil. Pastors may greatly increase and extend their influence and efficiency by distributing this tract in addition to preaching on the same theme.

The Invincible Gospel. By GEORGE F. PENTECOST, D.D., Author of *Bible Studies*, etc. Pamphlet, pp. 52. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, paper, 25 cents.

This is a vigorous address delivered before the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago. It sets forth the glory of Christianity as seen in its antiquity, its prophetic character, its divine Author, its ethical basis; also its doctrines of salvation, as follows: incarnation, atonement, new birth, immortality, and the terms of salvation.

Ships that Pass in the Night. By BEATRICE HARRADEN. 16mo, pp. 235. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1; paper, 50 cents.

An interesting story, which turns largely about a singular, reserved, and reticent character called "The Disagreeable Man." The first sentence of the book says: "We start life thinking that we shall build a great cathedral, a crowning glory of architecture, and we end by contriving a mud hut;" to which the Disagreeable Man adds: "We end by being content to dig a hole and get into it like the earth men." This reminds us of the saying of another: "We begin by wanting the earth to suck in our mouths, and we end by being thankful for a seat in the chimney-corner and the privilege of not being murdered." The book is divided into two parts and twenty-five short chapters. In the tenth chapter "The Disagreeable Man is Seen in a New Light;" in the twelfth "The Disagreeable Man Makes a Loan;" and at last, "The Disagreeable Man Gives Up his Freedom." Several of the principal characters are consumptives, and the book is somewhat depressing from the predominance of tuberculosis.

Beautiful Joe. An Autobiography. Illustrated. By MARSHALL SAUNDERS. 12mo, pp. 304. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

This is a wholesome and profitable book for boys, an interesting book for anybody. "Beautiful Joe" is a dog who follows the example of "Black Beauty," the horse, in writing the story of his own life. In it we see what a human being thinks dogs probably think of human beings. Its influence is salutary toward kinder treatment of the lower creatures which are our companions on this earth. Its best result will be in elevating the human creature by making him gentle and considerate to all living things, as was "the Compleat Angler," who, while impaling a frog upon his hook for bait, would treat him as though he loved him.

Facts and Fallacies of "Christian Science." By Rev. A. W. PATTEN, D.D., of the Rock River Conference. Pamphlet, pp. 30. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, paper, 15 cents.

The "Christian Scientists" have much to answer for. It is not too much to say that there is human blood upon their hands. Lives which might have been saved, or at least prolonged by the use of proper agencies, have been lost. Guileless and trustful souls have been misled by it into a fanatical cherishing of expectations impossible of realization.

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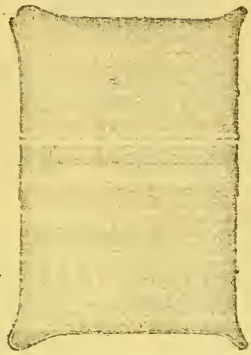

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